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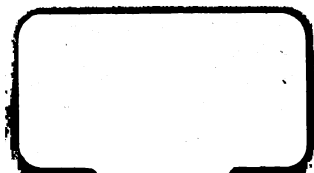
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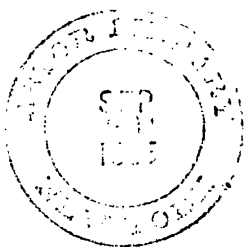
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MILMAN'S HISTORY OF LATIN CHRISTIANITY.*

HAD this work been the production of a Continental author, it would have furnished our critics with another opportunity of extolling foreign research and scholarship at the expense of that of native growth; and therefore, as we profess to be Anglican in our tastes and prepossessions, we are glad of the occasion thus furnished to us of introducing to the notice of our readers this valuable result of the industrious learning of our own soil. It is in every way a contribution to history of which Englishmen may be proud, and we hope to bear some efficient, though humble, tribute to its accomplished author.

The title of the work, the History of Latin Christianity, brings before us the division of literary labour, which is a characteristic of the times in which we live, and is highly favourable to historical writing. Our fathers thought they could only write upon a subject in its complex entirety, and whether they laboured on a Biblical Commentary or a Church History, they took the two extreme points into their conception, and aimed at discussing the whole space between them. In the department of Scriptural Exegesis, this plan is now relinquished, for it is seen that very various mental qualities and attainments are demanded by different books of the Bible, for their successful elucidation. The same remark applies fully to the writing of Church History, in any manner which can

* History of Latin Christianity; including that of the Popes to the Pontificate of Nicholas V. By Henry Hart Milman, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's. London: John Murray, 1854. 3 vols. 8vo. Pp. 1580.

be considered scientific and trustworthy. It is true the Church of Christ is one, in an important sense, and we should be able to grasp some view of it as a whole; but, as something to be submitted to historical and critical research, it naturally divides itself into many separate, although not entirely independent, portions. For example, Christianity has taken up its abode in many kingdoms, different from each other in language, political customs, and social manners. To treat of all these obviously requires that the various languages in which the documentary evidence is found should be understood, and the secular features of each country thoroughly known. But what man could be found equally at home in searching for his materials in the mass of the *medix et infimæ Latinitatis*, the Teutonic archives of Germany, and the still more recondite lore of Ethiopia and Syria?

But, apart from this geographical separation of the materials of Church History, the growth of Christianity presents widely distinct phenomena, according to the moral and even physical circumstances into which it is cast. While it never loses the character given of it by its Divine author, as *a little leaven which leavens the whole lump*, yet the mass into which it falls still retains much of its original character, in whatever degree it may be purified and improved by the operation of the new element. Mental idiosyncrasies in individuals are not destroyed by the converting power of Gospel truth, and the same is true of whole communities or nations. This observation involves the recognition of a deep philosophy which is too often ignored and forgotten, in the futile attempts made to reduce the varied aspects of the Christian field to one monotonous level.

By severing *Latin Christianity* from the Greek and Oriental forms of the same Divine instrument for the regeneration of mankind, Dean Milman has defined a portion of the great field of research, which possesses very marked and distinctive features. If we compare the present aspects of the Papacy with those of the Greek Church, and both of these systems with modern Protestantism, an unreflecting observer will see only varied forms of error, contrasting, in his estimation, with a state of things much more apostolical and pure. And this opinion is true, but it labours under the fault of being too partial in its deductions, and leaving out of sight those earlier historical circumstances which both made those forms of Christianity what they were, and at the same time adapted them as instruments of immense good to departed ages and nations of mankind. No one can form any enlightened conception of Church History who surveys merely the two extremities of the last eighteen centuries, and comparing the gigantic errors and follies of existing systems with primitive truth, gives them his

indiscriminate condemnation. These departures from the faith and practice of the earliest times were not sudden, and completed at once ; but were the growth and result of states of things in themselves inevitable, and adapted by divine Providence for the furtherance of the Gospel. It is true that this forms no excuse for those who in the light of the present persist in preferring the darkness of the past ; but neither does it acquit those of rashness and ignorance who involve the interesting movements and principles of departed ages in one indiscriminate censure.

Dr. Milman has well pointed out the distinct characteristics of the Church of the West, and traced carefully the often minute, and, as far as man is concerned, the accidental circumstances which gradually caused and confirmed the spiritual and political power of the Papacy. It was no master-spirit which in the fourth and fifth centuries threw its prophetic glance upon the future, and then laid out a plan of aggrandizement which after-ages were to work out and complete. Some people talk of the Papacy in this manner, and as though one individual mind had, in the possession of immortality, presided over the counsels of centuries and moulded into perfection a preconceived ideal of priestly sway. But how different is this theory from the facts of the case ; from that actual slow accretion of power, civil and religious, often more given than sought after, and certainly more often a blessing than an evil at its first possession. In the work before us these causes are traced with great precision, and this is one feature of Dr. Milman's labours, for which we tender him our thanks. Latin Christianity was the growth of circumstances, and, in many of its most striking features, took an inevitable impress from the moulds into which it was involuntarily cast. In the following passages the thesis is briefly stated, which the whole work is designed to confirm and illustrate :—

‘ Greek Christianity could not but be affected both in its doctrinal process and in its polity by its Greek origin. Among the Greeks had been for centuries agitated all those primary questions which lie at the bottom of all religions,—the formation of the worlds—the existence and nature of the Deity—the origin and cause of evil, though this seems to have been studied even with stronger predilection in the trans-Euphratic East. Hence Greek Christianity was insatiably inquisitive, speculative. Confident in the inexhaustible copiousness and fine precision of its language, it endured no limitation to its curious investigations. As each great question was settled or worn out, it was still ready to propose new ones. It began with the Divinity of Christ (still earlier perhaps with some of the Gnostic Cosmogonical, or Theophanic theories), so onward to the Trinity : it expired, or at least drew near its end, as the religion of the Roman East, discussing the Divine Light on Mount Tabor.’

The further peculiarities of the Greek Church are then pointed out at some length. The author then proceeds to sketch out his plan in the following language :—

‘Latin Christianity, on the other hand, seemed endowed with an inexhaustible principle of expanding life. No sooner had the northern tribes entered its magic circle, than they submitted to its yoke: and, not content with thus conquering its conquerors, it was constantly pushing forward its own frontier, and advancing into the strongholds of Northern Paganism. Gradually it became a monarchy, with all the power of a concentrated dominion. The clergy assumed an absolute despotism over the mind of man: not satisfied with ruling princes and kings, themselves became princes and kings. Their organisation was coincident with the bounds of Christendom; they were a second universal magistracy, exercising always equal, and asserting, and for a long period possessing, superior power to the civil government. They had their own jurisprudence—the canon law—co-ordinate with and of equal authority with the Roman or the various national codes, only with penalties infinitely more terrific, almost arbitrarily administered, and admitting no exception, not even that of the greatest temporal sovereign. Western Monasticism, in its general character, was not the barren, idly laborious or dreamy quietude of the East. It was industrious and productive: it settled colonies, preserved arts and letters, built splendid edifices, fertilized deserts. If it rent from the world the most powerful minds, having trained them by its stern discipline, it sent them back to rule the world. It continually, as it were, renewed its youth, and kept up a constant infusion of vigorous life, now quickening into enthusiasm, now darkening into fanaticism; and by its perpetual rivalry, stimulating the zeal, or supplying the deficiencies of the secular clergy. In successive ages it adapted itself to the state of the human mind. At first a missionary to barbarous nations, it built abbeys, hewed down forests, cultivated swamps, enclosed domains, retrieved or won for civilisation tracts which had fallen to waste or had never known culture. With St. Dominic it turned its missionary zeal upon Christianity itself, and spread as a preaching order throughout Christendom; with St. Francis it became even more popular, and lowered itself to the very humblest of mankind. In Jesuitism it made a last effort to govern mankind by an incorporated caste. But Jesuitism found it necessary to reject many of the peculiarities of Monasticism: it made itself secular to overcome the world. But the compromise could not endure. Over the Indians of South America alone, but for the force of circumstances, it might have been lasting. In Eastern India it became a kind of Christian Paganism; in Europe a moral and religious Rationalism, fatal both to morals and religion.

‘Throughout this period, then, of at least ten centuries, Latin Christianity was the religion of the Western nations of Europe: Latin the religious language; the Latin translation of the Scriptures the religious code of mankind. Latin theology was alone inexhaustibly prolific,

and held wide and unshaken authority. On most speculative tenets this theology had left to Greek controversialists to argue out the endless transcendental questions of religion, and contented itself with resolutely embracing the results, which she fixed in her inflexible theory of doctrine. The only controversy which violently disturbed the Western Church was the practical one, on which the East looked almost with indifference, the origin and motive principle of human action—grace and free will. This, from Augustine to Luther and Jansenius, was the interminable, still reviving problem. Latin Christian literature, like Greek, might have seemed equally to have passed its meridian after Tertullian, Cyprian, Ambrose, and, high above all, Augustine. The age of true Latin poetry, no doubt, had long been over; the imaginative in Christianity could only find its expression to some extent in the legend and the ritual; but, except in a very few hymns, it was not till out of the wedlock of Latin with the Northern tongues, not till after new languages had been born in the freshness of youth, that there were great Christian poets; poets not merely writing on religious subjects, but instinct with the religious life of Christianity—Dante, Ariosto, Tasso, Shakspeare, Milton, Calderon, Schiller. But not merely did Latin theology expand into another vast and teeming period, that of the Schoolmen, culminating in Aquinas; but Latin being the common language, the clergy the only learned body throughout Europe, it was that of law in both its branches; of science, of philosophy, even of history; of letters; in short, of civilisation. Latin Christianity, when her time was come, had her great æra of art, not only as the preserver of the traditions of Greek and Roman skill in architecture, and some of the technical operations in sculpture and painting, but original and creative. It was art comprehending architecture, painting, sculpture, and music, Christian in its fullest sense, as devoted entirely to Christian purposes, expressive of Christian sentiments, arising out of and kindling in congenial spirits Christian thought and feeling.

‘The characteristic of Latin Christianity was that of the old Latin world—a firm and even obstinate adherence to legal form, whether of traditionary usage or written statute; the strong assertion of, and the severe subordination to authority. Its wildest and most eccentric fanaticism, for the most part, and for many centuries, respected external unity. It was the Roman empire, again extended over Europe by an universal code and a provincial government; by an hierarchy of religious prætors or proconsuls, and a host of inferior officers, each in strict subordination to those immediately above them, and gradually descending to the very lowest ranks of society: the whole with a certain degree of freedom of action, but a constrained and limited freedom, and with an appeal to the spiritual Cæsar in the last resort.’—vol. i. pp. 2—8.

The inroad of what Dean Milman calls *Teutonic Christianity* is then alluded to, and its blessings are graphically described. The spirit in which the great result of the mingling of this new element,

namely, the Reformation, is viewed by the author, may be gathered from the following passage:—

‘The progressive development of Christianity seems the inevitable consequence of man’s progress in knowledge, and in the more general dissemination of that knowledge. Human thought is almost compelled to assert, and cannot help asserting, its original freedom. And as that progress is manifestly a law of human nature, proceeding from the Divine Author of our being, this self-adaptation of the one true religion to that progress, must have the divine sanction, and may be supposed, without presumption, to have been contemplated in the counsels of Infinite Wisdom.

‘The full and more explicit expansion of these views on this Avatar of Teutonic Christianity must await its proper place at the close of our history.’—vol. i. p. 10.

Such is the department of visible Christianity, selected by the author, a portion only of which is treated of in these volumes. It may be said, without the least hesitation, that hitherto the world has witnessed nothing to equal this phase of her history, considered both in its intrinsic grandeur and in its existing results. What *may* come under the notice of future historians, should the world be subjected to the influence of Christian doctrines and institutions, during another period of two thousand years, it is impossible to predict—perhaps something to throw into the shade the mighty phenomenon we are now contemplating. But confining our view to the past, the growth, progress, completion, and consequences of the Papacy occupy far more of the field of vision than all other developments of Christianity besides, and furnish more abundant materials for the historian. It is this fact, coupled with the baseless idea, as we think, of the near approach of the end of the Christian Dispensation, that leads to a concentration of prophetic declarations, and scriptural descriptions of apostacy, upon the Roman Church. Presuming that Christianity is near its consummation, then indeed it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that a system ultimately so corrupt and so universally diffused, must be the subject of the Apocalyptic and other denunciations. But if we enlarge our conception of Christianity, as being yet probably in its earlier stages, and destined to exist for five or ten thousand years, we can easily see how its Latin form may one day yield in importance to other even more powerful and corrupt developments. For our own part, we think, this is by far the most reasonable view, and that most of the would-be interpreters of Christian prophecy are wrong, because they narrow, without any competent authority, the duration of Christianity. The Church historian of the year A.D. 5000, should such a date ever be subjected to the pen of man, will have to recognize and de-

scribe the same period as fills Dean Milman's lively pages ; but from that distant point of view, and with such light as those long centuries will throw upon the past, how different may be the subjective impressions of the writer, as to the place occupied in the whole Christian system by the Church once enthroned on the seven hills, and reigning for a thousand years over the nations of the West !

It has taken the long period of eighteen hundred years to bring about the outward form of Christianity at present existing in Protestant countries, and it will, apparently, take many more to extend anything like the same spiritual privileges to the whole of Christendom. But Christendom is, after all, but a small part of the inhabited portions of the globe, and to vast millions of the human race *the feet of those who preach the Gospel of peace and bring glad tidings of good things*, have never yet reached. We attach no importance to speculations in things not revealed, and therefore we will not say we think that the world must be converted to God before it comes to an end ; neither will we conclude that the past rate of progress is to be taken as the measure of future Gospel triumphs. But we do feel justified in meeting positive statements to the effect, that nothing but Rome can be intended in the prophetic parts of the New Testament which speak of apostacy, by directing attention to the probability that the future events spoken of may yet be future, and are to have their accomplishment in times of far greater success and yet deeper corruption. In these days of uncritical dogmatism, it is sometimes useful to oppose one theory to another, and to hint at the probable *hiatus* in the chain of men's reasonings on matters not disclosed to human ken.

The history treated of in the work before us, is given with fidelity, its various scenes being sketched with the hand of a master. We are inclined to view it as a fault that the spiritual manifestations of Christianity are either not treated of at all, or too little brought forward to relieve the often intensely hateful character of the mere political side of the picture. Take, as an example, the reign of the degraded Justinian in the sixth century, and that of the most renowned of courtezans, his empress Theodora, and how dense is the air of wickedness which pervaded the whole, unrelieved, in Dean Milman's pages, by any of that true light of Christ, *which, coming into the world, enlighteneth every man!* We read of popes and councils, but they seem entirely the instruments of political intrigue, and we feel that if Christianity, as a little leaven, is fermenting in the corrupt mass, its processes must be occult and obscure indeed. Yet we believe that no times have been so dark as not to furnish illustrations of

the power of godliness; and that often the political aspects of Christianity in courts and armies conceal, by their more worldly intrusiveness, what is alone worthy of the name of religion. This period is certainly peculiarly destitute of spiritual phenomena, and yet they are not altogether wanting. Unfortunately history has too often felt it to be its duty to presume, that the politically great are the whole of mankind, or, at least, the only portion worth notice. But both among the high and the low, the retiring graces of Christianity may be found in the darkest ages, perhaps existing in deeper recesses because of the surrounding iniquity. We wish Dr. Milman had more frequently drawn piety from its cell, if only to relieve the painful sense forced upon us of the almost utter corruption of public affairs, even when administered by professed Christians. We do not altogether approve of Milner's plan, and we admire his reasonings still less; yet we have been often refreshed by comparing his view of successive centuries with that given in the work before us.^b We are persuaded that it must become more and more the peculiar task of the ecclesiastical historian to trace the stream of piety in its humble meanderings; to detect the silvery waters amidst the dark woods and overhanging rocks of an intrusive and worldly profession.

We have the more regretted this apparent neglect of the spirit of Christ, manifested even in the most corrupt ages of the Church, because Dr. Milman has given unequivocal proofs both of his ability to detect its existence and appreciate its value. In speaking of the conversion of the Teutonic tribes, he thus feelingly recognizes the internal power of our holy religion in circumstances apparently opposed to its operation:—

‘But Christianity had sunk into depths of the human heart, unmoved by these tumults, which so fiercely agitated the surface of the Christian world. Far below, less observed, less visible in its mode of operation, though manifest in its effects, was that profound conviction of the truth of the Gospel, that infelt sense of its blessings, which enabled it to pursue its course of conversion throughout the world, to bring the Roman mind more completely under subjection, and one by one to subdue the barbarian tribes which began to overspread and mingle with the Greek and Latin population of the Empire. For Christianity had that within it which overawed, captivated, enthralled the innate or at least universal religiousness of mankind; that which was sufficiently

^b We embrace this opportunity of referring to the best edition of Milner's history, in four octavo volumes, revised and corrected throughout by the Rev. Thomas Grantham, B.D., Rector of Bamber, Sussex. London: Longman and Co. The great circulation of cheap and incorrect editions makes it important to have one which may be considered authoritative. Mr. Grantham has discharged his duty well, verifying quotations, and adding others of importance.

simple to arrest by its grandeur the ruder barbarian, while, by its deeper mysteries, it led on the philosophic and reflective mind through unending regions of contemplation. It had its one Creator and Ruler of the universe, one God, one Redeemer, one Spirit, under which the ancient polytheism subsided into a subordinate hierarchy of intermediate beings, which kept the imagination in play, and left undisturbed almost all the hereditary superstitions of each race. It satisfied that yearning after the invisible which seems inseparable from our nature, the fears and hopes which more or less vaguely have shadowed out some future being, the fears of retribution appeased by the promises of pardon, the hope of beatitude by its presentiments of peace. It had its exquisite goodness, which appealed to the indelible moral sense of mankind, to the best affections of his being; it had that equality as to religious privileges, duties, and advantages, to which it drew up all ranks and classes, and both sexes (slaves and females being alike with others under the divine care), and the abolition, so far, of the ordinary castes and divisions of men; with the substitution of the one distinction, the clergy and the laity, and perhaps also that of the ordinary Christian and the monk, who aspired to what was asserted, and believed to be, a higher Christianity. All this was, in various degrees, at once the manifest sign of its divinity and the secret of its gradual subjugation of nations at such different stages of civilisation. It prepared or found ready the belief in those miraculous powers which it still constantly declared itself to possess; and made belief not merely prompt to accept, but creative of wonder, and of perpetual preter-human interference. Some special causes will appear, which seemed peculiarly to propitiate certain races towards Christianity, while their distinctive character reacted on their own Christianity, and through them perhaps on that of the world.'—vol. i. pp. 255, 6.

With this exception, on which different opinions will probably be formed by our readers, we are able to use the highest terms of the whole execution and character of this work, the production of the matured mind of the author. He has brought to it accumulated stores of knowledge, a freedom from class prejudices, and a sense of the duties of his office far more scientific and philosophical than has hitherto fallen to the lot of our Church historians. He has pointed out the sources of those peculiarities of the Latin division of Christianity which distinguish it from other portions of the field, with great clearness; peculiarities partly local and physical, partly providential, and partly, in appearance at least, accidental. He has especially traced the growth of Papal power, at first unknown, then a matter of mere sentiment, afterwards gradually demanded, and then conceded. The various phases of this remarkable despotism are graphically described, as they present themselves in the successive ages of its existence. At first there is a mere conventional deference, on the part of Christendom, to the Church of the capital of the whole world; then succeeds a

necessary interference, on the part of Rome, in matters which agitated, and threatened to injure, the Christianity of remote provinces; afterwards political causes demanded that the Roman pontiff should claim more worldly power, as the best instrument, in the circumstances, of saving a religious and spiritual influence. So far we can recognize the principles of a just economy of Providence, making all things work together for the good of the Church, and the spread of its legitimate control over the lower natures with whom it came in contact. But soon the bounds were passed which separated personal motives from maxims of public utility, and the Bishop of Rome ceased to be the friend, and became the real enemy of the Church. This process was long, and it is often difficult to separate the boundaries of light and darkness, of mere personal ambition, and a regard for the general good. But the ultimate results leave no doubt of the character of the usurpation. Age by age all that is virtuous and benevolent in the Papacy gradually vanishes, until there appears upon the scene a monstrous exhibition of pride and worldliness, to which we do not wonder that Apocalyptic visions should be referred, although we may not recognize the critical justice of the application.

We think it an excellence of Dr. Milman's history that he fully recognizes these various degrees of value possessed in different ages by the Church of Rome. He does not involve in one indiscriminating censure a mighty system which at one period had most admirable characteristics, and at another formed the only bulwark against a savage and exterminating political power. But neither does he with an overweening fondness for what is old, or a blind reverence for asserted divine right, extenuate the faults of Latin Christianity, or maintain for it any perpetual claim to reverence. As far as it appears to be a divine instrument, adapted for peculiar crises of history, he gives it its meed of praise, but no further. This is the only way in which this awful page of the Church's progress can be profitably studied, or Christianity be vindicated from the charge of failure. If a fancied perfection of apostolical Christianity is assumed, in spite of the glaring errors and vices which clearly disfigure it, as exhibited in the Epistles, and all after history is to be tried by this exaggerated standard, then indeed it is difficult to discover much that is admirable in the career of Rome. But the enlightened expounder of the Holy Scriptures, and of early church history, will remember that Christianity was never perfect, and that having lapsed into errors of doctrine and practice, even under the eye of apostles, it could not be expected to exhibit a more spotless form when they had left the world. How many stumbling-blocks would the remembrance

of this principle remove out of the way of the Christian student ! How would an irrational, although perhaps amiable, optimism cease to *darken counsel by words without knowledge*, if the necessary mingling of good and evil were recognized in the contemplation of the Church's progress !

The influence of second causes on the spread of the Church has always been a marked feature of its history, and cannot be neglected by any historian of enlightened and philosophic views. Nor can we fail to remark how certain idiosyncrasies of character, both in individuals and communities, both favour the reception of the truth in the first instance, and also throw over it, when it is embraced, something of their own colouring. To this fact Dr. Milman gives great prominence, and we will quote the continuation of the passage given above, respecting the Teutonic races, as illustrative of his mode of viewing it, and also as furnishing a good specimen of his style of writing.

‘We are not at present advanced beyond the period when Christianity was in general content (this indeed gave it full occupation) to await the settlement of the Northern tribes, if not within the pale, at least upon the frontiers of the Empire : it had not yet been emboldened to seek them out in their own native forests or morasses. But it was a surprising spectacle to behold the Teutonic nations melting gradually into the general mass of Christian worshippers. In every other respect they are still distinct races. The conquering Ostrogoth or Visigoth, the Vandal, the Burgundian, the Frank, stand apart from the subjugated Roman population, as an armed or territorial aristocracy. They maintain, in great part at least, their laws, their language, their habits, their character ; in religion alone they are blended into one society, constitute one church, worship at the same altar, and render allegiance to the same hierarchy. This is the single bond of their common humanity ; and so long as the superior Roman civilisation enabled the Latins to maintain exclusively the ecclesiastical functions, they might appear to have retreated from the civil power, which required more strenuous and robust hands to wield it, to this no less extensive and important influence of opinion ; and thus held in suspense the trembling balance of authority.

‘There might appear in the Teutonic religious character a depth, seriousness, and tendency to the mysterious, congenial to Christianity, which would prepare them to receive the Gospel. The Grecian polytheist was often driven into Christianity by the utter void in his religion, and by the incongruity of its poetic anthropomorphism with the progress of his discursive reason, as well as by his weariness with his unsatisfactory and exhausted philosophy ; the Roman was commanded by its high moral tone and vigour of character. But each had to abandon temples, rites, diversions, literature, which had the strongest hold on his habits and character, and so utterly incongruous with the

primitive Gospel, that until Christianity made some steps towards the old religion by the splendour of its ceremonial, and the incipient paganising, not of its creed, but of its popular belief, there were powerful countervailing tendencies to keep him back from the new faith. And when the Greek entered into the Church, he was not content without exercising the quickness of his intelligence, and the versatilities of his language upon his creed without analysing, discussing, defining everything; or by intruding that higher part of his philosophy, which best assimilated with Christianity, he either philosophised Christianity, or for a time, as under the Neo-Platonists and Julian, set up a partially Christianised philosophy as a new and rival religion. The inveterate corruption of Roman manners confined that vigorous Christian morality, its strongest commendation to the Roman mind, at first within the chosen few, who were not utterly abased by licentiousness or by servility; and even with them in large part it was obedience to civil authority, respect for established law, perhaps in many a kind of sympathy with the lofty and independent sacerdotal dignity, the sole representative of old Roman freedom, which contributed to Christianise the Latin world.

‘How much more suited were some parts of the Teutonic character to harmonise at first with Christianity, and to keep the proselytes in submission to the authority of its instructors in these sublime truths; at the same time, to strengthen the Church by the infusion of its own strength and independence of thought and action, as well as to barbarise it by that ferocity which causes, is increased by, and maintains the foreign conquests of ruder over more polished races! Already the German had the conception of an illimitable Deity, towards whom he looked with solemn and reverential awe. Tacitus might seem to speak the language of a Christian Father, almost of a Jewish prophet. Their gods could not be confined within walls, and it was degradation to these vast unseen powers to represent them under the human form. Reverential awe alone could contemplate that mysterious being whom they called divinity.^c These deities, or this one Supreme, were shrouded in the untrodden, impenetrable forest. Such seems to have been the sublime conception above, if not anterior to, what may be called the mythology of Teutonic religion. This mythology was the same, only in its elemental form, throughout the German tribes, with that which, having passed through more than one race of poets, grew into the Eddas of Scandinavia. Vestiges of this close relationship are traced in the language, in the mythic conceptions, and in the superstitions of all the Teutonic tribes. Certain religious forms and words are common to all the races of Teutonic descent.^d In every dialect appear kindred or derivative terms for the deity, for sacrifice, for temples, and for the

^c ‘Cæterum non cohibere parietibus Deos, neque in ullam humani oris speciem adsimilare ex magnitudine cœlestium arbitrantur, Deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud quod solâ reverentiâ vident.’—Tacitus, *German.* ix.

^d Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, Einleitung, pp. 9-11 (2nd edit.). The whole large volume is a minute and laborious commentary on this axiom.

priesthood. This mythic religion was in some points a nature-worship, though there might have existed, as has been said, something more ancient, and superior to the worship of the visible and impersonated powers or energies of the material world. The Romans discovered, not without wonder, that the supreme deity of the actual German worship was not invested in the attributes of their Jove, but rather of Mercury.* There is no doubt that Woden was the divinity to whom they assigned this name, a name which, in its various forms (it became at length Odin), is common to the Goths, Lombards, Saxons, Frisians, and other tribes. In its primitive conception, if any of these conceptions were clear and distinct, Woden appears to have been the all-mighty, all-permeating Spirit—the Mind, the primal mover of things, the all-Wise, the God of speech and of knowledge.† But with a warlike people the supreme deity could not but be a god of battle, the giver of victory. He possessed, therefore, the attributes of Mars blended with those of Mercury.‡ The conduct or the reception of departed spirits, which belonged to the pagan Mercury, may have been one function which led to his identification with the Teutonic Woden. Already, no doubt, their world of the dead was a rude Valhalla.

‘In the earlier belief, the Thunderer, with the sun, the heavenly bodies, and the earth, the great objects of nature-worship, held only the second place. The Herthus of Tacitus was doubtless Hertha, the mother earth, or impersonated nature, of which he describes the worship in language singularly coincident with that of the Berecynthian goddess of Phrygia.’^h—vol. i., pp. 256—260.

* ‘Deum maximè Mercurium colunt.’—Tacitus, *Ger.* ix.

† ‘Wodan sanē quem adjectā literā Gwodan dixerunt, ipse est qui apud Romanos Mercurius dicitur, et ab universis Germaniæ gentibus ut Deus adoratur.’—Paull. Diacon. i. 9. See also Jonas Bobbiensis. *Vit. Bonifac.* Dies Mercurii became Wodan’s day,—Wednesday. Compare Grimm, p. 108, etc., and the whole article ‘Wuotan,’ which he closes with the following observation: ‘Aber noch zu einen andern Betrachtung darf die hohe stelle führen, welche die Germanen ihrem Wuotan anweisen. Der Monotheismus ist etwas so nothwendiges und wesentliches, das fast alle Heiden in ihren Götter bunten Gewimmel, bewusst oder unbewusst, darauf ausgehn, einen obersten Gott anzuerkennen, der schon die Eigenschaften aller übrigen in sich trägt, so dass diese nur als seine Einflüsse, verjüngenden und erfrischungen zu betrachten sind. Daraus erklärt sich wie einzelne Eigenheiten bald einem bald diesem einzelnen Gott dargelegt werden, und warum die höchste Macht, nach Verschiedensheit der Völker auf den einen oder den andern derselben fällt.’

‡ Paulus Diacon., *loc. cit.* He is called Sigvödr (Siegfather) in the Edda.—Grimm, p. 122.

^h After recounting the tribes who worship this goddess, he proceeds: ‘In commune Herthum, id est, Terram Matrem colunt, eamque intervenire rebus hominum, in vhi populis arbitrantur. Est in insulā Oceani castum nemus, dicatum in eo vehiculum, veste contextum, attingere uni sacerdoti concessum. Is adesse penetrati Deam intelligit, vectamque bobus feminis multā cum veneratione prosequitur. Læti tunc dies, festa loca, quæcunque adventu hospitioque dignatur. Non arma sumunt, clausum omne ferrum, pax et quies tunc tantum nota, tunc tantum amata, donec idem sacerdos satiata conversatione mortalium Deam templo reddit; mox vehiculum et vestes, et si credere velis, numen ipsum secreto lacu abluitur. Servi ministrant, quos statim idem lacus haurit. Arcanus hinc terror, sanctaque igno-

We are struck, almost on the threshold of the Dean's labours, with the freedom from class-prejudices, a subjection to which must vitiate any historian, much more him who writes the history of the Church. He says, in the Introduction, 'It is obvious that I use Christianity, and indeed Teutonic Christianity, in its most comprehensive significance, from national episcopal churches, like that of England, which aspires to maintain the doctrines and organisation of the apostolic or immediately post-apostolic ages, onward to that dubious and undefinable verge where Christianity melts into a high moral theism, a faith which would expand to purer spirituality with less distinct dogmatic system, or that which would hardly call itself more than a Christian philosophy, a religious rationalism. I presume not, neither is it the office of the historian to limit the blessings of our religion either in this world or the world to come—"there is One who will know his own." As an historian I can disfranchise none who claim, even on the slightest grounds, the privileges and hopes of Christianity; repudiate none who do not place themselves without the pale of believers and worshippers of Christ, or of God through Christ.' Nor is this a vain boast, or a mere deference to duty; it is evident that Dr. Milman is really one who, while sincerely attached to his own form of church government, can respect the scruples of others, and see the image of Christ in those who differ from him. We know that there will be found men of all parties who will not like this feature of the History of Latin Christianity, and will brand it with the easily uttered charge of latitudinarianism. But we have no doubt the author will bear this rebuke with more magnanimity than the opposite one of being a bigot, and be more pleased to obtain the applause of an audience 'fit though few,' than to be hailed with the doubtful praises of those whose own opinion is the Dagon of their idolatry.

We do not feel called upon to criticise the style in which these volumes are written, but we must allude to the vein of quiet sarcasm which often shows itself, and also to the aphoristic brevity with which important sentiments are often conveyed. The writer's opinion is frequently made to appear by the turn of a sentence,

rantia, quid sit illud quod tantum perituri vident.' (Tacit. *Germ.* xi.) Contrast and compare these secret and awful rites (and their 'truce of God') with Lucretius:—

'Quo nunc iusigni per magnas prædita terras
 Horrificè fertur divinæ Matris imago
 Ergo cum primum magnas invecta per urbes
 Munificat tacita mortales muta salute:
 Aere atque argento sternunt iter omne viarum,
 Largificæ stipe donantes, ninguntque rosarum
 Floribus, umbrantes Matrem comitumque catervas.'—ii. 597 *et seq.*

as well as by a lengthy statement of it. Thus the folly of religious contention is strikingly painted in these words: 'A tradition has survived in the pontifical annals of a proscription, a massacre. The streets, the baths, the churches ran with blood—the streets, where the partisans of rival bishops encountered in arms; the baths, where Arian and Catholic could not wash together without mutual contamination; the churches, where they could not join in common worship to the same Redeemer' (vol. i. p. 66). Take also these instances of the same *constructio prægna*s. 'Did the vanity of Jerome mistake outward respect for general attachment, awe of his abilities and learning for admiration, and so blind him to the ill-dissembled, if dissembled, hostility which he had provoked in so many quarters? . . . Jerome left ungrateful Rome, against whose sins the recluse of Palestine becomes even more empassioned, whose clergy and people become blacker and more inexcusable in his harsher and more unsparing denunciations' (vol. i. p. 75). In a few strokes the Dean here clearly indicates *his* opinion of this father of doubtful character. 'The Alexandrians rose in defence of their magistrate; the monks were driven from the city; Ammonius seized, tortured, and put to death. Cyril commanded his body to be taken up; the honours of a Christian martyr were prostituted on this insolent ruffian; his panegyric was pronounced in the Church, and he was called Thaumasiu*s*, the Wonderful. But *the more Christian of the Christians* were shocked at the conduct of the Archbishop; Cyril was for once ashamed, and glad to bury the affair in oblivion' (vol. i. p. 148). 'A sudden and total revolution at once took place. The change was wrought—not by the commanding voice of ecclesiastical authority—not by the argumentative eloquence of any great writer, who by his surpassing abilities awed the world into peace—not by the reaction of pure Christian charity, drawing together the conflicting parties by evangelic love. *It was a new dynasty on the throne of Constantinople*' (vol. i. p. 206).

These volumes abound in graphic descriptions too numerous to be more than generally alluded to. We have been struck with some scenes in the life of Gregory the Great as specimens of historical painting. The whole account of Thomas à Becket is intensely interesting, and especially the description of his death. Every word tells, and the entire picture, thus made up of bold strokes and deep colouring, has a fine and deep effect. We refer our readers to the volumes themselves for illustrations, and will give what is more to our purpose—the reflections of Dr. Milman on the character of Becket.

'Thus Becket obtained by his death that triumph for which he would perhaps have struggled in vain through a long life. He was

now a saint, and for some centuries the most popular saint in England ; among the people, from a generous indignation at his barbarous murder, from the fame of his austerities and his charities, no doubt from admiration of his bold resistance to the kingly power ; among the clergy, as the champion, the martyr of their order. Even if the clergy had had no interest in the miracles at the tomb of Becket, the high-strung faith of the people would have wrought them almost without suggestion or assistance. Cures would have been made or imagined ; the latent powers of diseased or paralysed bodies would have been quickened into active belief, and the fear of disbelieving would have multiplied one extraordinary event into a hundred : fraud would be outbid by zeal ; the invention of the crafty, even if what may seem invention, was not more often ignorance and credulity, would be outrun by the demands of superstition. There is no calculating the extent and effects of these epidemic outbursts of passionate religion.

‘Becket was indeed the martyr of the clergy, not of the Church ; of sacerdotal power, not of Christianity ; of a caste, not of mankind. From beginning to end it was a strife for the authority, the immunities, the possessions of the clergy. The liberty of the Church was the exemption of the clergy from law ; the vindication of their separate, exclusive, distinctive existence from the rest of mankind. It was a sacrifice to the deified self ; not the individual self, but self as the centre and representative of a great corporation. Here and there in the long full correspondence there is some slight allusion to the miseries of the people in being deprived of the services of the exiled bishops and clergy. “There is no one to ordain clergy, to consecrate virgins.” The confiscated property is said to be a robbery of the poor ; yet in general the sole object in dispute was the absolute immunity of the clergy from civil jurisdiction, the right of appeal from the temporal sovereign to Rome, and the asserted superiority of the spiritual rulers in every respect over the temporal power. There might, indeed, be latent advantages to mankind, social, moral, and religious, in this secluded sanctity of one class of men ; it might be well that there should be a barrier against the fierce and ruffian violence of kings and barons ; that somewhere freedom should find a voice, and some protest be made against the despotism of arms, especially in a newly-conquered country like England, where the kingly and aristocratic power was still foreign ; above all, that there should be a caste, not an hereditary one, into which ability might force its way up, from the most low-born, even from the servile rank ; but the liberties of the Church, as they were called, were but the establishment of one tyranny—a milder, perhaps, but not less rapacious tyranny,—instead of another ; a tyranny which aspired to uncontrolled, irresponsible rule, nor was above the inevitable evil produced on rulers as well as on subjects, from the consciousness of arbitrary and autocratic power.

‘Reflective posterity may perhaps consider as not the least remarkable point in this lofty and tragic strife, that it was but a strife for power. Henry II. was a sovereign who, with many noble and kingly qualities, lived more than even most monarchs of his age in direct vio-

lation of every Christian precept of justice, humanity, conjugal fidelity. He was lustful, cruel, treacherous, arbitrary. But throughout this contest there is no remonstrance whatever from Primate or Pope against his disobedience to the laws of God, only to those of the Church. Becket *might*, indeed, if he had retained his full and acknowledged religious power, have rebuked the vices, protected the subjects, interceded for the victims of the King's unbridled passions. It must be acknowledged by all that he did not take the wisest course to secure this which might have been beneficent influence. But as to what appears, if the King would have consented to allow the Churchmen to despise all law—if he had not insisted on hanging priests guilty of homicide as freely as laymen, he might have gone on unreprieved in his career of ambition; he might unrebuked have seduced or ravished the wives and daughters of his nobles; extorted without remonstrance of the clergy any revenue from his subjects, if he had kept his hands from the treasures of the Church. Henry's real tyranny was not (would it in any case have been?) the object of the Churchman's censure, oppugnancy, or resistance. The cruel and ambitious and rapacious King would doubtless have lived unexcommunicated, and died with plenary absolution.'—vol. iii., pp. 525—528.

These are fine sentiments, expressed in free and bold writing. With them we must close our extracts from these volumes, which we hope many of our readers will study for themselves. They are an important and highly valuable contribution to a department of our literature which has not yet been sufficiently elaborated, and we hope they may prove but the precursor of many similar productions. Dean Milman intends to continue the work to the Pontificate of Nicholas V., that is, to the middle of the 15th century. As this brings the history to the period immediately preceding the Reformation, we presume the learned author would make the latter event the subject of a distinct work. May he live to accomplish such an object, and to complete, in recording the details of the great European awakening, the design which he commenced many years ago in his *History of the Jews*. It may be well to remind our readers that Dr. Milman has before published three volumes, which are introductory to those now under our notice, distinguished by the same qualities of accurate inquiry, liberal sentiment, and graphic writing.¹

But for what historian is reserved the history of the Romish Church, as it will appear in its completeness to those who in far distant centuries shall look back upon it as having been but gone for ever? To the disciples of the school of modern expounders of prophecy this question will appear to admit of an easy reply, since the fate of Rome is presumed by them to be clearly defined

¹ 'The History of Christianity, from the Birth of Christ to the Abolition of Paganism in the Roman Empire.' In three vols. 8vo. London, Murray. 1840,

in Holy Writ, and to be near at hand. Already, in their view, the mystery of iniquity is tottering to its ruin, and those elements are seething and boiling which are to destroy the city on the seven hills, and to create a catastrophe greater than the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, the smoke of which is to ascend up for ever and ever! That the evil deeds of the papacy are specifically described in prophecy; that their limits are determined; and that a physical destruction of fire and brimstone is to be the awful punishment of centuries of corruption, are axiomatic deductions in the theology of a large number of Christian people, the belief of which is orthodoxy, but the doubting of them its ill-favoured and much-dreaded opposite. We have already alluded to our own view as not harmonising with that now mentioned, and the subject is important enough to deserve a few further remarks from us.

We are willing to concede that no language is too strong to express the crimes of the Romish Church for many centuries—crimes which increase in depth of colouring as ages have rolled away, and which would seem to have attained their confirmed and darkest dye under the bright beams of modern light and civilisation. As we recede backward in history many extenuating circumstances present themselves which modern Roman Catholicism can by no means lay claim to, and we are compelled to look at a priest of this communion now officiating among our population as a far more responsible and therefore, with our convictions, a more guilty man, than those who bore the same office in the tenth century. We look upon the system now as bad altogether, and cannot but desire its utter overthrow; nor are the tendencies of taste and learning which make us view the ages of the past with much interest and reverence, at all able to blind us to the utter sinfulness of the papacy, and the guilt of its supporters and promoters. We wish explicitly and *ex animo* to state this, partly from our regard to religious truth, and partly because of the strong prejudices of the prophetic party just now referred to. We know well that to say a word in favour of Rome, at any period of its history, is to subject ourselves to the charge of being either infidels or Romanisers, but we indignantly deny both counts of the indictment. We will yield to no class of our fellow Christians in our zeal for scriptural truth on the one hand, nor in our entire repugnancy to the theory and practice of the Romish Church on the other.

But surely it does not follow that a hatred of Rome necessarily entails with it a scheme of Biblical interpretation, or is indissolubly identified with some stereotyped form of criticism. Because we cannot think that the grand object for which Italian volcanoes

exist is that they may soon belch out their pent-up flames and destroy THE CITY, does it follow that we approve of its blasphemies, or symbolise with its untruthful and unscriptural dogmas? Yet this is precisely the reasoning of a class of men who intrude themselves into matters not revealed to man, and presumptuously attach meanings of their own imaginations to the darkly mysterious pages of Holy Writ. In spite of the declarations of the Bible, which prohibit a prying into *the times and the seasons which the Father hath put in his own power*, these men 'rush in where angels fear to tread,' and pronounce, as with the clearness of actual vision, what is to take place in the latter days, not in the general terms employed by ancient seers, but with a particularity of application to existing systems. Hence there is no part of printed theology more utterly unsound than that plentiful portion of it based upon the Apocalypse; no speculations of a religious kind more calculated to excite a blush on the face of a believer, and make the infidel sarcastic, than those of the prophetic school. We need only refer to the abundant interpretations of the number of the beast, to their incongruousness, their utter discrepancy, and their entire failure, in proof of our assertion. The comments on that passage in the Revelation are indeed an instructive, though melancholy, portion of pretended scriptural exegesis, and will probably be viewed in future ages as yielding in crude reasoning and wild fanaticism to nothing in the whole history of the human mind.

There is something monstrously uncritical in the idea of a physical destruction of the papacy; but there is also an anility about it, a childish want of thought and largeness of view. Let us suppose for a moment that hidden fires should overthrow in a night the whole Roman states: would that at all prostrate Popery, or lessen its influence as a religious system upon the nations of the earth? If we could make all papists read events with the eyes and minds of these prophetic expounders, then indeed we might hope for an end to be put at last to a system of iniquity. But nothing is easier than to interpret providential dispensations according to our own subjective notions, and we can imagine we hear the zealous papist, on the sight of the supposed calamity, thanking God that he had by such means crippled the political power of the Holy Catholic Church, only to make its spiritual domination more real and more extended. 'Too long,' might the English Romanist say, 'has the Church been shorn of its glory by the decrepit sway of a political pontiff; too long have we been taunted all over the world with the dependence of the Pope on heretical governments, and his inability to take the place of a mighty monarch among the kings of the earth. God, in his

great care of us, and our Lord, in the fulfilment of his promises, have interfered and rolled away this reproach, never to return. The last remnants of pagan Rome are now swept away, but the Church of St. Peter still lives, destined to renew its youth by being brought nearer to its pristine poverty, and to exert a mental rule by the destruction of that which was of the earth, earthy.' Let any one seriously ask himself in what way the professors of the Romish faith, all over the world, would be affected by Rome being delivered to the burning; let him answer the question in the light of a knowledge of human nature and of past history, and we are much mistaken if he does not see that, without a miracle, such an event would, to say the least, be quite as likely to advance as to retard the spread of popery.

The whole history of the Church for eighteen centuries is a practical reproof of this morbid attempt to give a date and a definite subject to unfulfilled predictions. Speculations of this character commenced in apostolic times,^k and yet the failures of centuries seem to teach no lessons of wisdom to this age, which with greater eagerness than perhaps any former one pries into the mysteries of the dim and dusky future. With death at the door of each of us, ready at any moment, unknown to us, to dismiss us to our everlasting destiny, it does seem strange that so much thought and energy should be given to matters in which we can have little personal concern, or which, even if they were to be realised in our day, would interest us far less than our own certain prostration before 'the king of terrors.' Then surely there are sins and follies enough in the very purest bodies of Christians to employ all spare energies in the work of reformation, without this concentration of blame, and we fear, in many cases, malignant censure of the Church of Rome. If Christ has borne with her sins so long, without stirring up his wrath or exchanging his peaceful character of the atoning lamb for that of the lion of the tribe

* 'Now we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our gathering together unto him, that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand.'—2 Thess. ii. 1, 2.

'Nobody, not even the Apostles, so far as their writings allow us to judge of their progress, was able to elevate himself to the height of Christ's great prophetic mind and words, so as to believe that the kingdom of God, announced by Christ as near at hand, could appear upon this wretched and sinful earth without the previous physical destruction of our globe. The world as it existed was believed to be about to perish by fire, as a former one had perished by water, in consequence of a similar state of general depravity. It seemed indeed to grow daily more wicked, and daily running more headlong into perdition. Christ was soon to come back to judge the living and the dead, and to raise up a new state of things out of its smouldering ruins—out of the dry bones which the grave and death should surrender.'—*Bunsen's Beginnings and Prospects of Christianity*, vol. i. p. 87.

of Judah, surely erring mortals like ourselves should be occupied more in prayers than in invectives, more in efforts to turn the erring from his ways than to long for the coming of a day of ruin to him and his. Alas! how much more easy is it to censure than to be charitable; to wish the heterodox and apostate out of the way, than to seek to save their souls from death, and thus to hide a multitude of sins. How difficult to say, Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly, in the mild and loving spirit of Him whose advent we wish for.

We believe that the study of Church history, in the spirit in which Dean Milman has conducted his investigations, is the only effectual remedy for the Millennarianism and its cognate vagaries now spreading so far among us. This is not the place for the full exposition of the views we are disposed to entertain of unfulfilled prophecies and their bearing on the Church of Rome; we will merely observe that we deprecate dogmatism on such subjects altogether, and consider them as far removed from the proper sphere of our mental operations. But apart from any unwarranted use of prophecy, it is quite lawful and consistent with sound principles of interpretation to extend our views to the future, and endeavour to imagine what may be the bearings of present ecclesiastical systems upon the ages to come. Acting in this way, one man may conjecture that God will probably appear in a miraculous manner, and alter the character and complexion of Romanism; and, so long as he does not take the *ex cathedrâ* position of Scripture authority, we can listen with interest to his opinions. On the same principles of rational conjecture we hope to state our own views without being called by names which sound ill in theological ears, or stigmatised as superficial because we do not attempt to fathom an abyss into which angels would not descend. On the general doctrines of Holy Scripture we may safely predict the ruin of *all* antichristian systems, and of the Roman one among the rest. All are foredoomed of God, and shall certainly be *consumed by the spirit of His mouth, and destroyed with the brightness of His coming*. But whether this destruction is to be of the system alone, or of the system and persons together, is not revealed to us. Such a prophecy would receive its accomplishment quite as really and effectually by a gradual renunciation of error and a return to truth on the part of beguiled disciples of sects and systems, as by any physical manifestations. And all we know of God's government from his Word in the New Testament, and from the past history of the Church, leads us to believe that Roman error, as well as every other, will be gradually conquered, if subdued at all, in this way.

What a noble task is presented to those who think that God

has, by his grace, enabled them to walk in a more excellent way, in seeking the return to the paths of truth of the most venerable Church on earth, through which have descended to us many inestimable blessings! Christ wept over Jerusalem, and St. Paul declared *that he had great heaviness and continual sorrow in his heart* respecting the state of his wandering and unbelieving brethren. But what a spectacle is presented in these our days, when one part of the Church anathematizes the other; and, in return, that other applies to its antagonist the direst predictions of wrath and ruin which the pages of the Bible unfold! There is sympathy in abundance for the heathen, for Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics, but none for Rome, upon whom, in the estimation of thousands, a spiritual leprosy is resting which forbids benevolent approach, and is only to be done away by a fearful and entire destruction. We ask, is this Christian, is this even kind? We inquire what is the cause that the reformation of the Papacy is despaired of, or treated as a thing not to be seriously contemplated? The reply will be found in the fact, that men have applied unto this erring branch of the Church certain striking predictions, and have then acted on the presumption that the case is decided for them by the Almighty. Babylon, that is, they say, the Church of Rome, is foredoomed of God, how then can mortals dare to seek her healing! May we not affirm that it is this tampering with prophecy which has removed Rome out of the pale of Christian pity, and turned gentle affections into a stern acquiescence in imagined divine judgments? Let a calm and reasonable exegesis once throw doubt over this reference of certain texts to the specific object of the Church of Rome, and the most blessed effects would probably follow. Prayers could then be put up, not that God would hasten the downfall of Babylon, in a physical sense, but that he would turn the disobedient to the wisdom of the just; and in the place of a fierce, and we must say, a malignant opposition, there would be gentle efforts made to win and save our brethren.

It is too much taken for granted that Rome is unchangeable. *Theoretically* indeed it is, in the same sense in which the Church of England and the Protestant sects are so. Can any persons resist the intimation of an alteration in their articles or formularies more earnestly than the clergy of the Church of England; or predicate of themselves constitutional perfection more zealously than Wesleyans, Independents, or Baptists? But there is a law of nations and communities more powerful than any conventionalities, even the law of God, by which he gradually moulds and fashions society, so that it must ultimately take the form he wishes it to bear. We might say of the grand features of nature that

they are permanent and unalterable, unless some preternatural convulsions should throw them into confusion and alter their configuration. Yet a silent change is every moment going on. No shower descends without wearing the rocks, and displacing the soil of the earth; no river flows along without its motion doing its part in preparing land for new continents, or at least levelling high places and filling up depressions. So is it in social and political life, and so is it with the religious communities into which Christendom is divided. *Semper eadem*, always the same, may be the motto of a Church, but the magic words can have no power to stop the influences of external things, and sooner or later they will alter the outward forms which men think to be perpetual. The past history of Latin Christianity is one of change, and its future career will doubtless be still more so. The stereotyped form which Rome has taken, has indeed resisted many influences which have given a new character to other societies, but left it in the main unaltered; but that it can continue to be untouched by moulding and disintegrating causes is contrary to all we know of natural laws. A careful comparison of the Papacy just before Luther, with its character at the present moment, will at once show how vain is the attribute of unchangeableness which it arrogates to itself.

If we take the Roman Church as it exists in England, it is manifest that it is a thing very different from that which bears the name in Italy. There is, indeed, an ostensible and outward sameness; but how contrasted are the modes of thought and feeling on religious subjects and their political relations, of English Catholics, and those residing within the rule of the Eternal city! Let this teach us a lesson, and induce us to apply more and more a kind and conciliating policy, in the hope of finally turning our brethren from the error of their ways. On the subject of reading the Holy Scriptures in the vernacular language much advance has been made in the right direction, as an acquaintance with the Roman Catholic book trade will at once prove to an inquirer. In the Catholic Almanac of this year there are advertised several editions of the Bible; some expensive, but others at a low price, for the use of the poor. We have one of the latter now before us,^m which we purchased in a country town, where copies were generally exposed for sale. It is a handsome little volume, well printed and bound in roan, the price of which

^m The Holy Bible, translated from the Latin Vulgate; diligently compared with the Hebrew, Greek, and other Editions, in divers Languages. With Annotations, References, and an Historical and Chronological Index. Published with the approbation of the Right Rev. Dr. Denvir, R. C. Bishop Down and Connor. London: C. Dolman. 1853.

is half-a-crown. It is the Douay and Rhemish version, with a few notes, some of which, as might be expected, are objectionable to a Protestant; but the bulk of them are of an innocent and instructive character. By way of introduction there is a letter of Pope Pius VI. 'to the Most Rev. Anthony Martini, Archbishop of Florence, on his translation of the Bible into Italian, showing the benefit which the faithful may reap from their having the Holy Scriptures in the Vulgar tongue.' This letter states: 'At a time when a vast number of bad books, which grossly attack the Catholic religion, are circulated even among the unlearned, to the great destruction of souls, you judge exceedingly well that the faithful should be excited to the reading of the Holy Scriptures; for these are the most abundant sources, which ought to be left open to every one, to draw from them purity of morals and of doctrine. This you have seasonably effected, as you declare by publishing the Sacred Scriptures in the language of your country, suitable to every one's capacity.' In the recommendatory note of Dr. Denvir, he says: 'I hereby sanction its circulation among the faithful, feeling convinced, that if read with becoming reverence, humility, and pious dispositions, its perusal will be attended with great spiritual advantage.'

This version of the Scriptures is in substance the same as those circulated by our Bible Societies on the continent; it is a translation of the Vulgate, the Bible which for a thousand years was the source of religious knowledge to the greater part of Christendom. A fastidious piety, neglecting available means for unattainable ones of greater perfection, may disparage such an edition of the Scriptures as this, but more prudent and thoughtful persons will rejoice that the bread of life can be furnished to our Roman Catholic fellow-countryman, although with a small admixture of worldly chaff with the wheat. But our only object in referring to this Bible is to illustrate our position, that Rome cannot remain unchangeable. Here are the Scriptures printed, advertised, and sold, for the use of the members of the Papacy, and it is to be wished that Protestant benevolence would seize this opportunity of assisting to circulate copies of the Word of Life having on them that best introduction to a Roman Catholic, the *imprimatur* of the Holy See. We fear, yea we know, that the priests are not anxious that the people should avail themselves of these cheap copies of the Scriptures; but they exist, and have high sanction, and a little enlightened zeal could employ against popery its own weapons.

ON THE HISTORICAL ORIGIN OF THE PASSOVER.

THE prefigurative intent of typical religious rites is too well known, and granted by every member of the Christian community, to be dwelt upon here. There is a theological view running parallel with an historical view of such questions; and for the present I am dealing exclusively with the latter.

Every Biblical student knows that some of the formulæ and ordinances of the paschal sacrifice and feast of unleavened bread had a past and *commemorative* as well as a *future* and *prefigurative* intent; but as regards some others, there are several very important ordinances in which the reference to a past event, the especial commemorative intent, has never yet come to light.

Now it throws the commemorative design of such a religious national festival out of keeping with itself, to suppose that *some* of its formulæ represented in the most significant and intelligible manner, leading circumstances in the events which gave rise to the institution itself, while others were mere arbitrary ordinances representing nothing at all to those who assisted at the ceremony. We know, for example, what past circumstance was represented in the ordinance that the Hebrews should eat the paschal lamb in haste, with bitter herbs, and with their loins girded and their sandals on, and staff in hand. But what past event was represented by the order that there should be any victim slain to be thus eaten? or why should it be a lamb or kid possessing certain specified qualifications rather than any other clean animal? Again, why must this victim be taken on the 10th day of the month, and kept, to be slain only on the eve of the 15th? and when slain, why was it not offered with the usual forms of an eucharistic sacrifice, but in a manner wholly unprecedented and singular? And again, we know the circumstance in the past event, commemorated in the formula of eating unleavened bread, but why was this ceremony to last just seven days rather than six or five?

Finally, what logical account can be given of the ordinance for the redemption of the first-born, considered also as representing, and thus historically commemorating, another series of facts connected with the leading event of the deliverance? The first-born of man and cattle were smitten by the hand of God, throughout the land of Egypt, apparently in the stead of the first-born of Israel; thus far we see the fact, but still ask in vain, What had the first-born of Israel done that this substitution should be accepted as an act of mercy to themselves, and of retribution on

their oppressors, and commemorated accordingly? Such are the historical points with which our present inquiry professes to deal. By the details it brings to light, we shall be enabled to trace, in every special ordinance, the original reason of its appointment; we shall understand how every Hebrew of old was able to say with truth of every formality he religiously fulfilled, 'THIS is done because of what THE LORD did unto me when I came forth out of Egypt.'

I.—*Egyptian Dates of the First Passover.*

There are few persons who, being well acquainted with the peculiarities of the ancient Egyptian division of time, will not have been more or less struck with the resemblance to this which is occasionally found in the books of Moses. Indeed, a familiar acquaintance with the Egyptian method is so frequently betrayed by the Hebrew legislator, as to furnish grounds for a suspicion that, in giving the dates of the Exodus, he might actually be using the Egyptian manner of computation.

In the first place, the very name of the month in which the event occurred is suggestive; for Abib is the same name as the Coptic Ebib, written by the Greeks Ἐπιφι, the eleventh Egyptian month. The Hebrews originally had no names for their months; but designated them by their numeral order. Had it been otherwise, no writer had such frequent opportunities of giving their names as Moses, whose numerous legislative ritual ordinances would oblige him to specify as distinctly as possible the periods of their observance, and in whose records of primeval history so many chronological references occur. It is therefore very singular that the only month to which he does attach a name—a month, too, connected with events which occurred in Egypt—should be found bearing a name so decidedly Egyptian as Abib.

Some etymologists, however—on the supposition that it must be a Hebrew proper name—have strained etymology to interpret the word with reference to a Hebrew root, as signifying 'green ears of corn,' and thus denoting the spring-season. But any good Hebraist, with a concordance at hand, can easily satisfy himself by a reference to the original Hebrew text itself, that Abib אֲבִיב neither means *green ears of corn*, nor anything else *green*. It is an augmented form of the root אָב, conveying a general idea of derivation, origin, or production: whence אָב, 'a father;' and a rarer form אִב, expressing, according to the same radical sense applied to a plant, a *productive* or *flourishing* state; hence, *fruits*.*

* I cannot so unequivocally condemn a misinterpretation of this word, sanctioned even by our best lexicons, without adducing all available proofs of the true sense

The barley (Exod. ix. 31) smitten by the seventh plague of hail, was destroyed, because it was אָבִיב, 'in the ear'; that is, the grain or productive principle of the plant was developed; the meaning of the word rather indicating an approach to maturity than greenness.^b Hence Abib (אָבִיב) as a proper name, even if from a Hebrew root, cannot express a month in which corn is green, but any month in which corn or any fruit is produced; so that etymology fails in establishing this word as a Hebrew name characteristic of spring.

In the next place, the manner in which Moses mentions this month is worth remarking. Whenever he prescribes the formalities which, in future times, are to mark all feasts and offerings, and indicates the season for observing them, he merely names the months by their numeral order. Even respecting the first command to keep the passover (Ex. xii. 18), this command is not to keep it *in the month Abib*, but 'in the first month.' Also in Lev. xxiii. 5, 6; and Num. xxviii. 16, 17. Again, the second passover was kept 'in the first month.' (Num. ix. 1.) He never names

borne by the root אָב, upon which I found an argument. I therefore subjoin a list of Latin and Greek root words, formed from the same archetype as the Hebrew root, and all similarly implying an active or a passive form of origination or production. I separate the true root from the formative additions, for greater clearness:—

| Latin. | | Greek. | |
|----------------|-------------|----------------|---------------|
| Av-us, pa-t-er | { pu-s-us | αυ-πα, πα-τ-ηρ | { πα-ις |
| fe-o | { pu-er | φυ-ω | { υι-ος (Ff). |
| fi-o, op-us | { fi-li-us. | ποιε-ω | |
| ab, abs. | | απο. | |

And the ancient Egyptian *ab* has the sense of אָב, fruit or produce, generally; but more particularly, an ear of corn.

^b The same word occurs again, Lev. ii. 14; but there it is wrongly translated in the common version, as the context, and a reference to the parallel ordinance in Lev. xxiii. 14, will show. It should be, 'Thou shalt offer the meat-offerings of thy first fruits' אָבִיב קָלִי בָאֵשׁ וְרֵשׁ פְּרִמָּה, the abib, grain, or fruit, i. e. *productive part*), 'parched with fire, beaten out of the full ear;' and not as the common version has it, 'green ears of corn, beaten out of the full ear:' for it stands to reason that what is beaten out of the *full* ear is not the *green* ear, but only the grain or eatable part of it. It may be this very error which misled the etymologists. But if they had compared the passage with its parallel, Lev. xxiii. 14, in which פְּרִמָּה, here rendered *full* ear, is there rendered *green* ears, they would never have rendered אָבִיב by *green ears* also; because if פְּרִמָּה, in Lev. xxiii. 14, be *green ears*, the same word must be *green ears* likewise in Lev. ii. 14, which would make our passage read 'green ears beaten out of green ears,' a self-condemning absurdity. These are the only two instances of this word, except where it is the proper name of a month.

The other form, אָב, occurs in Cant. vi. 11, rendered '*fruits*;' and in Job vii. 12, where, however, the common translation by greenness is again wrong, the sense being the radical idea as above: 'Can the flag grow without water? While it is still flourishing, and not cut down, it withereth before any green herb.' The idea of greenness has been gratuitously superadded to that implied by the root, a flourishing or fruit-bearing condition.

Abib as the month in which the passover is to be kept, but only as a period to be remembered by means of that feast, *e. g.* : Exod. xiii. 4—‘This day came ye out, in the month Abib ;’ Exod. xxiii. 15 ; and xxxiv. 18—‘Thou shalt eat unleavened bread seven days, as I commanded thee in the appointed time of the month Abib ; for in it thou camest out of Egypt.’ Again, in Deut. xvi. 1—‘Observe the month Abib ; and keep the passover unto the Lord thy God, for in the month Abib the Lord brought thee out of Egypt by night : . . . thou shalt eat no leavened bread with it : seven days shalt thou eat bread of affliction, because thou camest forth from Egypt in haste, that thou mayest remember the day when thou camest forth out of the land of Egypt all the days of thy life.’ In all these passages the month Abib is the thing to be remembered as the nominal period of a past event ; it is not the period designated for commemorating that event in future.

The Mosaic narrative of the deluge implies the writer’s familiar acquaintance with the conventional month of thirty days. Indeed this has been quoted often as proof that such a division of time was then in use. But the reference does not necessitate this conclusion : besides, the lunar method speaks to the eye, showing it to be the primitive method ; the other is an artificial arrangement made to facilitate calculation, which argues a more recent origin. Men simply observed before they began to calculate. It is admitted that the Egyptians themselves had originally used the lunar method, but they had already abandoned it at the earliest periods reached by their monuments.

The Hebrews had become familiar in Egypt with the traditional idea, peculiar to that climate only, that autumn was the period of the world’s creation and renewal. The renewal of agricultural operations after the autumn equinox when the inundation begins to subside, marks, in Egypt, that revival of nature which in all other countries is marked by the return of spring. The mythological offices of the patron deities of the twelve Egyptian months show that such had been the initial position of their calendar, although, in consequence of the Egyptians having no leap-year, that calendar did not keep its place among the seasons. The Hebrews in Egypt took up this popular idea. They retained it so firmly rooted among them from two centuries of usage, that it became the basis of their civil or chronological account ; although, in order not to disturb the arrangement of their ancestral festivals, or the rules appointed for their observance, it became necessary to have in use two kinds of year ; one for common reference in dating, beginning in autumn ; and the other exclusively for reference in regulating religious festivals, starting from the primeval starting-point of their forefathers—the spring. A familiar acquaintance with the

Egyptian adopted idea of an agricultural year, is betrayed in Exod. xxiii. 16—‘The feasts of in-gathering (בְּצֹאת הַשָּׂנָה) at the going out of the year;’ *i. e.*, the end of summer; and also in Exod. xxxiv. 22—תְּקִיפת הַשָּׁנָה, ‘the revolution of the year,’ supposed complete at the same period.

Prior to their sojourn in Egypt, the Hebrews used to divide their year according to the natural phenomena of their own climate, like the Chaldeans, Romans, and other ancient nations: the renovation of nature at the return of spring was, to them, the natural beginning of the year. Some of our ablest Biblical critics have seen, in the sacrifice of Cain and Abel, an indication that at the earliest period the memory of man can ascend to, the opening of the year had been marked by a religious service of thanksgiving. It has been justly remarked that the expression סֶכֶךְ יָמִים signifies ‘at the end of the year;’ the return of a fixed and definite period, and not, as it is vaguely rendered in our common translation, ‘in process of time.’ And the substance of the sacrifice itself sufficiently indicates the season in which it took place; the offerings being ‘the firstlings of the flock, and their fat, and the fruits of the ground;’ by which we see that both as to the offerings and the season of presenting them, the ordinance relative to the offering of first-fruits to the Lord, appears to have been nothing more than the revival of a far more ancient ancestral solemnity.

Now when we examine the two chapters containing directions for the future observance of the Passover, we find there no directions concerning the offering of first-fruits at the same time. In succeeding portions of the written code, we do find the observance of such a feast enjoined; and the order is associated with another to continue to observe the Passover; and the period of both observances is fixed at the same day. There is evidently some kind of connection between the celebration of these feasts, so intimately associated as to time. If such a feast as the offering of first-fruits had not been a previously established institution, coinciding in period with the subsequent celebration of the Passover, would not the first order to institute such a feast have been given at the same time as that for the Passover itself, and all the other ordinances connected with it?

But indeed we can have very little doubt that the season for celebrating some particular solemn feast was near at hand, at the time which introduces the events of the Exode; which the mass of the people were under a religious obligation to celebrate by sacrificing to the Lord. It might have been legitimately inferred, from the authoritative manner in which Moses repeatedly insists on this obligation, that although he availed himself of it to

demand for the people the liberty to exercise their religious duties unmolested, by withdrawing from the Egyptian territory, he was not adducing it as a mere pretext to obtain an opportunity of getting out of the country. The liberty to fulfil all their religious duties without fear of interruption from an ignorant and superstitious Egyptian populace, was the end of his demand. The people were at last withdrawn from the land 'with a high hand and mighty judgments,' because that had been refused.

As the Hebrews at first vaguely fixed their ancient religious year by the return of spring,—but measured their time strictly by the changes of the moon,—their great ancestral festival of 'the end of the days,' or opening of the new year, would be more precisely fixed by *the lunation nearest to or next following the spring equinox*, than by the equinox itself. The first day of the year would be—the day of the first new moon after the equinox. Since the time of Moses the Hebrews have never changed the ordinance concerning the epoch at which the Passover and associated feasts are kept; they have always been kept from the eve of the 15th day of the month. Therefore, they will always fall about the day of the *full moon*, being regulated by a lunar calendar. *Was this the case with the first Passover?* This, then, is the principal point to be determined, if we mean to render this inquiry productive of definite practical results—Whether the first Passover, which was celebrated on the eve of the 15th day of the month, fell at the time of the *full moon*? For it is evident that the conclusion whether Moses dates that event by an Egyptian or by a Hebrew method of computation, must entirely depend on the answer to this question; since the Hebrew method followed the phases of the moon, and the Egyptian method did not.

That answer can now be given with the certainty of an astronomical demonstration, based on the fact that the tides, in a given place, regularly follow a given time after the moon's passage over the meridian of the place.

The physical geography of the Egyptian frontier at the time of the Exodus is now ascertained; consequently we may safely say we know the site of the passage. The route of the Hebrews thither has been successfully traced, and each of its stations, as enumerated by Moses, identified with places well known to ancient geography; consequently, by the length of the route we know the time taken up to perform it. Starting from {Rameses
Heliopolis} on the 15th by the

* I beg to refer the reader to the *Athenæum* of June 28 and July 5, 1851, for the final details of the investigation I have carried on during several years, in order to determine the amount of change the scene of the Exodus has undergone from the effect of recent geological changes.

For the present convenience of those who have not the means of this reference at hand, I will briefly sum up the results. In the time of Moses there were two

route of the itinerary of {Moses
Antoninus} through {Succoth, Etham,
Hiroth, Baalzephon, } eighty-three Roman miles, the Hebrew host
Hero, the Serapeum, } would reach the plain facing Baalzephon in the afternoon of the
19th day. On the morning of the 20th they start off, the Egyptian
army having begun to pursue them ;—there is nearly a day's journey
more, round the south-western side of the ancient inner gulf, to
the narrow pass in the arm of the sea where they crossed over.
After a halt of a few hours, they must have made the passage
early in the morning of the 21st day of the month. This calcu-
lation supposes a march of from 12 to 14 geographical miles a-day.
The march, from the encampment near Etham to the neighbour-
hood of Hiroth or Heroopolis, would take up two days ; the distance
from Scenæ to Hero being 50 Roman = 40 geographical miles.

Accordingly, if the month Abib Moses speaks of be a Hebrew
and a lunar month, the passage of the Red Sea must have taken
place when the moon's age was 21 days. But if this month be an
Egyptian conventional division of time, wholly independent of the
moon's age, the fact will be revealed by the tidal phenomena of
the locality at the time of night when the passage was effected,
which is very clearly indicated by Moses in his narrative of the
event ; for the *hour* of the final catastrophe is fixed within such
narrow limits, that we can ascertain the moon's age at the time of
its occurrence, without an error of a day.

Some persons, however, may be offended at its being thus taken
for granted that natural phenomena, invariable at other times and
on other occasions, can possibly be turned to account as grounds
of argument on this particular occasion, when they have been
accustomed to admit, or to assume, a standard of operations alto-
gether supernatural.

inner gulfs beyond the present head of the Red Sea. One, now called the 'Temsah
Lakes,' was separated from the great middle gulf by a shallow ford, opposite the
Serapeum, which was dry at low tide. A small arm of the Nile emptied into this
gulf near Heroopolis ; and the march of the Hebrews lay all along its southern bank.
The other basin, now dried up, was separated from the present little upper gulf of
Suez by a strait having for a bottom a long shoal, of which the highest part, where
the strait was very narrow, lay about ten feet below high water mark. This is the
site of the passage, close to the southern edge of the great basin, and eleven miles
north of Suez. The particulars of Mr. Sharpe's identification of the stations in the
old Roman itinerary with those of the Hebrew marches have been given in Mr.
Bartlett's 'Forty Days in the Desert.' But what relates to the ancient physical
geography of the localities is there incomplete : my research into that division of
the subject was not then finished.

It appears that by following the road along the bank of the river to Heroopolis,
the Hebrews intended to go out into the Sinaitic desert by the Serapeum ford ; but
that they were intercepted there by a body of Egyptian troops, who wanted to
drive them back into the desert and shut them in by the sea : and but for the
Divine interposition which forms the subject of the present discussion, the plan
would have succeeded, as the sea was too deep to be forded.

I, therefore, feel it due to such persons, for the satisfaction of their scruples—as well as to myself, for the justification of my method—to explain my reasons for having adopted it, and for placing the fullest reliance on the results obtained from it.

The physical practicability of such an event as the passage of an immense multitude on foot across an arm of the sea, without the aid of some particular Divine interposition, may very well be doubted. The question is merely *in what manner* the Divine interposition was manifested. And when we discover how the operation and distribution of the elements must have been especially pre-arranged for the accomplishment of an event which was to save the visible church on earth from being absorbed in the corrupt idolatry of the oppressing power, we cannot doubt the fact of the Divine assistance having been on this occasion openly and sensibly displayed to the faithful people; especially when their historian expressly avers that it was so. But there is nothing in the narrative itself implying that the *means* employed on the occasion involved a suspension of the ordinary laws of nature, as some of the other miracles related by the same historian most unquestionably did. And even that learned divine, Dr. E. Robinson, who has written on this very subject, does not see any necessity for declining to take into his calculations the natural effect of the tides and the combination of this effect with that of a strong wind, to estimate the time required by the multitude to cross.

Moses merely says that the Lord caused the sea to go out all the night, by means of a strong wind. He tells us the means, and I take him at his word. Had that means been a supernatural operation, Moses would have given the glory to God, and told us so! He does not leave us to suppose that the departure of the waters was a supernatural event, nor does he say that the wind was a supernatural phenomenon inconsistent with the meteorological conditions of the place and season. Hence, unless the structure of the place itself were such, that, when examined, it is found that no natural wind could possibly produce such an effect there, as to drive out the water and lay bare the bottom of the summit of the strait, we are not obliged to be wise above what is written, by assuming that the wind was a supernatural phenomenon, of which the probable effects are wholly beyond the reach of our calculation.

But how stand the facts? As to the season of the event, it took place a little after the spring equinox, when gales of wind are certainly no supernatural phenomena. Next, as to the effect of such a wind: strong winds blowing continuously up or down an inland sea or closed gulf, are well known to raise or depress the average level of the water. Pallas found that a difference of

seven feet was produced in the level of the Caspian Sea at one end, from this cause. And in the Red Sea, the reach of the high and low water marks, in winter, sometimes exceeds the summer limits by three to two feet respectively, owing to the constant south winds of the winter season, which change (only for a few months) as constantly to the north, in summer. Then finally, as to the joint effect of these two causes on the particular locality where the passage took place. Not only are the tidal variations at the head of the gulf very small at Suez, hardly exceeding seven feet at the spring-tides, and only half that quantity in summer; but we must further consider that the rising tidal wave, in breaking over a shoal twelve miles long, would lose, perhaps, half its height; and the tidal variations of the inner basin must therefore have been smaller, so that a greater relative difference would be caused by the wind than in parts where the power of the tidal flow remained unchecked. So that in the neck of the strait, where the passage must have taken place, the sea might have been a little too deep at low tide to be safely passable on foot, either from the natural effect of the *wind alone*, or from that of the *tide alone*. But the depth and formation of the bottom equally show that the phenomenon of laying it wholly or partly dry, at this particular place, could very well have been produced under the joint action of the wind and the tide; and that the purpose of the Almighty, to make the sea 'a highway for his ransomed to pass over,' might therefore have been effected here without suspending the ordinary course of nature.

In this instance, the visible interposition of an overruling Power consisted in the pre-ordained co-operation of the laws of nature towards a great providential end, under a very unusual concurrence of phenomena, namely: that the concurrence should take place at the precise *place* it did, to enable the Hebrews to cross; at the precise *time* it did, just as they had reached it; and the care of the Almighty in protecting his faithful people was further sensibly manifested to them, by their leader's being instructed beforehand, both as to the *time* and the *place*, and fully prepared for an event, which neither they nor their pursuers had any natural reason whatever to anticipate.

I feel bound to remove every stumbling-block out of the way by which I propose ascertaining the astronomical details, which are the means of deciding whether the dates of Moses are Egyptian or Hebrew; and therefore must anticipate an objection which has frequently been proposed to me in conversation, as a difficulty against my view of the event, viz., the statement of Moses, that 'the waters were a wall to the people, on their right hand and on their left.'

Such an objection assumes that the waters formed themselves into a *perpendicular surface* on each side. The inference is perfectly gratuitous. A perpendicular surface may be most people's idea of a wall; but it was not more that of Moses than that of Nabal's servant, in 1 Sam. xxv. 16, when, mentioning to Abigail the services that David's men had voluntarily rendered to their people, he says, 'they were a wall to us both by night and by day.' The wall here, as in the Mosaic narrative, is a mere metaphor, implying a defence or protection against the approach of their enemies; and which the waters on either side would be, although the surface were as usual, horizontal. Besides, if the waters had really been temporarily endued with a supernatural force to support themselves upright, in a manner contrary to the laws of equilibrium imposed on fluids, the relaxation of such a force could not with propriety be called the *sea's returning to its strength*, but to its *weakness*; since more force must have been exerted in repressing their property of flowing, than in allowing them to do so. Moreover, a little consideration of the matter will soon convince any one who tries to realize the scene for a moment, by supposing himself one of the actors in it; that so astounding a prodigy as a mass of waters standing upright—whether wrought by a supernatural power in favour of the Hebrews, or, for aught the Egyptians could know, by the magical arts of the Hebrew leader himself—must have defeated the very purpose for which the miracle was wrought; the end being as much the destruction of the pursuers as the salvation of the pursued. For, whether the Egyptian host were moved to the pursuit by force, by persuasion, or by a desire to avenge themselves for the portentous evils those Hebrews had wrought in their land, still, it is contrary to all moral probability that they would have ventured a step beyond the shore, with the recollection of what this dread people had already brought upon them fresh in their memories, and such a spectacle before their eyes as a flood of waters suspended upright on both sides, like the embankments of a railway cutting, and ready to come down and engulf them at the bidding of the people who appeared to wield so fearful a power over the elements.

Unless the special Divine agency in the deliverance of Israel, while openly manifested to them, had been veiled from the Egyptians under appearances presenting nothing particularly out of the usual course of nature, their overthrow and destruction could never have taken place in the manner Moses describes. They would have turned and gone back again to Egypt.

I trust these considerations will prove of sufficient force to sustain the principle of inquiry I have proposed to myself; and that we

may dismiss all scruples as to availing ourselves, in this instance, of the data obtainable from the well-known effects of regular and invariable natural phenomena.

We found, that if the month Abib of Moses were a Hebrew and lunar month, the account of the passage of the Red Sea on the 21st, ought to agree with the state of the tides on the 21st day of the moon, at the hours indicated by Moses. The local phenomena of the tides at certain hours, on certain days of the moon, are a simple *matter of fact*, ascertainable by observation; and the datum they yield will hold good for antiquity, notwithstanding the altered physical face of the country beyond Suez; for the change wrought since the time of Moses by the cutting off of the inlet leading to the upper gulf, would not cause a sensible difference as to the hour of the tide on a given day of the moon, between the phenomena at present observable at Suez, and the ancient phenomena in a part of the inlet only twelve miles higher up.

The indications of the hour at which the final catastrophe took place, although given indirectly, are too clear to allow of an error exceeding half an hour. Moses says, 'The Lord caused the sea to go back all that night by a strong' (fronting or contrary) 'wind.'^d Therefore the passage can only have occupied the early part of the morning, just before daybreak.

He further says that it was during the morning watch, that is, between three and six in the morning, that the Lord 'threw into confusion (חָבַל) the camp of Mizraim; it had removed the wheels of its chariots, and was dragging them along with difficulty: then said Mizraim, Let us flee from the face of Israel, for the Lord fighteth for them against Mizraim.' I have endeavoured to preserve the vivid truth of this description, by giving a very literal version of the passage, as there is a slight misunderstanding in the common translation of it, which rather obscures the sense, by making 'the Lord' the subject of the verb חָבַל, *removed*, instead of the collective singular, the Egyptian host, or camp.

It seems that before the end of the morning watch, the Egyptians not only had already advanced some way over the temporarily dried-up shoal which the Hebrews had just crossed on foot, but that when they neared the middle of the pass, where, from the water being deeper, there had been less time for the surface to dry, they had found that the massive iron wheels of their chariots cut so deep into the soft wet sand, as to render proceeding with

^d For a full discussion of the idiomatic sense of this term, חָבַל קָרַיִם, see my paper entitled 'Meteorological Phenomena of the Exodus,' in the *Athenæum*, Jan. 24, 1852, p. 114.

them impossible. They had accordingly stopped to remove the wheels, that the horses might be able to draw the chariots like sledges over the slippery surface. We can scarcely allow less than an hour for all this to take place, between the time of their first venture beyond the shore, and their final overthrow before the end of the morning watch.

But the limit of the hour when the Egyptians were surprised in this state of confusion, by the returning waters, is further contracted by the final statement of Moses, that 'the sea returned to its strength *when the morning appeared.*'

For although in the latitude of Suez, the sun rises a little before six in the course of the month following the equinox, the twilight precedes this by an hour; so that the 'appearance of the morning' may be fixed at half-past five, for the sake of getting a mean term between twilight and sunrise.

It may have been half-past four when the first faint glimmering of daybreak, before twilight, gave the Egyptians just light enough to discover that the fugitives were already beyond their reach, and were making for the opposite shore of the strait. It was not yet light enough for them to distinguish whether the tide was still out in the middle of the pass; though they might be able to see that the shore, for some way before them, was dry. Hence they ventured on as far as they could get, before it was full daylight.

We cannot be far from the mark, in allowing the lapse of an hour between this discovery and the final overthrow, whose limit is between half-past five and sunrise. This gives time for the hasty and rash attempt of the Egyptians to follow across in pursuit; for the subsequent discovery of their inability to proceed over the wet soft ground with chariots; for the vexatious delay arising from the vain endeavour to obviate the difficulty by removing the wheels; and for the dismay and confusion in which they found themselves, when, baffled in their intentions, they were brought to a dead stand in the middle of the pass, just as they had advanced far enough to render a safe retreat to the shore impossible, as the first indications of the rising tide warned them one moment of their peril, and the next the overwhelming rapidity of the flood hurled them into the depths of the gulf below.

To avail ourselves of the materials thus furnished us by Moses, it is necessary only to ascertain on what day of the moon's age the tide at Suez begins sensibly to rise at or about five in the morning,—the hours of low and high water being given, and such other secondary particulars as will give the greatest attainable precision to the result, by enabling us to take all things into consideration in arriving at it; and especially, the effect of the wind.

Through the obliging assistance of several friends, I have been enabled to procure the requisite details as to the tidal phenomena at Suez; and the result of my inquiries on this subject turns out to be, that the phenomena which agree circumstantially with the details of the Mosaic account, take place when the moon's age is only *eleven days*. I transcribe the particulars of some observations taken on the spot, in accordance with my written instructions.

The moon passed the meridian of Suez at 9^h 20^m in the evening of March the 5th, when the first observation was taken, of which the particulars were transmitted to me. On the following morning it was low water, or rather, the tide began to rise at 4^h 35^m; moon's age, 11 days; high water at 10^h 15^m in the forenoon.

In order to apply these details correctly, we must bear in mind that after the strict time of low-water, which, in calculation, is the nominal beginning of its rising, the flow is imperceptible to observation for more than an hour, under ordinary circumstances, that is, when the tide is not affected by the wind. But after that lull, the tide begins to rise more or less rapidly. Under ordinary circumstances, it would all but reach its highest point, and oscillate about that point more than an hour before the computed time of high water, when the first imperceptible ebb commences. If we say that it is low water three hours, the tide rises three hours, and is high and stationary three hours, and ebbing three hours, we describe the observed phenomenon very fairly, though not with mathematical precision. How rapidly the tide does rise when once it begins, and how soon before the calculated medium point of high-water, and oscillates about that level until the time of ebbing returns, are circumstances depending mainly on the wind, and must be considered in addition to the standard phenomenon as observed when there is little or no wind. The following extract from the letter transmitted to me from Suez, with the other particulars, will guide us in estimating the allowance to be made on this account—'It is a well-known fact, that during strong northerly winds, the tide begins ebbing sooner, and during strong southerly winds, the flood makes sooner than when there is little or no wind. Also during strong southerly winds, the mean height both of high and low water, is greater than usual, and during strong northerly winds the mean height is less; in the latter case from the water being blown down the sea, in the former from its being blown up.'

Now if we proceed to apply these particulars to the case under discussion, we find that after a more than commonly violent gale blowing from a northern quarter, and one of many hours' con-

tinuance—since Moses says that the strong wind blew all that night—the mean height, both of high and low water, of the evening tide, must have been considerably less than usual. How much less, depends on the violence of this particular wind, as well as on its direction and duration before the gale arose—of which Moses did not think it necessary to say anything. But we know, by the structure of the spot compared with the natural level of the tides, that a depression of four feet in the level of the water would make it passable on foot; one of five feet would render the bottom wholly dry. The lowest point of the tide, on the moon's 11th day, is at about four in the morning; but near the shore it would have been sufficiently out at three, for the Hebrews to begin crossing, during the lull of the elements that generally precedes a sudden change of wind after a violent gale. So that nothing can be more opportune than the concurrence of events thus far.

By the time that the turn of the tide first becomes sensible to observation, which, when there is no contrary wind, is at half-past four, it is so slight, even for half an hour after, that the deepest part of the strait, its central channel, might not be washed by the waves again until the Hebrew multitude were very near the opposite shore. This brings us to five in the morning, when twilight begins.

But 'the sea returned to its strength when morning appeared.' The flowing current had hardly set in, when the Egyptians—having entered the bed of the sea a little before, where, from the upward slope towards the shore, it was still quite dry—now came upon the rapidly advancing central current, having probably made about a third of the way across. But after five o'clock, the mass of waters, which had been unusually depressed for so long, now begins to rush forward with a corresponding impetuosity, which would be all the greater if the lull had been followed by a change in the direction of the wind. Thus 'the flood makes sooner,' and surprises the Egyptians just as they were in the state of terror and confusion already described, unable either to advance or recede before the rush of this overwhelming cataract of waters.

Now if the dates of Moses had referred to a lunar reckoning, the above-mentioned tidal phenomena, acting in conjunction with a violent gale from the north, ought to be found occurring on the 21st day of the moon. But nothing can be more unfortunate than the whole series of coincidences with this day. For on the 21st day of the moon it is high water, and the ebb is just beginning, at about half-past five in the morning, when, according to Moses, the sea ought to be *returning to its strength*, the Hebrews ought to be just safely landed on the opposite shore, and the Egyptians ought to be nearly a mile out in the bed of the sea.

Moreover, as the water generally reaches its greatest elevation,

and remains all but stationary, before the ebb commences, it must have been high tide all the time occupied in the crossing, when Moses says the bed of the sea became dry. And although such a high tide, so close after a strong north wind, would be much lower than the average, there would be too much water for the passage to be fordable; since, under ordinary circumstances, it was not generally fordable even at low tide.

From the issue of this very decisive test, we may receive it as a certain fact, that Moses must have used some Egyptian calendar of his time, in recording the date of the first passover; and we obtain the following connection of this with the Hebrew method, which the Hebrews resumed immediately after their liberation, at the restoration of their primitive religious and national institutions:—In the year of the first passover, the 21st of Abib, or Epiphi, when the passage of the sea took place, being the 11th day of the moon; the 10th of Abib must have been the day of the *new moon*, which was the appointed time of the old Hebrew spring-festival; and the first passover, on the 14th of Abib, must have begun when the moon was four days old,—not at her full, as afterwards.

Such is the result from the tides. We will now compare this with the history, to read its meaning.*

F. CORBAUX.

THE SONGS OF DEGREES.

THE origin and even meaning of the titles of those peculiar Psalms which stand between Ps. cxx. and Ps. cxxxiv., have been involved in great obscurity, and as a natural consequence great diversity exists amongst the interpreters of them. Those who are looking for doctrines pass over them with a single sentence to the effect, that they are obscure—and that commentators are not agreed about them. Compilers and annotators collect a number of conflicting hypotheses by which the general reader is thoroughly bewildered. If again the inquirer begin to examine for himself, he must encounter those peculiar anomalies which are to be found in the region of Philology. Thus he will find one theorist passing by the current general meaning of the word in Hebrew and fastening upon a solitary instance, building a theory upon that, as 1 Chron. xvii. 17. Then again he will find that another theory very popular at one time, and indeed still maintained by many, depends also upon a single unusual meaning of the word concerned—Ezra vii. 9. And perhaps, most remarkable of all, he will find the most popular theory at present in circulation, bestowing a meaning upon that

* To be continued.

word which it is actually *never* once used to designate within the whole compass of the Hebrew scriptures! We refer to Hengstenberg's theory of *Pilgrimages* to Jerusalem at the annual festivals, which we shall examine pretty fully in the following pages. At the same time we shall also see that Hengstenberg has pointed out a symmetry of arrangement in regard to these songs which can be applied with decided advantage in all investigations regarding them. But we shall not detain the reader with any further introduction than to remind him of the old Jewish tradition, of which we shall make some use, although, on account of so much in it that is *useless*, commentators, in their recoil from it, have treated it with so much contempt as not to avail themselves of one or two elements which we are disposed to consider *useful*.

We cannot do better than commence our investigation of the subject by a rigid analysis of the Title itself; for it is evident that vagueness with regard to it, must impart corresponding insecurity to our subsequent conclusions. The words of this Title are *שִׁיר הַמַּעֲלֹת* and it is with the latter of these only that we are now to be concerned. *מַעֲלָה* occurs 47 times in the Hebrew scriptures; and omitting for the present the 15 which are now the subject of discussion, we have still 32 examples of the occurrence of the word, and these we think afford ample ground for enabling us to come to a clear and satisfactory conclusion regarding its meaning; in Exod. xx. 26; 1 Kings x. 19, 20; 2 Kings ix. 13; 2 Chron. ix. 18, 19; Nehem. iii. 15; xii. 37; Ezek. xl. 6, 22, 26, 31, 34, 37, 49; xliii. 17. The word means *always*, *steps* or *stairs*, and by one or other of these words it is rendered in our version. In 2 Kings xx. 9 (twice), 10 (thrice), 11 (twice); Isaiah xxxviii. 8 (five times) the word is used to mean the degrees on a dial. In a few passages the meaning is not so obvious, as in Amos ix. 6; Ezek. xi. 5. These passages, along with the solitary one in 1 Chron. xvii. 17, which does not stand in the way of our present inquiry, make up 31. There remains one more passage—a very important passage, for it is the main support of two theories which have received very extensive credit—we refer to Ezra vii. 9. Now, however, we think we are entitled to decide what is the obvious and general meaning of *מַעֲלָה*. In the first list which we have given amounting to 16 examples, we have the plain ordinary use of the word intimated by *steps* or *stairs*, such steps, namely, as lead up to a throne &c. In the second list, comprising 12 examples, we have the successive *degrees* on a dial designated by *מַעֲלָה*, steps. That *degrees* and *steps*, which are closely associated in thought, should be designated by the same word *מַעֲלָה* in a primitive language like Hebrew, is very natural, and accordingly we find it to be so.

Nevertheless taking *עָלָה* to go up as the root whence *מַעֲלָה* is derived, we see, that the meaning denoted by *step* is the primary, and the meaning denoted by *degree* the secondary.

But it is time for us to return to the passage in Ezra vii. 9. In this verse the ascent from Babylon to Jerusalem by the Jews of the 70 years captivity is called *הַמַּעֲלָה מִבָּבֶל*, 'the going up' of our version. This is the only case in which *מַעֲלָה* is so rendered. We have now, moreover, a meaning totally new. There is a great difference between *steps* up to a throne or a temple and *degrees* of a dial on the one hand, and on the other an *ascent*, a *journey*, an *anabasis* from Babylon to Jerusalem. What we have now, must be an unusual meaning—rendered obvious only by the connection in which it stands. Yet upon this solitary passage, both Hengstenberg and Ewald are in a great measure dependent for support to their several theories. For Hengstenberg calls the *שִׁירֵי הַמַּעֲלֹת* *songs for the pilgrims*, i. e. on their *journeys* from all parts of the country up to Jerusalem at the annual festivals. Now, without this passage in Ezra vii. 9, he would not have a single example in the whole of the scriptures in which *מַעֲלָה* was used to denote a journey or anything approaching thereto. The same reasoning applies to Ewald, inasmuch as, in supporting the theory which refers the *שִׁירֵי הַמַּעֲלֹת* to the ascents of the Jewish exiles from Babylon to Jerusalem, he requires to make *מַעֲלָה* signify a journey, contrary to its *ordinary* meaning; and beyond all doubt we must look for the ordinary and obvious meaning which is conveyed by the words *שִׁירֵי הַמַּעֲלֹת*. But in addition to what we have said, there is still another consideration to be urged, tending to show that the solitary passage in Ezra vii. 9, is not sufficient to support the theories of Hengstenberg and Ewald. We refer to the simple matter of fact that there are other words in the Hebrew language, whose ordinary obvious meanings are *pilgrimages*, *journeys*, and *ascents*. Moreover it so happens that there is one *מַעֲלָה* bearing a strong resemblance to the word *מַעֲלָה* with which we are concerned. It occurs 19 times, and is rendered by *going up*, *ascent*, *mount*, &c. In connection with these two similar words the suggestion at once occurs,—may not the one have been put for the other? The consonants are all the very same for each, and the vowel points are all alike with the exception of only one. Not only so, but that one vowel, a qumetz *ֶ*, is very easily formed in rapid writing instead of a seghol *ִ*. We have seen the seghol in small Hebrew Bibles, undistinguishable from the qumetz. Thus we think we have travelled over sufficient ground to show that *מַעֲלָה* is not to be taken as meaning a

journey or a pilgrimage, although it is not a little curious that Gesenius should have given to it a *primary* signification in accordance with Ezra vii. 9, and the more indefinite passage in Ezek. x. 5. For Gesenius was no friend to the Pilgrim theory, having started a theory of his own.

In regard to this important part of the investigation into the meaning of the Title, we would sum up what we have said as follows:—1. Wherever the meaning of מַעֲלָה is clear and unmistakable, it implies *steps, stairs, degrees*, and out of 32 passages only *one* can be urged with any plausibility as meaning an *ascent* or *journey* or *pilgrimage*. 2. In regard to this solitary passage a very slight change in the vocalization, such indeed as we have seen might very easily have crept in unintentionally, would reduce this passage also to the rank from which it alone stands distinct; and 3. whatever be made of Ezra vii. 9, seeing we have the general meaning of מַעֲלָה a *step*, and the general meaning of מַעֲלָה an *ascent*, and the line of separation between them broad and evident, we cannot interpret either of them when placed absolutely, by any of the merely secondary or remote meanings which in certain circumstances they may possess.

Thus in establishing what we consider the meaning of the words of the Title, we have come into direct collision with Hengstenberg; and seeing that he has elaborately defended his theory in his excellent work on the Psalms, as well as that his explanations are very widely accepted as perhaps the best that can be got—we think we may diverge here for a little from our own straight course in order to examine his Pilgrim theory still more minutely. What has been said already may be considered as *one* fatal position taken up against the Pilgrim theory, viz. that the word מַעֲלָה cannot be made to signify a pilgrimage.

2. Another fatal objection to the Pilgrim theory is that it does not fulfil the legitimate requirements of a satisfactory hypothesis. If a Pilgrim book is put into our hands, we expect it to refer very decidedly to pilgrimages. Moreover if it is a small book consisting of 15 odes, all arranged according to some systematic plan, we expect still more explicit proof that pilgrimages are the object of the book, inasmuch as in a large volume there is greater latitude for variety under the same general title.* The fact is, that of the 15 מַעֲלָהּ perhaps only three can be pointed to as countenancing the Pilgrim theory, viz. Pss. cxxi., cxxii., cxxvi. In regard to this, Hengstenberg himself says, 'it is objected that several [he

* We may well ask what possible connection has Ps. cxxvii. with pilgrimages? and yet we shall presently see that this same psalm is probably the keystone of the whole—the nucleus around which all the others have been placed.

should have said *most*] of these psalms contain no reference to such a special occasion [*i. e.* of their being put together]. But such a reference was not in every case necessary; the contents might be general, and the indicating of the purpose of the psalms might be attended to only in the form and appearance which they were made to assume; and this is really the case' (Hengs. Psalms, vol. iii. p. 409). As to this line of argument, we cannot do better than place beside it another passage from Hengstenberg, in his examination of the step-rhythm theory. 'The assertion of Gesenius that the term is applied *à fortiori*, irrespective of the fact that the appearances are few in number and weak, is inadmissible, on the ground that *every separate song* bears the name of a *song of the Maaloth*' (p. 406). Again, 'It is quite true, indeed, that this psalm shows something of the kind [*i. e.* step-rhythm in Ps. cxxi.], but it is by no means true that the series of psalms is characterised by it *throughout*, which, if the hypothesis were true, must have been the case' (p. 406). These objections are quite fatal to the step-rhythm; we think they are about as fatal to the pilgrimages.

3. But not only so—there is another aspect of the same difficulty: we have seen that only one-fifth of the 'Pilgrim book' does in reality refer to pilgrimages, and now we have to encounter the strange fact that there are many other psalms which would have answered the purpose had they been required. Had a collector set himself to pick out of the 150 psalms those applicable for the special purpose of being sung by the tribes on their pilgrimage to Jerusalem and its temple, we are strongly disposed to think that Pss. xxiv., lxv., lxxxiv., lxxxvii., and even the venerable c., would have found a place in such a collection, rather than Pss. cxx., cxxiii., cxxiv., cxxvii., cxxx., etc.

4. We think there is considerable weight in the objection to the pilgrim theory, on the score of the generally plaintive tone which pervades the *שירי המעלות*. Hengstenberg's answer does not appear to us very satisfactory: 'Just as if the tone of these festival journeys would not be entirely dependent upon the then existing condition of the people! No one will deny that the nameless psalms truly emanated from the innermost feelings of the people at the time when they were originally composed; and the people could at that time find in them only a representation of their own state' (p. 409). Whatever be the importance of these considerations, we have the standing fact before us that the very psalms which contain any evidence at all in favour of pilgrimages are for the most part the very psalms which are distinguished from the rest by a tone of greater joy, gladness, and triumph, *e.g.* Pss. cxxi., cxxii., cxxvi. 'Auf der fröhlichen Festreise nach Jeru-

salem sang man schwerlich so traurige Lieder, wie die Stufenpsalmen zum Theil sind.' z. B. Ps. cxx., cxxiii., cxxx. De Wette, Einleitung. We are disposed to think that Jerusalem and its temple were approached with feelings of joy and sounds of gladness. See, for example, the psalms to which we have already referred, xxiv., lxv., lxxxiv., lxxxvii.; and the very opening sentence of Ps. cxxii., the main pillar of the pilgrim theory, commences with 'I was glad,' etc. Thus the general tone of the *שירי המעלות* is contrary to the pilgrim hypothesis.

5. Another line of argument, extending to the whole of the collection, is, that they do not possess an *individual* character. 'No one of these psalms bears an individual character; they all refer to the whole church of God, with the exception, in some measure, of only Ps. cxxvii., which, without being individual, places before us, in the first instance, the particular members of the church, but which the collector has applied also to the circumstances of the "whole community"' (p. 404). In the above statement we think we can see Hengstenberg labouring considerably to bend very unyielding materials. If the *שירי המעלות* be for the pilgrims in successive generations, they must be of a general character in such a way as to be applicable in a variety of circumstances, and on numerous occasions, according to Hengstenberg's theory, and therefore whatever tends towards fixing down time, place, occasion, and author, tends also to the damage of his theory. Hence he is greatly cramped in his whole investigation of these psalms. With regard to those which are untitled, they are always with him merely the nameless psalms. To point out numerous coincidences in Ps. cxxi. which identified it with David and with a particular incident in his life, such as 1 Sam. xxvi., would be to impart to it an individuality inconsistent with the general plan of having the whole collection for the general use of the church. When we look at Pss. cxx., cxxi., we are disposed to qualify considerably his statement that none of the fifteen, except Ps. cxxvii., bears an individual character. We think the individual is quite discernible also in Pss. cxxx., cxxxi., nor is he lost sight of altogether in Pss. cxxii., cxxiii. And, taking his own admission in regard to Ps. cxxvii., we have to repeat that this is a most important exception, for, as we think, Hengstenberg himself has given us ground for considering Ps. cxxvii. the central point where all the rest radiate, as we shall see presently. We draw our strictures upon Hengstenberg to a close with a restatement of the five foregoing positions, which we have been endeavouring to establish:—

1. *מַעְלָה* means properly a step, and is *never* used to designate the annual pilgrimages to Jerusalem.

2. The *שירי המעלות* are in reality not characterised by sufficiently prominent reference to pilgrimages.

3. Had pilgrim songs been really required as such, there are many much more suitable for the purpose than those actually employed.

4. The *tone* of those adapted for pilgrim songs is different from that of the great majority of the *שירי המעלות*.

5. The attempt to destroy the individuality of these psalms is a procedure in itself questionable, and in the present case not allowable.

Having now given, as we think, sufficient attention to the pilgrim theory *per se*, it is time we should return to the point whence we diverged. In the foregoing pages we think we have established the meaning of the title of the songs of degrees; and now we shall proceed to another most important investigation, viz., that of the general structure and arrangement of the whole collection. Here we are largely indebted to Hengstenberg, for he has pointed out a systematic arrangement of the whole, and symmetry of the different parts, affording a ground-plan upon which we think a superstructure can be reared, in the shape of an hypothesis, more satisfactory than his own pilgrim theory. He says, '*The whole is grouped around Ps. cxxvii., which was composed by Solomon, who stands in middle between the first and the last of the pilgrim poets. On both sides there stands a heptade of pilgrim songs, consisting of two psalms composed by David, and five new ones, which have no name. The seven is divided both times by the four and the three. Each heptade contains the name of Jehovah twenty-four times; each of the connected groups, Ps. cxx-cxxiii., cxxiv.-cxxvi., cxxviii.-cxxx., cxxxii.-cxxxiv., twelve times. This cannot be accidental, and it renders it evident that the collector of the whole must be identical with the author of the nameless psalms*' (p. 410). We do not pause at present to examine the last remark; we are now concerned more especially with the remarkably symmetrical arrangement above described, and which may be easily addressed to the eye.

| | |
|----------------|--------------|
| 120· 2 | 128· 3 |
| 121· 5 | 129· 3 |
| D .. 122· 3 ה' | 130· 4 ה' |
| 123· 2 | 131· 2 ... D |
| <hr/> | |
| 12 | 12 |
| D .. 124· 4 | 132· 6 |
| 125· 4 | 133· 1 ... D |
| 126· 4 | 134· 5 |
| <hr/> | |
| 24 יהוה | 24 יהוה |

The letters are the initials of the authors' names, and it may be noticed in passing that **מ** occurs once in each heptade, and that the number 15 is denoted in Hebrew by the same letters, though in common use they were changed, from motives of reverence, into **טו**.

What at once strikes the eye in Hengstenberg's map of these psalms is the central and prominent position of Ps. cxxvii. Shall we do wrong in considering it the key to the whole explanation? We think it certainly worth a fair trial. What, then, is there peculiar in Ps. cxxvii.? Its author is Solomon, its subject is building; and we know Solomon was for years engaged in adding to the splendour of Jerusalem by the magnificence of the temple and his own palace. But still more specially: the first verse contains a double warning that, whatever labour may be bestowed, all is dependent upon the blessing and protection of God. We must now glance occasionally along the contents of the heptades on either side, and watch for the key-note struck by Ps. cxxvii., with which all the rest will chime in unison. We think every note of joy and of sorrow, of hope and of fear, and of confidence in God, which proceeds from the **שִׁירֵי הַמַּעֲלֹחַ**, has its echo in the book of Nehemiah, and it will be our next step to point out the correspondence thus referred to.

Ps. cxx. 1, 'In my distress I cried,' etc.; Neh. ii. 17, 'Ye see the distress that we are in,' etc.; also Neh. i. 3-11, ix. 37. In ver. 2, 3, the lying lips and deceitful tongue accurately describe Sanballat, Tobiah, the Arabians, etc. (Neh. ii. 19; vi. 2, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13). The psalmist was for peace (ver. 7); Nehemiah's enemies were ever ready to pick quarrels (Neh. ii. 19; iv. 7, 8; vi. 12).

Ps. cxxi., 'Shall I lift up mine eyes to the hills?' (ver. 1). A very appropriate and natural exclamation for those constantly working upon the walls or elevated parts of the city in view of the surrounding hills. Moreover they were in need of help, and looked to God for it. Neh. iv. 4, 20, 'Our God shall fight for us.' The reference to the *hills*, to *help*, the *foot slipping*, their *keeper not sleeping*, the *shade* from the heat of the *sun by day*, their protection from injury *in the night*, and, finally, their being preserved in their *going out* and *coming in*, comprises a catalogue as pointedly applicable as if the ode had been expressly composed to suit the circumstances of men whose eyes were often cast towards the hills; who were surrounded with enemies; who were engaged upon walls or dangerous places; who were exposed to the heat by day and the cold by night; who required to keep strict watch against foes, and, in fact, who were constantly taken up with labour, at the same time that they themselves were exposed

to danger. These were precisely the circumstances of Nehemiah and his men during the rebuilding of the city (Neh. ii. 14, 15; iv. 6, 9, 13, 14, 16, 17, 21, 22).

Ps. cxxii. This psalm by David, as all the others by the same author, were chosen by the collector because, as we suppose, they were applicable for the purpose which was kept in view regarding the collection. In this psalm we have mention of *gates, walls, palaces*, and the general character of Jerusalem architecturally, as *built compactly together* (Neh. iii. 1 etc.). The gladness and expectation of verses 1, 2 may be considered as connected with Nehemiah's bringing the inhabitants from the villages round about 'to keep the dedication with gladness,' etc. (Neh. xii. 27). 'Peace be *within* thy walls' may be considered doubly significant in the view of the disturbances mentioned in chap. v., and the troublesome enemies *without*.

Ps. cxxiii. The Psalmist complains of 'the contempt of the proud,' and 'the scorning of those that are at ease.' Nehemiah complains sadly that Sanballat, Tobiah, and Geshem *laughed* them to *scorn* (Neh. ii. 19), *mocked* them (Neh. iv. 1), spoke of them as *feeble Jews* (iv. 2), and their city as *heaps of rubbish* (iv. 12), and taunted them with the remark that a *fox* running up their wall would *break it down* (iv. 3; v. 9); also the dutiful reverence with which the psalmist looks to God for direction in all things is characteristic of Nehemiah (Neh. ii. 4-20).

Ps. cxxiv. By David, and adopted by the collector because suitable to his purpose. Every verse of this psalm breathes the same spirit as the book of Nehemiah. 'The Lord was on our side,' says the Psalmist. 'Our God will fight for us,' says Nehemiah (iv. 20). 'The snare is broken, and we are escaped,' says David. Sanballat's counsels were brought to nought (Neh. iv. 15).

Ps. cxxv. Here is another allusion to the position of Jerusalem amidst the surrounding mountains, which must often have struck the builders. Compare ver. 3 with Neh. ii. 10; ver. 5 with Neh. vi. 17, 18, 19; also xiii. 7.

Ps. cxxvi. The heathen acknowledging the hand of God is expressly referred to in Neh. iv. 15; vi. 16. Sowing in tears and reaping in joy has its counterpart in Neh. viii. 9, 10, 17.

Ps. cxxvii. By Solomon, adopted because applicable for the general plan according to which these fifteen psalms were put together. *Building, watching, rising early, sitting up late*—these exercised the hands and thoughts of the Jews at all times during the interesting portion of their history with which we are now concerned. Compare ver. 1 with Neh. iv. 9, 21, 22, 23; vii. 3; ver. 5 with Neh. vii. 4.

Ps. cxxviii. The subject of this psalm is, that blessings accompany the man who *fears the Lord* (ver. 1, 3). Now the *fear of the Lord* appears to have been very prominent before the mind of Nehemiah (vii. 2; v. 15; v. 9; i. 11).

Ps. cxxix. This psalm very much resembles Ps. cxxiv. It refers to the persecution of enemies, and the measure of success which had been permitted to crown their malicious endeavours. But they are ultimately to fall. It is not difficult to find *haters* of Zion in the book of Neh. ii. 19; iv. 7; vi. 6, 19. But they *are not to prevail*, ver. 2 (Neh. ii. 20; iv. 15).

Ps. cxxx. This important psalm was doubtless often in the minds of the parties of watchers as they anxiously awaited the dawn of day, ver. 6 (Neh. iv. 9, 22; vii. 3). Ver. 2 closely resembles Neh. i. 6, 11. Compare ver. 4 and Neh. ix. 17. The psalm evidently refers to a time of patient expectation, corresponding accurately with the circumstances of Nehemiah.

Ps. cxxxi. By David, and adopted as appropriate for the object kept in view by the collector of these psalms. It expresses very well what would be the feelings of Nehemiah when taunted with undertaking what was too great for him (Neh. iv. 2; vi. 7).

Ps. cxxxii. This psalm we at once refer to the time of the dedication of the wall (Neh. xii. 27). Its tone of exultation, mingled with some plaintive references, accords perfectly with the circumstances of the Jews as described in that chapter.

Ps. cxxxiii. This psalm comes in well after Ps. cxxxii. The Jews had been collected out of the neighbouring villages to come and keep the dedication with gladness (Neh. xii. 27, 28), and it might well be adopted from their venerable poet David as appropriate for the occasion of a meeting of *brethren*. The circumstances of chap. v. also give it significance.

Ps. cxxxiv. This is a doxological conclusion, winding up the collection.

We have thus thought proper to point out a close agreement between the contents of each of the psalms of the collection and the book of Nehemiah, an agreement which becomes all the more extensive, as well as minute, in proportion to the diligence with which they are both compared. At this point we think we get a view of the general *object* of the collection, which we are disposed to consider as follows—viz., an historical document, consisting in a measure of materials already in existence, but so arranged and chosen as to contain in itself a unity of reference to the eventful and memorable period which had just elapsed. We may look upon it as probably drawn up by Nehemiah or Ezra, or under their superintendence, and designed to be a permanent memorial

of the good hand of God upon them in enabling them to rebuild their beloved city; and that praise to God for his goodness at this national era might be the more certainly secured to Him, the songs are incorporated into the temple service. Or, indeed, even supposing them all to have been there already, they are so collocated and set apart under a separate title which connects them with the time of the rebuilding of Jerusalem, as to be equally calculated for attaining the end desired.

We have now to point out the connection between the title שיר המעלות and the book of Nehemiah. We have seen that מעלות means *steps*, and we have several notices of Steps in Nehemiah. There is special mention of the stairs, המעלות, leading down from the city of David to the Pool of Siloam (Neh. iii. 15; xii. 37). Also we know of the steps of the temple, and, from the natural position of Jerusalem, that there must have been flights of stairs of no unfrequent occurrence. As to the way in which special psalms came to have any connection with steps, we shall endeavour to illustrate by an examination of three of them, viz., Pss. cxxi., cxxvii., and cxxxii.; and, owing to its prominent position, we shall take Ps. cxxvii. to begin with.

We have already seen this psalm as the nucleus around which all the rest have been gathered. We have seen it as eminently suitable in its tone and contents for the circumstances of the builders under Nehemiah, and now we shall proceed to point out more especially its probable connection with the title of the 'Songs of Degrees.' (1) This psalm was peculiarly appropriate for those engaged in repairing the temple. The author of it was Solomon, whose name was so closely associated with the temple, and the contents of it were applicable to the present occasion. The song was applicable, inasmuch as it spoke of building to those who were engaged in building; but it was also useful, inasmuch as it pointed to the Great Master Builder. While Nehemiah neglected nothing as to the use of means in establishing watches throughout the city, still he would have his men look above the means to God, who was in reality their main support. 'Nevertheless we made our prayer unto our God, and set a watch against them day and night.' Neh. iv. 9. But (2) as appropriate in the circumstances now referred to, it must have been often in the minds of the pious Jews concerned about the temple. Did they not often repeat it as they paced up and down the numerous stairs belonging to that temple? And may not this have been the origin of the mutilated tradition that the שיר המעלות were so called because they were sung on the fifteen steps of the temple,

referred to in Ezek. xl.^b The repetition and alliteration observable in the first verse, seem to point it out as mnemonic.

אִם יִהְיֶה לְאִזְכָּנָה בֵּית שְׁנֹא עָמְלוּ בִנְיֵי בָּו
אִם יִהְיֶה לְאִזְכָּר עִיר שְׁנֹא שָׁקַר שׁוֹמְרִי :

These lines reflect accurately the spirit of Nehemiah, and when he piously looked to God so often to remember him for good in connection with the work which he carried on at Jerusalem, Neh. v. 19 ; xiii. 22, 31, he takes measures, as we are disposed to believe, to ensure God's goodness being remembered in succeeding times by the Jews, as they repeated the words of the *הַמַּעֲלוֹת*. Owing to the frequency with which this particular psalm would be used by those engaged on the temple, it may very naturally have been called a 'song of the steps,' and may have had considerable influence in deciding the general title of the whole collection, on account of its importance in that collection.

We shall next proceed to point out the probable connection between Ps. cxxi. and *the steps*. We have already seen how many allusions are contained in it suitable to the circumstances of Nehemiah and his men. We shall now see that, in addition to these, it can be associated with steps. (1) It is to be noticed that the title of this psalm slightly varies from the rest. It stands *שִׁיר לַמַּעֲלוֹת*, a song for the steps. Now, bearing in mind that there were numerous flights of stairs in different parts of Jerusalem, leading to the more elevated places, we can see the propriety of the opening sentence of the psalm : 'Shall I lift mine eyes to the hills?' the surrounding mountains becoming more and more conspicuous as the parties mounted up the steps. (2) In Neh. iii. 19, we have reference to an elevated part of the city, which is described by *עֲלוֹת*. This place, associated with the armoury, has been considered as probably the position where subsequently stood

^b In regard to this tradition, it ought to be noticed, that whatever absurdities may be pointed out in the account by Rabbi David Kimchi as a whole, regarding the place or part of the temple to which these songs are referred, nevertheless there seems to be no question as to the fact that they are connected with *steps*. Amongst the merest conjectures as to matters of fact, is it not probable that the meaning of the word would stand a fair chance of being correctly handed down by a Jewish tradition? As Ps. cxxvii. stands prominently distinct amidst the fifteen songs of degrees, so do these fifteen songs of degrees stand prominently distinct amidst the whole 150 psalms, by being all grouped under one title, and bearing unmistakeable marks of belonging to one symmetrical whole. Is there anything absurd in the supposition that they were thrown into this form, and so chosen as to their substance that they might serve as an historical memorial of the times of Nehemiah? And as such, is there anything absurd in the supposition that perhaps on stated occasions, in connection with some great festival, they were actually by themselves sung on the steps of the temple, as praise and thanksgiving to God for the national deliverance to which they refer?

the tower of Hippicus, towards the north-west corner of Zion. (3) Moreover it was at this place that Ezer, the son of Jeshua, built his second piece, Neh. iii. 19; and the word Ezer, being a common noun, as well as an appellative, occurs in the first and second verses of the psalm: 'Whence should *my help* come?' '*My help* comes,' &c. This psalm, therefore, may very probably have been specially used by Ezer and his men; for we have seen that (1) there was an ascent *עֲלֵה*. (2) In such a place there must have been steps, *עֲלֵה*. (3) Ezer's own name occurs twice in the psalm. (4) We see the suitableness of the reference to *the hills* in such a lofty situation. (5) We see the pious Jew acknowledging God as really his defence, notwithstanding his nearness to an armoury. From these considerations we are disposed to look upon this psalm as one specially used by Ezer and his men as they passed up and down the stairs leading to the armoury and the neighbouring wall; all which is the more confirmed by the insertion of the preposition in the title.

We are here tempted again to diverge a little from our course, to point out a prominent disadvantage attending Hengstenberg's theory. We have mentioned his questionable position in wishing to destroy the individuality of the 'Songs of Degrees,' and we think we can give a good example of this disadvantage in connection with the psalm before us. Instead of the vague generality implied in considering it for the church, we are disposed to make use of such materials as we possess, for endeavouring to identify it with some author. For example:—the reference to *hills, help, the foot-slipping, the Keeper of Israel, the shade from noon-day heat, and defence from the cold of night, and the going out, and coming in*, seems to point very decidedly towards David during his persecution under Saul. Again, the prominence of the word *נָשָׂא*, to *keep*, as applied to *his* keeper, seems to bring out a contrast with *Saul's* keepers, as described in 1 Sam. xxvi. 12, 15, 16. This was on the occasion of his sparing Saul's life the second time, 1060 B.C. 'Wherefore hast thou not *kept* thy Lord the king?' 'Ye are worthy to die, because ye have not *kept* your master.' Within the comparatively short psalm which we are considering, the same verb occurs six times—a sufficient index to the vividness with which some event was still in the Psalmist's mind. Still farther when we remember that David complained of being hunted like a partridge *in the mountains*, 1 Sam. xxvi. 20; that he went *to the top of an hill afar off*, to be out of Saul's reach, 1 Sam. xxvi. 13; that he was tauntingly told to *flee as a bird to his mountain*, Ps. xi. 1; that he had concealed himself in *the hill Hachilah*, 1 Sam. xxvi. 1; as well as many other hilly places,

we can see great point and significance in the question, 'Shall I lift mine eyes to the hills?' This is the question of one in perplexity. David reads it in the timid looks of some attendant, and then answers it decisively in the second verse. In the third verse his timid companion ventures to speak for himself, and then, in the fourth, we have again a decisive statement from David. We would paraphrase the first four verses of the psalm as follows:— 'You seem to be doubtful of our safety; shall we look to the hills for it? Are you perplexing yourself with the question, Whence shall my help come? If so, I will answer that question at once: My help comes from Jehovah, the Creator of heaven and earth.' Then his timid friend rejoins, 'Be it so; but I hope he may never allow your steps to slip, and that while you are trusting to him, he may never slumber and forget you.' 'Slumber and forget! behold, he who protects Israel never slumbers, and he will never, never forget his chosen.'

Such is the way in which we view this very beautiful psalm as to its origin, its author, and its destination in the 'Songs of Degrees;' and whether our foregoing remarks be received or rejected, we are still hostile to any general theory which would at once put a bar to such an inquiry as that which we have been carrying on, and which we think is the tendency of the pilgrim theory, as expounded by Hengstenberg, in destroying the individuality of the different songs.

We proceed now in the last place to point out some probable connection between Ps. cxxxii. and *the steps*. This psalm at once strikes us as being different in some respects from the other fourteen. It is much longer, and it is of a more triumphant tone. The rest are all short, and mostly all plaintive. It stands conspicuous amongst the 'Songs of Degrees,' as chap. xii. of Nehemiah does in that book—the very chapter to which we refer this psalm—*i. e.* as regards its present destination. The diligence and prayers of the pious governor were now crowned with success; the wall was completed, and the Jews found themselves in circumstances of comparative safety from their restless enemies. Accordingly there is to be a dedication solemnity in Jerusalem, which is to be kept 'with gladness, both with thanksgivings and with singing, with cymbals, psalteries, and with harps,' Neh. xii. 27. Two thanksgiving parties (xii. 31) are sent along the walls, starting from the valley-gate probably, or near it, which was, perhaps, not far from Nehemiah's own head-quarters (Neh. ii. 13). We follow one party, 'going up' *by the stairs* (סִלְסִילֵי) *of the city of David*, Neh. xii. 37. Here, then, we have reference to *steps*, we have reference to the *house of David*, *the city of David*, and it is men-

tioned that the thanksgiving party had also the *musical instruments of David* (xii. 36, 37). Now in these circumstances, having ascended the steps, and perhaps overlooking the very site of David's house, we think the 132nd Psalm, commencing as it does with 'Lord, remember David,' was the most singularly appropriate that could have been selected for the occasion, out of the whole one hundred and fifty psalms. Thus this psalm might become specially associated with a certain locality, and might be described as the *song of the steps* going up to the city of David, as Ps. cxxvii. might be described a *song of the steps* of the temple, and as Ps. cxxi. might be described a *song for the steps* leading up to the armoury, where the notion of distinction applies not to the express purpose for which it was composed, for we have tried to show that David was the author; but having been already composed, it was adopted as appropriate *for the steps*. We believe a similar line of argument can be extended to the remaining songs of the collection; and when they came to be placed together, the distinctive appendages were struck off, and so we have the simple title for them all, 'Songs of the Steps.'

We shall now, in closing, give a summary of the materials with which we have investigated the 'Songs of Degrees' in the foregoing pages:—

1. We have tried to show that *הַמַּעֲלֹת* means *the steps*—so far the *title*.

2. We have taken Hengstenberg's account of the symmetrical manner in which the fifteen are arranged round Ps. cxxvii. So far these songs as a *collection*.

3. We have tried to point a minute correspondence between the whole of the 'Songs of Degrees' and the book of Nehemiah, regarding the latter in fact as the prose notes explanatory of the former. This brought us in sight of the twofold object of the collection, viz. (1) an *historical memorial* of an important part of the national history of the Jews; and (2) the position which the songs occupied in the temple service rendered them instrumental in keeping up a *perpetual thanksgiving* to God for his goodness in regard to that national era.

4. In addition to the minute correspondence between the pervading spirit of Nehemiah and the contents of the 'Songs of Degrees,' we have tried to point out a connection in regard to the *titles* of those and the book of Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 15; xii. 37). This probable connection was examined more especially in regard to Psalms cxxvii., cxxi., and cxxxii.

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M.

THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS :

WHAT POWER SHOULD WE ATTRIBUTE, ACCORDING TO THE SCRIPTURE,
TO THIS EVENT ?

An Exegetico-Dogmatical Review of the Passages of the New Testament which refer to it.

Τοῦ γνῶναι αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῆς ἀναστρέσεως αὐτοῦ.

St. Paul to the Philippians, iii. 10.

By J. H. B. LÜBKERT, Doctor of Theology, and Member of the Holstein
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THE resurrection of Jesus is the historic foundation and centre of the Christian Church. It was also made by Jesus himself (Matt. xxviii. 10) from the beginning a chief subject of the Apostolic proclamation. Therefore the Apostles completed the number of twelve, which had been diminished by the exit of Judas, by the introduction of a suitable person, who might become a *witness* with them of the history of Jesus, and particularly of *his resurrection* (Acts i. 22); this was the most important point. The object was, not to appoint a teacher with the necessary gifts, but a witness with the proper experience. The book of the Acts confirms this in many ways. 'Him who was promised to, and was foreseen by, the prophets, whom ye have rejected and killed, *this Jesus hath God raised up, whereof we all are witnesses*;' says Peter in his sermon at Pentecost (Acts ii. 32; comp. x. 39-41); and afterwards it is said, 'and with great power gave the Apostles *witness of the resurrection* of the Lord Jesus' (Acts iv. 33). Paul also, once enlightened by Christianity, and chosen by the Lord himself, and gained as an instrument for his holy cause (Acts ix. 1, &c.; xxii. 3, &c.; xxvi. 9, &c.), began and fulfilled his Apostolic calling with the constant proclamation of Jesus as the *risen Saviour*. Therefore he said to the Jews in Antioch of Pisidia, 'And we declare that this very promise which was made to our fathers, God hath fulfilled unto us their children, *in that He hath raised up Jesus again*' (Acts xiii. 32, &c.). For there seems no reason whatever to understand, with Olshausen and many others, ἀναστρέσεως of the *mission* of Jesus generally, after the analogy of the Heb. קָם or נִצָּח, instead of supplying ἐκ νεκρῶν here, as Luther and the majority of interpreters; how often is ἐκ νεκρῶν understood with ἀναστῆσαι! and the very reason which is usually, and again by Olshausen, brought *against* this interpretation, namely, that verse

* Translated from the Studien und Kritiken, 1842, No. 4, for the J. S. L.

34 stands thus, ἀνέστησεν αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν, and resumes the thread of discourse—appears to me to be particularly *in its favour*. Paul confidently carried this message to the heathen also; and when after his statements, strife broke out with the philosophers at Athens, it arose from this, ‘that he had declared to them the Gospel of Jesus *and of his resurrection*’ (Acts xvii. 18; comp. xvii. 3; xxvi. 23; 1 Cor. xv. 1; 1 Thess. i. 9, &c.).

It is already from this sufficiently clear to every unprejudiced observer, that the *certainty* of the event of the resurrection of Jesus from the dead, great in the history of the world, was universally and undisputedly received in the earliest Christian age. On the other hand, modern and the most modern times are full of doubts: here (by Venturini) in the ‘Natural History of the Great Prophet of Nazareth,’ a mean romance is made out of the entire holy history; there (by Reimarus), in the notorious ‘Wolfenbüttel Fragments,’ and in like manner by a Candidate von Horn, in a strange little book, soon forgotten, this event is represented as a fraud acted by the disciples; once more, formerly by Kaiser in the ‘Biblical Theology,’ and in our days by Strauss in the ‘Life of Jesus,’ an entirely historic truth has, with surprising boldness, been asserted to be an opinion turning to myth. But nevertheless, against all attacks of an unbelieving or hostile criticism, the position may even now be still justified and clearly proved, *that no matter of fact of the world has more internal and external historic certainty for itself, than the resurrection of Jesus.*^b The testimony of the entire Apostolic Church, and the impossibility—according to historic analogies—of founding it without such a fact, speaks incontestably. We have full right to maintain the credibility of the New Testament in this respect, until the contrary be undeniably proved, which we need not fear;^c rather have the latest objections, even those adduced by Strauss, against this cause, shown once more, that it cannot be attacked with any result, unless by the permission of unfairnesses which would be censurable in the case of every other ancient history.

In our present inquiry we assume the certainty of the fact, in order to make its importance apparent. But we are met by espe-

^b Greiling’s ‘Leben Jesus von Nazareth.’ Halle, 1813. Pp. 416.

^c ‘Hoc ita revera evenisse,—tam diu defendemus, donec contrarium erit idoneis argumentis historicis (negare, dubitare, difficultates movere, res in facto positas non reddit infectas) comprobatum, aut testes ejus rei indubitata convicti erunt mendaciorum. Dissensus eorum in meris περιρροσσι fortuitis non arguit fraudis consensum manifestum in summa rei, h. e. in eo, Christum et revixisse et pluribus se varie conspiciendum præbuisse cum iisque humano ritu versatum esse.’ Act x. 41. Morus, epitome theol. Christ. part. iv. cap. ii. sect. iii. § 3 (edit. iv, 1799), p. 173, sq. Comp. Bretschneider, Handbuch der Dogmatik der evangel. — luth. Kirche. 2 auf. 2 bd. 6 kap. 1 abth. § 146.

cially two quite different modes of apprehending the resurrection of Jesus ; the one understands it as a marvellous reanimation from an apparent death, a swoon resembling death (rationalistic view), and the other as a real restoration of life which had been destroyed by proper, physical death (supernatural view). The following reflections are founded on the latter ; and indeed for the simple but decisive reason, that the Biblical writers speak in a manner not to be mistaken of a resurrection that *really* ensued. Also the supposition of a power, *δύναμις*, a mighty influence of the resurrection of Jesus, can well agree only with the supernatural apprehension of it. We are about to treat of this *δύναμις τῆς ἀναστάσεως*. *What important influence have we, according to the Scripture, to attribute to the resurrection of Jesus ?*

In compendiums and handbooks of dogmatic theology, this subject is wont to be considered, and to be treated with greater or less fulness ; as a rule however, which also is natural, to be dismissed rather abruptly : accordingly a more precise, a complete inspection, if possible, of the passages of the New Testament which refer to this subject, may not be superfluous, rather may furnish many important results, *both with regard to Jesus himself, and with regard to his followers.*

SECTION FIRST.

In relation to Jesus *himself*, and the influence on himself of his resurrection, Schleiermacher^d maintains indeed, both concerning this fact, and also the ascension of Christ, and the prediction of his return to judgment, that they do not stand in immediate and strict connection with the proper doctrine of his Person ; but remarks afterwards^e himself, that only an *immediate* connection of that fact with the doctrine concerning Christ should be denied, not *every* connection. Only what he says afterwards about the resurrection is not satisfactory, which we shall consider further below.

I. The return of Christ from the grave was above all needful, *to make true his own prediction.* He had often and clearly foretold, that he should suffer and die, but on the third day rise again. Now had not the resurrection followed, his credibility would have become altogether doubtful, whereas by this event it is raised beyond all doubt.

Men have wished not to recognize this prediction of Jesus ; but surely in contradiction to the clearest and most numerous passages of Scripture. It may even be taken for granted, from the wonderful Divine gifts of power and wisdom and knowledge,

^d Der christl. Glaube.

^e Ibid. p. 251.

which Jesus already enjoyed as a boy (Luke ii. 40, 47, 52), and which characterized him as the promised Messiah (Is. xi. 2), that his future was not unknown to him; and we must not wonder, if he, who must have known the Scripture and its promises and their interpretation (comp. *e. g.* Ps. xvi. 10; cx. 4; Is. liii. 8, 10), who undeniably applied many passages to himself (Luke iv. 21; John v. 39), or allowed them to be applied to himself by his disciples, by Peter chiefly (Acts ii. 31; 1 Pet. ii. 23-25), if he foresaw and foretold his death and his resurrection. But we must now examine the passages themselves which contain such predictions of Jesus.

Among these has usually been reckoned, but unnecessarily, the so-called *σημείον Ἰωνᾶ* (Matt. xii. 39). I must freely own, that neither the reasons for this opinion, which Olshausen, nor the reasons against, which De Wette has best collected from earlier exegetes, are satisfactory to me; but I am still less able to understand how Olshausen could say at the close of his exposition: 'The lately' attempted exposition of this passage, by which the *σημείον Ἰωνᾶ* is his preaching to the Ninevites (according to which v. 40 is made a misunderstanding by Matthew of the words of Jesus), has arisen from a total mistaking of the entire previous connection, and sufficiently refutes itself.' Truly a remarkable assertion! For precisely the entire interior connection, and the relation of the single sentences in this passage, speak most plainly against the mention of the resurrection of Christ, but at the same time not for a misunderstanding by Matthew of the words of Jesus, but for the spuriousness of the 40th verse. It is in my opinion a later gloss from the hand of one who did not understand the *σημείον Ἰωνᾶ*. Of course it is always a delicate thing to evade the difficulties of a passage by taking its spuriousness for granted, but there seems to me to be here no alternative. For that Jesus cannot have mentioned his resurrection *here* is clear, (1) from the parallel passage in Luke xi. 32, where what stands here in v. 40, is quite wanting; (2) from Matt. xvi. 4, where again *σημείον Ἰωνᾶ* occurs, but without reference to the whale's belly, and with no conceivable reason for thinking that Christ could have intended his resurrection; and lastly, (3) particularly from the double parallel between Jonas and Solomon, and between the Ninevites and the Queen of Sheba, which parallel would be very poor and halting in the second half, if in the first there were mention of the resurrection of Christ.

But other and plain passages are not wanting. When Jesus

'Lately? The interpretation is tolerably old, and particularly was propounded as early as by Eckermann in his 'Theol. Beitragen,' and in the 'Interpretation of all Difficult Passages of the New Testament.'

had once openly spoken to his disciples concerning his Messianic dignity and destination, and had asked them, 'Whom say the people, and whom say ye that I am?' (Matt. xvi. 13, &c.) and Peter, as spokesman of the other Apostles, had confessed in the joy of faith, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God!' (v. 16; comp. John vi. 68, 69), from that time forth he announced also to them his nearly approaching lot; and indeed not his death only, but almost always at the same time his resurrection, sometimes with, sometimes without denoting the third day. This first happened exactly on this occasion; for Jesus explained very freely to the disciples, that he must go to Jerusalem, and suffer much from the elders and high priests and scribes, and be killed, and *on the third day rise again* (v. 21; comp. Mark viii. 31; Luke ix. 22). We afterwards hear this more frequently, as often as an opportunity offered to the Lord. Such a one was his transfiguration, at which Peter (2 Pet. i. 16-18), James, and John were present as witnesses, but of which they were to say nothing, *until the Son of Man were risen from the dead* (Matt. xvii. 9; comp. Mark ix. 9). In the parallel passage of Mark (v. 10) there is this remarkable addition,—the disciples ask one another, What then is *this his resurrection* from the dead? For that this question related to his resurrection, and not to that of the dead in general, which certainly could not be unknown to them, cannot be doubted. After his arrival in Galilee, Jesus repeated this announcement, and excited grief by it in his disciples (Matt. xvii. 22, 23; Mark ix. 31). But as he was making with them his last journey to Jerusalem he charged all this upon them with particularly solemn earnestness, well knowing that he should not return thence. 'See,' said he, 'we go up to Jerusalem, and *now all will be fulfilled* which the prophets have foretold, and I myself have even oftener reminded you of' (Matt. xx. 17-19; Mark x. 32-34; Luke xviii. 31-33). The disciples were indeed so far still from this conception, that 'they understood none of these things, and this saying was hidden from them' (Luke xviii. 34), but the fulfilment of all foretold was soon to open their eyes. Here belongs also that short, but interesting similitude, 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, except a corn of wheat fall into the earth and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit' (John xii. 23, 24; comp. the related form of expression 1 Cor. xv. 36, 37). The application is plain—thus must I also resign my body to the grave, and apparently destroy my activity (comp. John ix. 3), but only in order, through my return to life, to effect so much the greater operations upon all times and generations of the earth. There is further to be alleged the whole series of glorious, living, and preparative sayings, at and after the institution of the Lord's Supper, as the

disciple whom the Lord loved has preserved them for us. Were there merely contained therein the allusion to the death of Jesus, and the certain pre-announcement of its nearness—this might, even without the supposition of special Divine foresight, be easily explained from the whole situation at that season and the course of circumstances. But it is a different thing when we find allusions also to the *resurrection*; and these are unmistakeable, though sometimes in greater, sometimes in less clearness, and without the intimation of *the third day*, which nowhere (excepting in ii. 19, 20) appears in John. Jesus promises to the disciples, that, after his departure, the Comforter, the Spirit of Truth, shall abide with them for ever. ‘But,’ he adds, ‘since I am unwilling to leave you orphans, *I myself will come again to you*. After a short space the world will see me no more, *but ye shall see me again*, for I live, and ye also shall live (John xiv. 18, 19), and to every one who loves me will I reveal myself (v. 21). Fear ye not! it should rather rejoice you that I said unto you, I go away and come again unto you’ (v. 28). The old interpretation, namely of the resurrection, which, on account of many difficulties, modern exegetes have almost unanimously abandoned, De Wette has rightly again adopted and defended, although in a certain double sense (of bodily seeing again the Risen Christ, and of the spiritual contemplation of the Living) which again renders us scrupulous. But it not only appears to me that this is required by the sense of the words, but also that Jesus certainly was not silent concerning it, just now, when the disciples so much needed comfort. The disciples meanwhile from these sayings of their Master understood this almost solely, that he was preparing them for his death, his departure; the distress occasioned by this veiled their vision, so that they could not recognize the comfortable reference to his return; he therefore began to speak anew and yet more clearly of this subject, which naturally quite filled his soul (xvi. 5, &c.), and concluded with the beautiful fragment, *μικρόν—καὶ πάλιν μικρόν* (v. 16, &c.). Again the disciples understand him not. ‘What is this that he says unto us, A little while, and ye shall not see me; and again a little while, and ye shall see me?’ But their prejudices weary not his patience. With the similitude of the woman that is near her hour, he expresses the condition of the disciples, and says, ‘Ye also have now sorrow; *but I will see you again*, and your heart shall rejoice, and no one shall take your joy from you’ (v. 22). The Lord could in no way have expressed himself more plainly; some have wished nevertheless to interpret this seeing again as the seeing again in eternal life; but how little suitable to that is the *μικρόν*, and how empty would this consolation have been just now for the disciples!

Meanwhile these and other similar utterances of Jesus, spoken in confidence, had not remained in the circle of his disciples, but had been spread further, and misinterpreted, so that they even served in the mouth of false witnesses as accusations against him. 'He said,' spake they, 'I can destroy the temple of God, and in three days build it up again' (Matt. xxvi. 61; comp. Mark xiv. 58). Wickedness adduced this again even for derision of the Dying One (Matt. xxvii. 40; comp. Mark xv. 29). Reference would appear to have been made by this to an expression of Christ's, which, in John's account, occurs at a much earlier time, in the beginning of the public ministry of Jesus, and appears on the occasion of the familiar purification of the temple; which, however, is by the first three evangelists related for the first time shortly before the history of the Passion, after the last, solemn entry into Jerusalem (Matt. xxi. 12, 13; Mark xi. 15-17; Luke xix. 45, 46; and John ii. 18-22). The act of the purification of the temple by Jesus, testifying his Messianic dignity and authority, had excited astonishment; therefore said the Jews, 'What sign showest thou to us, that thou doest such things? And Jesus answered, Destroy this temple, *and on the third day* will I raise it up. *But he spake of the temple of his body.* Now when he was risen from the dead, his disciples remembered that he had said this (John). This statement of the false witnesses could not possibly be used as evidence; even the High Priest was ashamed to go further into the matter; but his meaning was not indifferent to the Jewish rulers, whether they really boded the truth, or, as at least they pretended, feared a fraud. By their management, guards were set at the sepulchre of Christ, for they said to Pilate, 'We have remembered that this deceiver said while he yet lived, *I will after three days rise again*' (Matt. xxvii. 63, 64). And thus we have, even out of the mouth of his enemies, a witness for his prediction.

After so many plain passages from all four evangelists, no unprejudiced reader of the sacred history will venture to doubt, that Jesus foreknew and foretold, not only his death but also his return to life. The sequel must therefore have justified his pre-intimation, or it would have thrown suspicion on his credibility; and the disciples—without his return into the midst of them, however firmly convinced of the truth of his doctrine and of the holiness of his conduct—must have grown perplexed concerning him, and have doubted his *Divine* dignity, if, in so important a matter, he had erred himself, or had deceived them. With regard to this Schleiermacher says very truly * (but it is all that he does remark),

* Der christl. Glaube, p. 251.

'I see not how the resurrection of Christ can, as literal matter of fact, be denied, without denying at the same time the proper Dignity of Christ; since his most intimate and immediate disciples speak of it as of an external matter of fact. If now they were mistaken in this, then their whole testimony concerning Christ acquires such uncertainty, that Christ when he chose them could not have known what was in man. Or supposing Christ to have wished it and to have contrived that they should be obliged to take inner phenomena for outer perceptions, neither does this appear to me conformable to his higher Dignity, that he should have been necessitated to 'found an indispensable motive of faith upon a deception.'

The disciples had of course not rightly understood those sayings and intimations of Jesus before, and with the first sorrow for the loss of him, they probably thought not at all of them (John xx. 9); but with the return of quiet consideration, and after mutual interchange of judgments, the predicting words of Jesus would very soon be recalled. These actually did come again to mind, when they saw in the resurrection of Jesus the most glorious accomplishment; although surprised by an unforeseen happiness, they at first hardly dared to believe the too joyful intelligence (Luke xxiv. 11). Even the circumstance that they hastened to the grave, not the women only, but others with them (Matt. xxviii. 1; Luke xxiv. 1), especially Peter (Luke xxiv. 12) and John (John xx. 2, 3, &c.), is a proof that they were led by a boding, founded on before-received, little-considered hints, of what was to occur. When those foretellings were quite recalled to their recollection (Matt. xxviii. 6; Luke xxiv. 5), they returned so much the livelier in soul, and *they remembered his words* (Luke xxiv. 8, 21; John ii. 22); and Jesus himself also appealed thereto (Luke xxiv. 44, 46), and in a manner the most unsuspecting and that admitted of no doubt, convinced them that he was alive (Matt. xxviii. 9, 10, 16, &c.; Mark xvi. 9, 12; Luke xxiv. 13, &c., 36, &c.; John xx. 14, &c., 19, &c., 24, &c.; xxi. 1, &c.; Acts x. 41; 1 Cor. xv. 5, &c.). And as now the convinced disciples must have adhered with greater zeal, with double believing faithfulness to their risen Lord; so of course must his credibility be established, who could in so grand and wonderful a manner make true his word.

II. It already follows from this that the resurrection could not but be the most illustrious proof of the *Messianic dignity* of Jesus the Son of God; and this is especially and emphatically set forth in many passages of Holy Scripture. We must quote here the remarks which Schleiermacher makes, to prove that neither was this fact made necessary by the Divine in Christ, nor is it possible to see in it, or to prove from it, the presence of God in him.

'For,' he says, 'with regard to the latter, the Divine power of Christ, were other examples wanting, might be seen much sooner in the resuscitations of the dead which he effected, than from his own resurrection. For since the condition of death is a complete inactivity of human nature, and the Divine in Christ is manifested as something especial only by union with the human nature, it will always remain difficult to maintain that the resurrection of Christ was a work of the Divine in himself. Moreover the resuscitation of Christ is universally in Scripture ascribed to God absolutely; and the resurrection of all men is also to be effected by Divine power. . . . Moreover it is quite as clear that the presence of God in Christ can just as little have caused his resurrection as it hindered his death, and that Christ might just as well without this episode have been immediately raised to glory. . . . Neither can we forget that Paul would not have ventured to allege, as he does, the resurrection of Christ as a security for ours, if he had believed that it was necessarily and exclusively connected with the peculiar presence of God in Christ.' We can grant all these propositions, yet maintain it as necessary that the proper Messianic dignity of Jesus needed the solemn confirmation of God, and that this could not have been more convincingly given than by the resurrection.

The Jews had before desired a sign from heaven, and Jesus had refused it to their unbelief (Matt. xii. 38, etc.; Mark viii. 11, 12; Luke xi. 29; comp. John iv. 48); but now in his resurrection a sign was given them which might not be contradicted. When he was hanging on the cross they had with wicked mockery suggested his descent therefrom (that is, his self-rescue, conquest of death) as token and proof of his Messianic mission. 'Is he the King of Israel? then let him now come down from the cross, *and we will believe on him*' (Matt. xxvii. 40-42; Mark xv. 32; Luke xxiii. 35, 37, 39). What they had not expected, happened; so that they would, on their own terms, have been compelled to believe on him. But their heart was hardened. But in the case of the followers of Jesus, it is evident that there could now remain no further doubt who their Lord and Master was (John xx. 16, 28, 31), and this all the more that Jesus himself had before pointed directly to this event as proof of his lofty Divine authorisation (John ii. 18, etc.).

We might, at first sight, easily feel tempted to refer the ὑψοῦσθαι of Christ to his raising by the resurrection. It is actually said in this respect of Christ, that he is τῇ δειξίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑψωθείς (Acts ii. 33), and τοῦτον ὁ Θεὸς ὑψώσεν (Acts v. 31), and καὶ ὁ Θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσε (Phil. ii. 9). Dr. Paulus, indeed, wishes the above expression to be understood as 'raising,' in the sense

that the man Jesus is spiritually elevated, pointed out as the high teacher of the nation, recognized in his spiritual loftiness. 'Jesus,' he says, on John iii. 14, 'speaks thus, in order to summon Nicodemus to recognize this (his spiritual sublimity) himself (v. 12), and to labour for its recognition by others. According to this connection of thought, an allusion to the 'raising on the cross' would be quite out of place here. The foretelling of the death of the cross would have been the most improper means to induce a Pharisee to recognize the Messiahship of Jesus. And why so obscure a foretelling? Why an intimation which, like Gen. xl. 19, 22, would have savoured rather of hard irony than of dignity?' But as Dr. Paulus does not speak here of raising by the *resurrection*, so he also stands quite alone throughout his interpretation, and what he considers heterogeneous with the connection is very certainly the only right view. The *ἀποῦσθαι* denotes death, and, indeed, peculiarly the crucifixion of Christ. The expression occurs thrice in John. 'As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up' (John iii. 14; comp. Num. xxi. 8, 9). Moses set up, at God's command, a brazen serpent, as type of the Messiah (*סֵרַפְתָּן וְיִחְיֶה*), καὶ ἔσθησεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σημείου, LXX.; Μωσῆς ὑψώσε τὸν ὄφιν, John), that the Israelites, wounded by fiery serpents, might look on it and be healed. Thus the real Messiah was to be lifted up (nailed to the cross, raised) among the people (mankind), that all suffering from the wounds of sin and guilt might, through looking on him by faith, be delivered, and not be lost (v. 15). That this is the sense, and that the question here cannot be of the resurrection, is evident from John viii. 28, where *ἀποῦσθαι* occurs again. Jesus says to the Jews, ὅταν ὑψώσητε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τότε γνώσεσθε, ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι. The raising here is represented as proceeding from the Jews, and consequently must be referred to the death of Jesus. The third passage is still more striking, and particularly decisive for the death of the cross. 'And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me. This he said, signifying what death he should die.' That this is not merely John's exposition, but that the people, far from thinking of an actual *raising*, understood very well a reference to his death, is proved by their question, 'We have heard out of the law that the Christ abideth for ever: and how sayest thou, the Son of man must be lifted up? who is this son of man?' (John xii. 32-34).

On the other hand, Peter, in his Pentecost sermon, makes the resurrection of Jesus, as token of his Messianic dignity, to be prophesied even by David:—'Therefore, being a prophet, and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him, that the fruit of his loins should sit on his throne, he, *seeing this before, spake of the resur-*

rection of the Christ, that his soul was not left in hell, neither his flesh did see corruption' (Acts ii. 30, 31). It is interesting how the views of Olshausen and De Wette, which in other respects so much diverge, agree here in the explanation of David's prophecy, and the interpretation of it by Peter. The former says in his commentary on the passage, 'Peter's explanation agrees quite simply with the plain and literal reference of the psalm to David himself first of all, supposing this kingly prophet, in the power of the Spirit which filled him, to have announced occurrences which extended beyond his own position. Setting out with himself, as centre of the theocratic life of his time, he pressed on even to the absolute centre of the kingdom of God, namely the Messiah, and announced the highest expression of Divine power, to wit, the victory over death, as realised in him.' And De Wette says in his 'Exegetical Handbook,' 'The Apostle thus assumes a direct prophecy, which, indeed, the historic expounder cannot perceive, but which, however, is based on a truth. That is to say, the hope of the poet, accomplished in himself only once, proceeded in its full truth (as it lay in the depth of his soul) to entire fulfilment in Christ.' In a similar manner Paul expresses himself in the synagogue of Antioch in Pisidia,—'And we declare unto you glad tidings, how that the promise which was made unto the fathers, God hath fulfilled the same unto us their children, in that he hath raised up Jesus again' (Acts xiii. 32, etc.). He refers both to the well-known passage, 'Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten Thee;' that is, in application to Christ, 'through the resurrection I have declared Thee before all the world to be my Son' (Ps. ii. 7); and to the prophecy allèged by Peter, Ps. xvi. 10. It was Paul beyond all others who, himself converted by conviction of the truth of the resurrection of Jesus, found in this chiefly the infallible confirmation of the Lord's Messiahship. He joyfully announced, 'that Christ must needs have suffered, and risen again from the dead' (Acts xvii. 3); and 'that he should be the first that should rise from the dead, and should show light unto the people, and to the Gentiles' (xxvi. 23), which evidently indicates the Messianic dignity (comp. Luke ii. 32; Isa. ix. 2; xl. 6; lx. 1). The great Apostle of the Gentiles expressly puts this demonstration at the beginning of his Epistle to the Romans. The *ἀγιωσύνη* there is, as the Hebrew *עֲדָת*, Divine greatness, glory, as *δόξα* (John i. 14). If any refer this to God, and translate *κατὰ πνεῦμα ἀγιοσύνης*, 'through the glorious power of God,' we must object, that Paul opposes *κατὰ σάρκα* and *κατὰ πνεῦμα*; the latter also must therefore apply to Christ, whose twofold being is here denoted (comp. 1 Tim. iii. 16; 1 Pet. iii. 18). The sense, therefore, is this,—'As Christ, according to his human nature, descends

from David, so, in respect of his higher, superhuman being, which is equal with God, he was powerfully (forcibly, convincingly) declared as *υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ*, through (*ἔξ*, not since, as Luther has it) the resurrection from the dead' (Rom. i. 3, 4; comp. vi. 4; Eph. i. 20). The same is contained in the familiar *ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι*, which is equivalent to saying, that through God's omnipotence, which resuscitated him, he was declared to be the true Messiah (1 Tim. iii. 16). Even for this reason the Apostle also utters the thought that if Christ had not risen, our faith in the entire work of God in redemption through Christ would be vain and ineffectual (1 Cor. xv. 14-17, of which we have more to say). In his preaching, and in the discharge of the office of Apostle conferred on him by Christ, he sets out with the conviction that God, by raising Christ from the dead, declared Himself to be his Father (Gal. i. 1).

On the other hand, when John speaks of a witness which God has borne for His Son as the Messiah (the two conceptions are with him identical; comp. 1 John ii. 22; v. 5), it is doubtful whether he is thinking of the resurrection. Earlier expositors, Ziegler, Lange, and others, have supposed so; but when we consider that John makes Christ himself already to have given such a *μαρτυρία μείζων* (John v. 36), and that he nowhere in his first Epistle makes particular mention of the resurrection of Christ, also that the context here (1 John v. 9) by no means leads to it, we may agree with the latest expositor,^a who says, 'By "the witness of God" John evidently intends to be understood . . . the entire saving arrangement effected by God, and the concrete conception of the Messiah, the representatives of which are the Holy Spirit, Baptism, and the Atoning Death.'

III. The resurrection of Jesus, according to many passages of Scripture, conduced principally to his *glorification*. Mistaken and rejected, and sacrificed on the cross by the people of his possession (John i. 11), the Redeemer found the most glorious vindication, wonderfully brought about by God Himself, in his return from the grave. As he had besought his heavenly Father, in the solemnly earnest words of the High-priestly prayer, so it happened: the resurrection opened again the door for his return to the felicity of heaven. He said, *Καὶ νῦν δόξασόν με, σὺ Πάτερ, παρὰ σεαυτῷ τῇ δόξῃ, ἣ εἶχον πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι παρὰ σοί* (John xvii. 5). The pre-existence of Christ can in nowise be explained away either from this passage or many others in John (comp. i. 1, 15, 18, 27, 30; viii. 38; xii. 41). If it seems as though Christ here besought

^a Commentar über die Katholischen Briefe von D. Jachmann. Leipzig, 1838. Pp. 273.

glorification from his Father as a recompense for the fulfilment of his work, yet we must not think so much of a recompensing reward as of a loving exchange. Now we must freely acknowledge, what we have above cited (p. 62) as Schleiermacher's remark, that Christ might as well, even without this episode, have been immediately raised to glory; but yet how considerable, illustrative, and full of significance is the resurrection! If John could say of the whole period of the earthly life of Jesus, *θεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ* (John i. 14), and if the Saviour himself esteemed his contemporaries happy that they could see him with bodily eyes, and receive with their own ears the words of eternal life from his mouth (Luke x. 23, 24), how much more is this applicable to the season when Jesus, in his already glorified condition, walked among the disciples, and gave them the significant greeting, *εἰρήνῃ ὑμῖν!* (John xx. 19).

The especial importance of the resurrection was very well seen even by the elders and scribes of the Jewish people. They perceived that all disgrace which they intended to have wrought for him through the death of the cross was thus disannulled, and all their contrivances frustrated. Hence their consternation when the guards who had fled brought them the strange intelligence; hence their attempt to conceal the truth and spread a lie, which, however readily detected, yet for years found hearing with the Jews (Matt. xxviii. 11-15). But Christendom joyfully confesses him whom God Himself has thus vindicated and glorified. The risen Jesus could say as the triumphing Christ, in the consciousness and with the view of the acknowledgment which was from this time forth ever more widely to become his own—'All power is given unto me in heaven and on earth.'

The entire relation of man to Christ has been transformed since his glorification by the resurrection. He who became weak, and hung helpless on the cross (Matt. xxvii. 46), is now, as God's vicegerent, ordained judge of the living and the dead (Acts x. 42; xvii. 31). He had even before represented himself in this aspect (Matt. xxv. 31, etc.; John v. 27). This witness was borne by Paul also: 'For to this end Christ both died and rose again, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living. For we shall all stand before the judgment seat of Christ (Rom. xiv. 9, 10), 'that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad (2 Cor. v. 10; comp. 2 Thess. i. 7, 8; ii. 8; 2 Tim. iv. 1). It is plain that this Apostle especially, in all his epistles, is on the whole the most eloquent proclaimer of the event of the resurrection; and that with particular fervour he makes it everywhere prominent that Jesus was thereby glorified. Thus it is in the somewhat difficult

passage in which he compares himself, both in his weakness and in his power and strength, with Christ (2 Cor. xiii. 3-7): 'I will not spare (you): since ye wish (demand, ζητεῖτε) a proof (δοκιμήν) of Christ speaking in me (ἐν ἐμοί). That ye shall have, although properly ye could not have needed it, since Christ (in whose name and by whose authority I speak and work) has given you (through me) proofs of his Divine power (ὅς ἐστις ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἀσθενεῖ, ἀλλὰ δυνατεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν). Prove ye then only yourselves, and you will require no further proof, when in another manner ye recognize Christ in you and perceive his stamp in you.' Now between these two sentences there stands the parenthesis, καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἐσταυρώθη ἐξ ἀσθενείας, ἀλλὰ ζῇ ἐκ δυνάμεως Θεοῦ· καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἀσθενούμεεν ἐν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ ζητούμεθα σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ δυνάμεως Θεοῦ εἰς ὑμᾶς (ver. 4). Why do the Corinthians demand a δοκιμή? Because Paul had appeared amongst them in outward weakness (1 Cor. ii. 1, etc.). 'But,' says he, 'Christ himself also appeared (for a time? in a certain respect?) outwardly weak and powerless, so much so, that through weakness (ἐξ ἀσθενείας,¹ in the condition of his humiliation) he was even crucified. But the same Christ has also risen again, lives, and works, and blesses (ζῇ in pregnant significance), through the Divine power peculiar to him.' Now by reason of his *fellowship*^k with this Christ, who indeed for a short time was ἀσθενής, but now (since his resurrection) is eternally δυνατός, Paul believes that he need give no further proof. 'I bear, indeed, the cross of Christ on me (comp. 2 Cor. iv. 10), but also the stamp of Christ glorified by his resurrection, and his power will through me show itself mightily in you.' The future (ζητούμεθα) as expressive of confident expectation: 'there will not fail proofs of his Divine power.'

As Paul further says expressly that, by raising Jesus from the dead, and setting him at His right hand, God exalted him over all heavenly powers (ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος, κ. τ. λ., the expressions are multiplied to express universality (Ephes. i. 20); so he can only intend to speak of the resurrection when he says that 'God therefore (that is, for the sake of his faithful obedience unto the death of the cross) exalted Jesus, and gave him a name (a glorification) unequalled, that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of beings that dwell above, or upon, or under the earth (again expressions of universality, for all without exception), and every tongue (all that can speak; comp. Is. xlv. 23) should confess that *Jesus Christ is the*

¹ Olshausen remarks, in his Commentary, that in this passage only is an ἀσθενεία expressly ascribed to Christ. He is in other respects very poor and insufficient here.

^k Comp. Winer, Grammar of the New Testament Dialect. 4th ed., p. 370, note.

Lord, to the glory of the Father (Phil. ii. 9-11). The last clause cannot surprise. As everything in the world, and even the creation of it, still more the mission of Jesus, and every great work accomplished by him, was intended to serve the glory of God, so the glorification of the Son could not indeed but quite peculiarly reflect to the Father's glory and majesty. No marvel, then, if the Apostle pressingly summons us to hold the risen Saviour in remembrance (2 Tim. ii. 8).

The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews expresses himself in a similar manner; for although he says nothing of the resurrection, and does not urge it as matter of fact,^m yet in the passage where he speaks of the elevation of Jesus above the angels, he seems to be thinking of this event. Τὸν δὲ βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους ἡλαττωμένον βλέπομεν Ἰησοῦν διὰ τὸ πάθημα τοῦ θανάτου δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἑστεφανωμένον (ii. 9), that is, 'we see Jesus, for a little time made lower than the angels, who, on account of his sorrowful death, has been crowned with glory and honour.' Thus Tholuck also, who, however, and Steinⁿ also, leaves it undecided, whether by this 'crowning with glory,' the resurrection is intended. But this appears to me un mistakeable. For in reference to the consummation, to be looked for only in the future, of the Messianic kingdom, having as yet small beginning only and little strength, the author points at what was accomplished already, to wit, the redemption of Jesus by his resurrection and ascension. As an antithesis to the national belief of the Jews, that their Messiah would live and reign to all eternity, he shows *how this very death led to his glorification* (comp. Luke xxiv. 26; Phil. ii. 7, etc.).

Finally, John also, the disciple, represents Jesus as about to appear before all the world as ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός, ὁ πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ὁ ἄρχων τῶν βασιλείων τῆς γῆς (Rev. i. 5). References to the resurrection are contained in all three expressions. He was indeed, even upon earth, a faithful herald of the truth, bearing a trustworthy witness to it; but all was confirmed by his resurrection, and the reference is to his eternal operation for the truth. By his resurrection he is the Head of all who are dead, and at the same time, as the first raised to immortal life, he has before all entered thereinto. Thus he is also 'Prince of the kings of the earth,' since through his resurrection he was solemnly acknowledged as the only-begotten Son of the Lord of Lords (1 Tim. vi. 15); and Christendom now gains the victory over all worldly power. Therefore the same inspired seer, in vision of eternal

^m Dr. Schulz, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*. Breslau, 1818. P. 97, etc.

ⁿ *Der Brief an die Hebräer, theoretisch-praktisch erklärt und in seinem grossartigen Zusammenhange dargestellt*. Leipzig, 1838, p. 98, etc. (does not everywhere quite answer to the title).

glory, describes with bold images the glorified blest of heaven worshipping before the throne, and casting down their crowns (iv. 10); and, after the victory over Satan, how, through all heaven, resounds the song of praise, 'Now is fulfilled salvation and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the might of His Anointed' (xii. 10).

SECTION SECOND.

The consideration of the resurrection of Christ in its influence on his believing followers is of still greater practical importance. Its δύναμις embraces, what it is to be for us, and what it is to work in us, what it commands us and promises us. The thought often appears generally, 'we die with Christ in order to rise again with him.' In this there is contained the suggestion of the sufferings and distresses which we, as Christ, have to contend with, and amid which it is our comfort that we shall another day share in his glory. It also implies the admonition, that the old state must pass away and a new one begin in us; which again is sometimes represented as the passing away of the old sin and the beginning of a new holy life; and sometimes as the ceasing of the old law and the righteousness of the law, and the rise, as of a new thing within us, of faith and the righteousness of faith. While now these different references are often quite blent together, yet there are also many passages where a peculiar power and influence of the resurrection of Jesus is *particularly* made prominent. This is sometimes presented especially as incitement to repentance and sanctification, sometimes as security for the confidence of completed redemption, and sometimes, finally, as basis and support of the hope of our own resurrection and personal immortality.

I. As the teaching and example of Jesus incite unceasingly to μετάνοια, and the consideration of his death, if suitably effected, must move even the most stupid sinner, so also his resurrection, which followed thereupon, affords *very earnest admonitions to repentance and amendment*. On this account the Holy Scripture usually connects with the announcement of the resurrection, the summons to repentance and conversion.

Jesus himself impressed on his disciples, when he charged them, shortly before the ascension, that he must have suffered and risen, 'that repentance and remission of sins might be preached in his name' (Luke xxiv. 46, 47). To fulfil this charge, all the Apostles laboured with honest zeal. When Peter's inspired address on the importance and the grand results of the resurrection touched the hearers to the heart, and they said to him and to the other Apostles, 'Men and brethren, what shall we do?' he laid before them the first and constant condition of participation in the king-

dom of God, *μετανοήσατε* (Acts ii. 38). When the healing of the lame beggar filled all who saw and heard with wondering and amazement, and Peter showed that what had been efficacious in this deed was the power of God, who had raised Jesus from the dead, he again added, 'Repent ye, therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out' (Acts iii. 19). When the Apostles who had been laid in prison for preaching Christ, set free by an angel, suddenly reappeared in the temple, and were brought to account concerning it before the Sanhedrim, Peter's vindication again ran thus,—'The God of our fathers hath raised up (*ἤγειρεν* i. q. *ἀνέστησεν* sc. *ἐκ νεκρῶν*, as, in relation to this, the expression is everywhere in Acts) Jesus; whom ye slew and hanged on a tree; him hath God exalted with his right hand, to be a Prince and a Saviour, *for to give* (through him) *repentance to Israel*, and remission of sins' (Acts v. 30, 31). Also in his larger Epistle, Peter represents 'the covenant' of a good conscience with God,* which is concluded at baptism, as receiving strength and firmness through the resurrection of Christ (1 Pet. iii. 21); and probably means, that as Christ went forth new-animated and glorified from the sepulchre, so every Christian, consecrated to him, is to go forth from the bath of baptism as a new man, purified in spirit and heart.

The same thought is still more frequently and plainly expressed by Paul, according to whom the resurrection of Jesus is an image or type of our (moral) renewal. 'Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into the faith in Jesus Christ, were baptized (consecrated, engaged) withal into the believing appropriation of his death?' Thus we are to be considered as buried with him through the baptism into his death, with the consequence, that, like as Christ was raised from the dead by the Father's plenitude of power, even so we also should begin a new life (brought about, represented by the resurrection of Christ) (Rom. vi. 3, 4; comp. 5-13). In a similar way farther on: 'Ye also are become dead to the law by the death of Christ, for to belong to another, namely himself, who is raised from the dead, that we may bring forth well-pleasing fruit unto God' (Rom. vii. 4). That is to say, since the death of Christ brings to men the mercy of God and forgiveness of their earlier committed sins, and signifies withal, that they, dead to sin, are to begin a new, moral life; then the former sins of believing Christians are no longer considered, the judgment of condemnation is in force no longer; but in this very manner the Christian is engaged to Christ, and indeed engaged to imitate the resurrection of Christ by his own spiritual resurrection. Accord-

* Cited from Luther's version, 'Der Bund eines guten Gewissens mit Gott.'—Tr.

ingly the Almighty, death-conquering Spirit of God, who raised Jesus from the dead (Rom. viii. 11), is to dwell in us, and we are constantly to bear about in the body the death (νεκρωσις i. q. θάνατος) of the Lord Jesus, that his life (conduct) also may be made manifest in us (2 Cor. iv. 10). Our whole activity is to be a dying and rising with Christ, and in life and in death we are to strive after resemblance to Christ. When we are dead with him, everything which we before valued so highly is esteemed no longer; for Christ himself says, 'He who renounceth not all goods which he possesseth (ὅς οὐκ ἀποτάσσεται πᾶσι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ὑπαρχουσιν) cannot be my disciple' (Luke xiv. 33). 'We live no more unto ourselves, but unto him who died for us and rose again' (2 Cor. v. 15; comp. 17). The Apostle describes the power of the resurrection of Christ in this respect as mighty and superabundant (Ephes. i. 19, 20); says that 'Us who were dead in sins, God hath quickened together with Christ, raised us up, and removed us to the heavenly region together with him' (Ephes. ii. 5); confesses of himself that he has not yet reached this complete dying to all imperfection, nor attained to the whole power and significance of the resurrection of Jesus (Phil. iii. 10-15); and summons all the faithful as 'risen with Christ, to seek what is above, where Christ dwelleth in his glory' (Col. iii. 1).

We have yet to cite, in conclusion, the beautiful, and, if not Pauline, certainly Apostolic, greeting and blessing,—'The God of peace (εἰρήνης, salvation, blessing, happiness), that brought again from the dead (ἀναγαγὼν ἐκ νεκρῶν, a plain denotation of the resurrection, the only one of the kind in all the Epistle) our Lord Jesus, that great shepherd of the nations (strictly of the sheep, προβάτων), through the sealing of the eternal covenant with his blood, perfect you in every good work to do his will, working in you that which is well-pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ' (Heb. xiii. 20, 21).

II. The resurrection of Christ is variously brought into connection with *the confidence of atonement and of completed redemption*. Here the death and resurrection of Jesus stand together; there repentance immediately precedes the forgiveness of sins, so that this appears as its consequence; and, again, the resurrection alone is undeniably often represented as the basis of the confidence of pardon and happiness, inasmuch as it furnishes the proof that God accepted as sufficient the atoning sacrifice of the death of his Son, and that He accomplishes in a higher and real sense for all believing men what the brazen serpent, elevated by Moses, once effected for the Israelites.^p

^p 'Ut palam exstaret hæc mors intuenda hominibus peccatoribus, fundamentum spei.' Morus epit., p. 175.

That repentance and forgiveness appear in many ways as consequence of the resurrection and its preaching is evident from most of the passages last cited and explained (comp. especially Luke xxiv. 47; Acts ii. 38; iii. 19, 20, etc.). But both in these passages, and in those others which make the forgiveness of sins dependent on the preaching of the resurrection of Jesus, Faith is always represented as the means. Thus Peter preaches in the house of Cornelius,—‘God raised up Jesus on the third day, and showed him openly; not to all the people, but unto witnesses chosen before of God, even to us, who ate and drank with him after he rose from the dead. And he commanded us to preach unto the people, and to testify that it is he which is ordained of God to be the judge of the living and the dead. To him give all the prophets witness, that through his name *whosoever believeth in him* shall receive remission of sins’ (Acts x. 40-43). And Paul said in Antioch,—‘He whom God raised again saw not corruption. Be it known unto you, therefore, men and brethren, that through him (the Risen One) is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins: and by him *all that believe* are justified’ (pardoned) (xiii. 37-39). And again, ‘If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and *believe* in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved’ (Rom. x. 9).

If the death and the resurrection of Jesus are named in connection with each other, so that the latter is added as corroboration or antithesis, then the thought is implied, that the resurrection is the solemn confirmation of the acceptance of the sacrificial death. Thus it is said: ‘Now it was not written for his sake alone (that is, Abraham’s), that it was imputed to him; but for us also, to whom it shall be imputed, if we believe on him who raised up Jesus our Lord from the dead; who was delivered for our offences (their forgiveness), and raised again for our justification’ (Rom. iv. 23-25). *Διὰ δικαίωσιν ἡμῶν* evidently expresses the same idea as *διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν*, for our treatment, as if we were guiltless. We cannot possibly regard the one (forgiveness) as the effect of the death only, and the other (justification) of the resurrection only: there is rather here a Hebrew parallelism, both members of which belong to one proposition,—through Christ’s death we receive forgiveness of sins, and this significance of his death was divinely attested by the resurrection. De Wette also says,¹ that the antithesis is founded rather in the parallelism than in the thing itself (comp. x. 10). It is exactly the same with Paul’s glorious, triumphant utterance from the heartfelt joy of faith: ‘Who shall lay anything to the charge of

¹ Kurze Erklärung des Briefes an die Römer. 1 Aufl. Leipzig, 1835. P. 50.

God's elect? It is God that justifieth. Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, *yea rather*, that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, and cares for our salvation' (Rom. viii. 33, 34). So it is also essentially, when the resurrection is mentioned alone. This is evident in the well-known reasoning—'If Christ be not raised, your faith is vain; ye are yet in your sins. Then they also which are fallen asleep in Christ are perished' (1 Cor. xv. 17, 18); add here in thought the antithesis (from ver. 20); but now since Christ is risen, our hope of redemption and atonement rests on sure foundation. 'Death, then, is swallowed up in victory. Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy victory? But thanks be to God, who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ' (1 Cor. xv. 55, 57).

Neither are such thoughts strange to Peter, though not so usual:—'Ye know that ye . . . were redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, who has been manifested in the end of the till now historical period for your sakes, who, taught by him, believe in God, who raised him up from the dead, and gave him glory, so that your faith and hope is now really directed to God' (1 Pet. i. 18, 20, 21). 'For even Christ hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that he might procure for us access to God, being put to death in the flesh, but quickened in the spirit' (1 Pet. iii. 18). 'When we remember the unprecise mode of expression in the writers of the New Testament, we can no longer be surprised at the "*quicken*ing," nor can we conjecture that Peter supposed the spirit of Christ to have died. He was thinking only of the contrast between putting to death and quickening.'

We meet with the same consideration also in the Epistle to the Hebrews; where it is said of Jesus, that 'for the suffering of death he was crowned with glory and honour, that he should taste death for every man' (ii. 9). 'He in the days of his earthly life, offered up prayers and supplications, with strong crying and tears (. . . think of the sorrowful hours in Gethsemane, the calling from the cross, and of many other troubled moments of the time of suffering, John xii. 27; Matthew xxvi. 38, 39; xxvii. 46; Luke xxii. 41-44 . . .) unto Him that was able to save him from death, and was freed (properly, heard) from the pangs of death' (ἐὐλαβεία, thus Storr and most modern interpreters, also Tholuck and Stein; others follow the Vulgate, *pro suâ reverentiâ*, and Luther has it, 'because he honoured God': whichever interpretation we prefer, the remark always obtrudes itself, that as Jesus did suffer death, he was, strictly speaking, *not heard*; nor does the importance of this objection escape the author, but he rightly

* Comp. Jachmann, *kath. Briefe*, p. 135.

* Quoted from Jachmann, p. 157.

answers it in the following verses ; adding on the one hand, how and why Jesus was not immediately heard and delivered ; afterwards, however, declaring what was essentially the true hearing, namely, the glorification, which, however, supposed that death). It is said further, 'Though he were the Son (of God), yet learned he obedience through suffering.' In the *καίπερ ὡν υἱὸς* there is expressed, either the reason of obedience and suffering, since he, as Son, was subject to his Father's will ; or better, according to Storr, it is the utterance of an apparent objection, which ought to have freed him from death ; thus, notwithstanding he was the Son. **Εμαθεν τὴν ὑπακοὴν* is not to be understood as if Christ then first learned to obey, but is probably an allusion to the proverb, *παθήματα μαθήματα*, suffering is the school of experience ; he learned in his own suffering how difficult it is to obey, and thus became *μετριοπαθεῖν δυνάμενος* (ver. 2). That which is required in a true priest was seen fulfilled in Christ, namely, appearing for us before God, with the zeal which arises from fellow-feeling with our sufferings. Finally : 'Moreover being made perfect (exalted by his resurrection to the right hand of God, as ii. 10), he became cause of eternal salvation to all them that obey him.' As Jesus the Father, so are all Christians to obey Christ, and thus attain to salvation (so John iii. 16). In *ὑπακούειν*, is expressed the true, active faith, as condition of salvation (Heb. v. 7-9).

III. There remain to be cited those passages of the New Testament, in which the resurrection of Jesus is represented *as the proper basis and support of our hope, of our own resurrection, and personal immortality*. We must first of all observe, that, besides the passages cited above, as treating of spiritual (moral) resurrection from the death of sin, with reference to the return of Jesus from the grave, there are other expressions occurring, which, according to the original sense of the words, speak of resurrection and of being resuscitated, but without regard to the resurrection of Jesus.

Paul, for example, describes a life in darkness, and in that passage, obscure in its meaning and connection, intends apparently to express what is a fundamental thought of Christ's (John iii. 20) : 'the works of darkness (*ἔργα ἀκαρπια τοῦ σκότους*) practised in secret (*κρυφῇ γενόμενα*), must shun the light ; we may not even speak of them (*αἰσχροὶν ἔστι καὶ λέγειν*) ; but everything which is reproved by the light (and has been made better by the light, *ἐλεγχόμενα*) comes to the light (*φανεροῦται*, hides itself no longer in the secret of the darkness). For what goes to the light, is itself light (is to be regarded as good) ; therefore it is said—

‘Awake thou that sleepest,
And arise from the dead,
And Christ shall give thee light’ (Eph. v. 12-14).

This is evidently a quotation from some sacred hymn, and in the Greek original contains three verses—

ἔγειρε ὁ καθεύδων
καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν,
ἐπιφαύσει σοι ὁ Χριστός.

Moreover we must not overlook, that Christ, especially with reference to his Divine character as the λόγος, is very often, and on different occasions, represented as principle and original source of life (of his own, and of his followers); yet without any possible reference to his resurrection. This is especially the case with John. It is said of the λόγος, ‘in him was life’ (ἡ ζωή, the creative power of life, John i. 4); and Christ himself says, ‘As the Father raiseth up the dead and quickeneth them, even so the Son quickeneth whom he will’ (John v. 21); where, by raising up and quickening, the impartation of the new life is intended, which believers receive here, and yonder protract eternally; and then the expression, οὗς θέλει, does not denote caprice, but the independence of his operation. He further says, setting out with the Father’s Divine independence, ‘As the Father hath life in himself (is original source of life), so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself’ (and to impart to others, ver. 26). In reference to the world and men, it is true of Christ that he is the author and founder of life, which, however, in reference to God, is represented as one received from Him, imparted to Christ. Therefore Jesus promises eternal life to believers, and says, ‘This is the will of Him that sent me, that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on him, may have eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day’ (John vi. 40; comp. 44, 47, 51, 54). ‘No man taketh my life from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have the free power (ἐξουσία) to let it go and to take it again’ (John x. 18), namely, by the resurrection. That God raised up Christ, is not in contradiction with this, since the ἐξουσία is given to him by God; and the two expressions ἀναστῆναι, and ἐγερθῆναι, ‘to rise,’ and ‘to be raised,’ are used quite indiscriminately. He says also as the shepherd of his own, ‘I give unto them eternal life; and they shall not perish eternally, neither shall any one pluck them out of my hand’ (John x. 28). And elsewhere, ‘I am the resurrection and the life; he that believeth in me, though he die, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall not die eternally’ (John xi. 25, 26; comp. iii. 16; xiv. 6, 19; 1 John v. 11.)

Statements of this kind seldom occur with Paul; yet they are not altogether wanting, when, for instance, he says, 'Christ is my life' (Phil. i. 21); 'Christ hath abolished death (that is, the might of death, the fear of his power, of his threatening terrors), and brought life and immortality to light *through the gospel* (2 Tim. i. 10; comp. Rom. v. 18, 21). Here belongs also that passage (at least written in the *spirit* of Paul), in the highest degree important, 'Forasmuch then as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same; that through his death he might destroy him that had the power of death' (Heb. ii. 14).

Accordingly it is of course undeniable, that Jesus, in conformity with his Divine dignity, had, even during his ministry, power over life, and neither could himself become a prey to corruption (οὐκ ἦν δυνατόν κρατεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θανάτου, Acts ii. 24; comp. 31), nor needed, in order to give his followers eternal life, a further impartation, by the act of resurrection, of the once-received *ἐξουσία*. But there occur, nevertheless, many beautiful passages, in which our immortality and resurrection are put into such a connection with the resurrection of Jesus, as, though it cannot be regarded as proper causal connection, is in the highest degree important and significant, and contains rich comfort for Christians, believers in Jesus, the Risen One. If Christ, even according to his entire higher existence, must be regarded as Lord of life, how much more, and with how much higher confidence must the apostles have apprehended it after his return from the sepulchre! Accordingly, with loud voice and words of triumph, they proclaimed him the Prince of Life (τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς, Acts iii. 15, for which the Vulgate rightly has *Auctorem vitæ*); and performed great deeds, with surprising consequences, in his name. For the victory over death was now fully purchased, and the old objection, that no one had yet returned from the kingdom of the dead (καὶ οὐκ ἐγνώσθη ὁ ἀναλύσας ἐξ ᾧδου, Wisd. of Sol. ii. 1⁴), availed no more.¹ Paul sometimes so expresses himself, that it might be doubtful, whether we are to regard him as speaking of the spiritual-moral awakening of the faithful to the new Christian life, or of the future real resurrection from literal death. Perhaps, nay probably, both are to be understood in many passages (comp. Rom. vi. 4, 5; viii. 11; 1 Cor. vi 14, where, to say the least, a mention of the real, bodily resurrection *alone*, between ver.

¹ Comp. Minucii Felicis Octavius, ii. 8, and my notes on the passage, p. 93 of my ed.

² Morus observes excellently, 'Christi reditum in vitam esse nobis pignus nostri reditus in vitam [sive ob exemplum possibilitatis, 1 Cor. xv. 12, 13, sive ob nexum antecedentis et consequentis, 1 Cor. xv. 23; 1 Thess. iv. 14, quorum hoc tam certum est, quam illud], simul pignus futuræ alius vitæ a morte corporis.'—Epit. p. 176.

13 and ver. 15, would be somewhat strange).^{*} But it is quite different with the celebrated, and, for the Christian doctrine of the resurrection and of eternal life, eminently CLASSICAL PASSAGE (1 Cor. xv.), in which the apostle argues against certain opponents at Corinth. It is evident that these opponents (*τινὲς ἐν ὑμῖν*, v. 12) are on the whole connected with parties prevailing at Corinth, about which there are notoriously very different views, into which we cannot here enter further.

This much is certain; these opponents must have been such as denied not only a bodily resurrection, but generally an actual life after death; for Paul includes both in the conception of the *ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν* which he defends. Olshausen appears to me to be in error here,[†] when he 'thinks merely of the idealistic fancy, as if the resurrection were to be taken spiritually' (p. 455 and 680). Moreover the opinion of Hülsemann, with whom Wolf and Semler seem to agree, is quite groundless,—namely, that not Christians are to be understood, but heathen philosophers, gene-

^{*} It may be doubted whether the profounder characteristics of New Testament teaching, concerning the influence of Christ's resurrection on believing men, are quite reached in this and the two preceding subdivisions. There seems somewhat in such passages as Acts ii. 27, John i. 4, v. 21-26, vi. 53, x. 18, xi. 25, xiv. 19, Rev. i. 18, Rom. iv. 25, vi. 5, viii. 11, Col. ii. 12, Phil. iii. 21, 1 Cor. vi. 13-15, xv. 45-49, 1 Pet. i. 21, more than anything which is set forth in the text. The whole life of Jesus was an appeal from men to God. Perfect innocence and the highest holiness, treated with the last injustice, put to shame and death, cried loudly and confidently, for the first time, from earth to heaven for judgment and vindication. Had it cried in vain, we should have lost faith in God, truth and goodness, and existence had become vain and insupportable. But the appeal was heard, and answered on the morning of the third day. Jesus was raised by reason of his holiness. Holiness is the key of the universe, which unlocks all the treasures of God, and cannot be resisted by the bars of the grave. Or if we look at the Divine Word incarnate in Christ, as having life and holiness in himself, we reach the same point. That which is holiness in the region of morals, is life and immortality in the region of existence. In the one it appears as antagonist of sin, in the other of death and corruption. Holiness is the life of the spirit; life, so to speak, the holiness of the body. If the spirit be living, the body cannot become the prey of corruption. Thus, since man is one, it is one agent and one operation which quickens the spirit and the body. Raising the dead is the highest act of the power of the living God, gives to Him a characteristic appellation, and is the noblest and most binding object of faith. And by virtue of the union between Christ and believing men, his resurrection involves their pardon, sanctification, resurrection, and immortality; and when these are actually effected, it is by the same agent, and is the same continued operation. Christ was raised by the Spirit of Holiness; they are sanctified by the power of his resurrection; which again extends even to their bodies, quickening them during the earthly sojourn, and then endues their entire being with immortality. Thus Christ, in himself and in his members, is the resurrection, life in conflict with death, holiness contending with sin. His resurrection is in mystery our entire redemption. Hence the manifoldness of the Pauline expressions.—*Translator.*

[†] That is, in the representation which he gives of the opinions of the opponents. 'These imbued with a Gnostic, spiritual bias, might easily take offence at the resurrection of the body, in which there appeared to them to be a gross materialism. It is possible that, like Hymenæus and Philetus, they understood the *ἀνάστασις* spiritually.'—Olshausen on 1 Cor. xv. 12.—*Tr.*

rally dwelling at Corinth; for Paul evidently combats such as belonged outwardly at least to the Christian community (τινὲς ἐν ἡμῖν, v. 12). Just as little can we suppose with Mosheim (in his Exposition), that the opponents were such as were inclined to Essenism; for Essenes denied the bodily resurrection only, not actual immortality.² We might much rather be induced to agree with Heilmann, Storr, Krause, and others, who understand Sadduceically inclined Jewish Christians, at first devoted to the Christian faith, but now relapsed to their old errors. It is well known of the Sadducees, that they rejected the resurrection together with immortality in general, quite as Paul here describes (comp. Mark xii. 18, etc.; Acts xxiii. 8; Joseph. de Bello Jud. II. viii. 14, and elsewhere); and also, that many among them (for others had greater moral severity) were, as wanton men, not disinclined to the maxim, φάγωμεν καὶ πίωμεν· αὔριον γὰρ ἀποδνήσκομεν, which Paul reproaches them with as a discouraging admonition (v. 32). It almost seems as if Paul has Jewish Christians especially in view, since he appeals for proof of the resurrection of Jesus to the witness of the Apostles Peter (v. 8) and James (v. 7) particularly, whose authority was especially weighty with the Jewish Christians. What Olshausen alleges against this appears to me hardly tenable. The truth of the matter, however, is probably this, that Paul combats deniers of the resurrection and of immortality, as being both among the Jewish Christians, once Sadducees (here the disciples of Cephas), and (as Ziegler has already remarked) among the heathen Christians (here the Christ party), who had before been addicted to some philosophic sect.

Enough that Paul opposes an error which threatened to become ruinous to the Christian faith of the community at Corinth, and proves the truth of the Christian doctrine of the resurrection from the certainty of the resurrection of Christ; which he does in the following course of thought:—‘If, according to the foregoing (verses 1-11), the resurrection of Christ rests upon so sure witnesses, how can some among you maintain that the resurrection of the dead is impossible?’ (v. 12). He means to say, How can the possibility of that be denied, which has actually happened? Logicians would express it, *ab esse ad posse valet consequentia*. ‘But if the resurrection of the dead is denied as impossible, then Christ cannot be risen, but this matter of fact must be rejected in opposition to the most unsuspicious witnesses’ (v. 13). ‘He who maintains that, must also admit, that we and all who are convinced of the resurrection of Christ as matter of fact, are devoted to an empty delusion, which however, with the remarkable multitude of

² Φθαρτὰ μὲν εἶναι τὰ σώματα — τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς θανάτους δεῖ διαμένειν κ.τ.λ.— Joseph. de bello Jud. II. viii. 11: Comp. Antiq. xviii. i. 5.

most faithful vouchers, no one will assert' (v. 14). *Κήρυγμα* is merely the preaching of the intelligence, Christ is risen; and *πίστις* is the doctrine and conviction of the resurrection of Christ and of Christians; but *κενός* is here not vain, fruitless (which is rather *μάταιος*, v. 17), but as *ἄψ*, false, groundless, otherwise than the Corinthian Christians have themselves confessed. 'Yea, precisely because that event was impossible, we should have to be charged with a designed, shameful fraud, which we as messengers of God had perpetrated; truly the unimaginable supposition would have to be made, that we had lied for God, testifying that He raised up Christ, which cannot be if the raising of the dead in general is impossible. This supposition, however, is the less credible, inasmuch as we, as Apostles and heralds, are so often extraordinarily succoured; but God can succour no one who testifies untruly of Him' (vv. 15, 16). After he has then further developed the thought, that, with the resurrection of Christ and the faith in it, the essential hopes of Christians fall (and consequently the *πίστις*, that is, the conviction of the highest truths of Christianity in general, which are closely connected with the faith in Christ's resurrection, is *μταία*, that is, vain and fruitless; comp. vv. 17-19, and p. 76 above), he proceeds:—'But now the resurrection of Christ stands firmly as unassailable matter of fact; therefore also the resurrection and eternal felicity of Christians; for all in the resurrection follow Him as the first-fruits of those who rise from the dead' (v. 20). As the first-fruits are token of the impending harvest (Lev. xxiii. 10), so the resurrection of Christ is the security for the resurrection of all the dead. The Apostle disputes *ex concessis*; but he does not disclaim other reasons (vv. 29-32), or the predictions of the Old Testament prophets (v. 55; comp. Is. xxv. 8); and closes his whole argumentation and consideration of eternal life with ascription of praise to God,—'Thanks be unto God, who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ' (v. 57). In other passages still, he finds in like manner the hope of the immortality and resurrection of believers on the certainty of the resurrection of Jesus Christ. 'We know that He which raised up the Lord Jesus, shall raise up us also, and lead us with you to felicity' (2 Cor. iv. 14). Thus the resurrection of Jesus Christ appears as the security for ours. Some indeed have here wished to understand merely rescue from dangers; but the words are too plain; and especially *παραστῆναι* cannot well be otherwise interpreted than 'present alive,' 'lead to salvation, to felicity.' The idea of being presented before a tribunal (as *φανερωθῆναι ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, 2 Cor. v. 10), which Olshausen finds here, has no relation to the context. In another passage;—'Our kingdom (*πολίτευμα*, the state, whose

citizens we are to be) is in heaven, whence we again await our Saviour, Jesus Christ; who shall change the body of our humiliation, that it may be fashioned like to the body of his glory' (Phil. iii. 20, 21; comp. Col. iii. 4). Therefore Christ is also called, 'the beginning and the first-born from the dead (*πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν*, the first-risen from the dead), that in all things he might go before us' (Col. i. 18); which may refer to priority both in time and in dignity; and in any case indicates that he is the exemplar of his followers (comp. 1 Cor. xv. 23; 1 Thess. iv. 14).

The words of Peter moreover are of great importance in this respect;—'Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who according to his abundant mercy hath begotten us again (transformed) to a living hope through the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead' (1 Pet. i. 3). Through this has our hope for the first time become a *living* one (appearing in clearest consciousness); for the New Testament regards the resurrection as the chief confirmation of the promise of salvation by the Messiah (comp. 1 Cor. xv. 14).

These are the most important points which the New Testament renders prominent concerning the resurrection of Jesus. Of course this does not exclude many other considerations, especially all those further rich consolations offered in other modes, by this eternally memorable event.

THE ATTESTATION BY MIRACLES.

If we would rightly appreciate the Life of Christ, we must keep in mind that the Creator is made known to the creature through two channels of communication—outwardly through the Son, and spiritually through the Holy Ghost. As man has lost this second bond of union with the Father, so has he forfeited the privilege of holding sensible intercourse with the Divine Logos. The spiritual separation from God (in which all our race were by nature lying) influenced the *mode* of the Christian revelation, in two ways. It blinded men's eyes, that they could not distinguish the Divinity in Jesus; and it prevented him from manifesting his glorious presence, which sinful eyes might not behold.

It is, therefore, what we should expect; that, when the Incarnate Word visited mankind, and attested his mission by the display of creative power, such a testimony was received only by the spiritual, or those in whom the Divine Spirit was renewing himself, and was repudiated by the godless, who possessed no faculties for recognizing the Deity.

Now, a miracle is properly a work of God, independent of actually existing laws; and as these laws (*nature*, as they are called) had been unable to show God, in his true character, to his rebellious children, Christ, coming to remedy this deficiency, changed nature, *i. e.* worked miracles, or opened a new mode of apprehending the First Cause. The Lord, therefore, in giving these exhibitions of power, invariably confined them to the purpose for which they were wrought; viz., to display God to men (as they were fitted to receive such knowledge), by other means than those which hitherto had existed; and the Saviour's miracles thus stand in marked contrast with the pretended wonders of impostors, which only minister to a love of the marvellous.

1. Jesus did no miracle before he had commenced his ministry, because then only did he begin to teach men of God. We are told that the turning of water into wine, at the marriage-feast of Cana, was the *beginning of miracles*. It is called a manifestation of his glory; and it is further added that his disciples thereupon believed on him; that is to say, they had been originally attracted to him upon the testimony of others, and by his own assertions. They had waited for the hour when the Divine should appear in the human, and this miracle was regarded as the first step towards satisfying their expectations; and yielding thus to God; receiving with thankfulness the faintest glimpse which the Father gave of himself, they were growing in spiritual strength, and consented to wait still longer till the glory of Christ should become more and more clearly revealed. We are authorised, therefore, in stating that up to this time the Saviour had himself given no external proof of his Divine nature. The stories, once in vogue, of his childhood, were such evident fabrications, that they have long since ceased even to be known. They were invented by men who did not comprehend what purpose the miracles were to serve; and they represent Jesus as doing wonders certainly, but with no instructive design, with no moral significance.

The miracles, moreover, regarded as proofs of Divinity,* terminated at the resurrection: they were not needed when his mission had been accomplished. They were, after all, but an occasional flashing forth of Divinity from the humble Christ. Except at these times, he seemed only an ordinary man; but, when the period of his humiliation had passed by, and his glorified presence was visible by those who had been disciplined for the sight, then this very appearance was an extended miracle. It was Divinity,

* The miraculous draught of fishes, described in St. John's last chapter, had an import, very different from that conveyed by a similar action at the commencement of the ministry. The first proved his superhuman *power*; the last, his *care* of the disciples.

displayed, no longer in interrupted gleams, but in one full blaze of light.

2. Christ's miracles were, with only two exceptions, of a beneficial tendency. While giving sight to the blind and speech to the dumb, raising the cripple on his feet, lifting the sick from his bed, and calling back the dead to life, he drew attention to himself as the one whose special office it was to bless mankind. Evils such as these are readily understood and sorely felt by all; and although the motive which led the suffering to apply for aid to Jesus was oftentimes not the product of spiritual wants, still it was an *earnest* motive, and implied not only an actual belief in his power, but the growth of love and devotion to that gracious friend, and a consequent appreciation of his power and willingness to save from *moral* diseases.

In this world of trouble we are thus ever taught to feel and to know what evil really is, and to wish for deliverance from it. If this feeling lead us to Christ, we shall not fail to discover how much he loves us and desires our good. Most godly men were first induced to seek for Divine support by the pressure of temporal affliction, which was proved to be the scourge of him who thus chastens those he loves; and the Lord himself pointed out the necessary connection that there was between his power to heal the sick and his authority to forgive sins.

It was in consequence of his restoring the nobleman's son at Capernaum, that the man and his whole house believed; not only believed in his power to heal (which it would have been superfluous to relate), but in the superior authority he claimed of being the Way, the Truth, and the Life. Peter and Andrew were doubtless attached more closely to him by the recovery of Peter's wife's mother; and the narrative shows that the crowd of the disciples continued to swell with the accession of those who, like Mary Magdalene, were living monuments of his mercy.

Two instances only are mentioned where the miracle caused harm—when the herd of swine were destroyed, and when he cursed the barren fig-tree. They seem to be introduced for the purpose of preventing the mistake which so many commit, that, because God is chiefly known as a God of love, there are no calamities in store for the wicked. In the case of the men of Gadara, we see that there are certain states of the soul which may be moved rather by fear than by love. These people were in a very deadened condition, as is evidenced not only by their having set at nought the religious feeling of their nation about swine; but more remarkably still by their desiring Jesus, after they had witnessed and acknowledged his power, to rid them of his presence. With such people terror would be more impressive than kindness.

We learn also from this how misplaced was the nearly universal expectation, at that time, of the appearance of a vengeance-taking God; for, in this almost solitary display of force and punishment, no moral effect seems to have followed. The humble, gentle Christ effected more than if an angel of wrath had descended from heaven.

So likewise, when he withered the barren fig-tree, he taught, primarily indeed, that his own countrymen had forfeited their position in his kingdom; for, with the leaves that ought to have been accompanied by fruit, with the privileges that ought to have induced goodness, they were barren and useless. But, in its secondary sense, this miracle is for the warning of all men. God expects fruit from us all; and while we know him now as a forbearing, long-suffering Father, yet, if eventually, amid the profusion of foliage, he finds no fruit, we shall be cast forth as a branch and withered.

3. Christ healed none but those who had faith to be healed. No one was cured against his own consent. God does indeed reveal himself outwardly to all men alike; to the infidel as to the saint; to the sneering Sadducee and the unchastened Pharisee as to the faithful disciple or the humble penitent. The one, however, is benefited, because he is faithful; the other is unaffected, because he has never felt the inner need of God. It is so under all the phases of humanity. Both with godly and godless there is the same nature to be worked upon, and the same facts are presented to their contemplation. In the same assembly the profane and the worldly listen with apathy to that same narrative which thrills through the spiritual or the broken-hearted. Only these latter are healed, for they alone have faith to be healed. None can admit God but those whose souls are already opening to him; he finds no entrance to the dead spirits of those who are not craving and hungering after him; so do we find that Christ assured those he cured, that their *faith* had made them whole; and when he returned to his own city Nazareth, he could do no mighty work among its inhabitants, because of their unbelief.

In most cases also of healing he demanded co-operation; the recovered man was to *do* something ere the remedy was perfectly achieved, and was to signify his faith by his ready compliance. This circumstance we see repeated in the greater number of Christ's miracles. Thus the ruler at Capernaum heard no news of his child's restoration until he had gone his way, as Jesus had directed him. The brethren on the sea of Galilee would never have caught their heavy netful, had they not, relying on the word of him who sat in the boat, again put out to sea, and renewed their hitherto fruitless efforts. The paralytic at Capernaum and the

infirm man at Bethesda were not healed until they obeyed the Lord, and took up their bed. The man with the withered hand would never have become a testimony of the Lord's power, if he had not believed his word, and stretched forth the limb. The man at Jerusalem, blind from his birth, did not see before he had washed in Siloam. The ten lepers were not cleansed until they had actually set forth to present themselves before the priest; and if Bartimæus had not risen when called, he would have been a sightless beggar to the end of his life.

Nevertheless let us remember that the blind, the crippled, the lepers could not heal themselves. It was Christ who said *I will*.

4. A very noticeable feature in the miracles was, that they were never superfluous: they were never wrought where the ordinary capabilities of nature could effect the same result. For a true miracle, being a revelation of God, apart from the actual laws, must, in order to answer this purpose, do only what these laws cannot do. It must not supersede nature, but supply its deficiencies; and therefore we do not read of Christ healing those who could be healed otherwise. Only those helpless by human aid were restored by him. The ever blind, the incurable lepers, the withered and maimed, and sometimes the dead, had no means of recovery but through the compassionate prophet of Nazareth. The woman who had spent her whole living upon other physicians, in the vain hope that *they* could staunch an issue of blood,—who, under their treatment, was nothing bettered, but rather grew worse,—was made whole by touching the Great Physician's garments.

In perfect analogy with this feature, the Lord never continued his aid as soon as it had answered its proper end. He gave, indeed, to the sons of Zebedee and their partners an abundant draught of fishes; but he let them, with their ordinary fishers' craft, haul in the net and drag their wealth to shore. *They* could do this, hard and hazardous as it was. And, when he had raised the ruler's child to life, and so effected what none others could do, he did not find food for her, since the parents, of themselves, could give her to eat. It is true that, on two grand occasions, he did create bread for thousands of wearied followers; but it was only after the disciples had told him that among so great a multitude there was but a loaf or two. And even then he would not continue the miracle. He did not waste what already existed, but commanded the fragments to be gathered up and kept in store for future use.^b

^b Our Saviour, in rebuking his disciples for thinking too much of the food he had given them, reminded them, very remarkably, of the *quantity* of fragments they had taken up. And he did this, not to augment the mere marvellousness of

Immediately connected with this last-named particular is the absence of all miraculous agency, save when the publication of his message demanded an authoritative attestation. He did not release John Baptist from prison or from death. He did not relieve his own wants by exerting his superhuman power. The supplies he needed were drawn from his indigent friends. The dangers to which he was exposed were avoided, not by striking his persecutors dead, but by concealing himself from their malice. At the last, while proving that the power was with him (for he healed with a touch the mutilated ear of Malchus), yet he would not call the legions of angels to his assistance. Still less did he put forth Divine influence on the cross: he, who could assure to the dying penitent a speedy admission into Paradise, was himself suffering torment and feverish thirst, to be alleviated only by the same means as could help his companions in ignominy.

5. There was a marked *reserve* in the miracles: they were never obtruded upon men. Not only were they withdrawn, as we have just seen, when they would have been superfluous, but, besides, in order to produce the intended moral effect, they were designedly obscured, in order that they might lead men on gradually, as all God's revelations do, and, by presenting a little satisfaction to the anxious inquirer, induce him to persevere in seeking still further. The Jews, however, forgetting this constant occurrence in all God's dealings with us, were inclined to believe that the asserted divinity of Jesus ought to have been instantly, and with full splendour, displayed. They desired perfect *knowledge* of the Eternal, without first *learning* him; and the refusal of the Lord to gratify their wish was dictated, not by any hostile feeling (as though he would not grant sufficient to convince), but by a wise and kind resolution not to substitute for a gentle persuasion, the dazzling and overwhelming sign, which could only stupify those not yet fitted to receive it.

Once, indeed, he departed from his usual course, and displayed his greatest wonders before others than his disciples, as though for the very purpose of proving that a stupendous miracle could have no moral effect upon the unspiritual. He raised up Lazarus, whose corpse was already tainted with the loathsome marks of corruption, before a crowded assembly of those who loved him not. Some witnesses of this wonder, who were wavering in their allegiance to him, were now fixed; but others were so hardened by it that they went their way, and lent their aid to those who

the transaction; for he was seeking to lead their thoughts to its moral significance. His purpose evidently was to teach that miracles were only exceptional. He would have them take notice that the miracle had ceased, and that they had been provided with a supply that was to be taken care of.

were plotting his death. This, like the destruction of the swine at Gadara, was an exception to what he commonly did. Mostly he kept aloof from the men who scorned him. He opened himself only to those who had thankfully received his first lessons.

And this is invariably the Divine arrangement. Even when he does show his wonders before men, the heart is never converted but when it has been already softening. While it augments the faith of the faithful, it ever casts a darker mist over the eyes of the blind; for to him that hath shall be given, while from him that hath not, shall be taken away even that which he hath.

Thus the miracles of our blessed Saviour were assuredly the best, nay, the only, mode of exhibiting his divinity. The circumstances attending them were in exact accordance with God's moral government of the world.

Especially ought we to take notice that it was almost entirely in the form of miracles—that is, of facts, and not of assertions—that Christ proved his union with the Godhead. Superficial readers of the life of Jesus will often wonder that he did not more distinctly *say* what he was. They will be disposed to urge, as the Jews did, 'How long dost thou make us to doubt? If thou be the Christ, tell us plainly.' And the answer is now, as of old, 'The works that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness of me. But ye believe not, because ye are not of my sheep.'

For God reveals everything by presenting certain *facts* before us, and leaving us to deduce from them the divine truth. A religious man sees quite enough in the world around to convince him that there is a God in heaven; but no voice of thunder proclaims it in his ears rather than in the ears of him who sees the same facts and denies God's existence. The one believes the works, because he is of God's sheep; the other understands them not, because he has no spiritual faculties for the task.

Nor is it in religious training only that we are taught, not by *assertions*, but by *facts*. It is the same in every department of knowledge. Superior as we are in scientific attainment to our ancestors, we have the same works to learn from as they had. The phenomena from which the natural laws have been deduced have existed unchanged during scores of generations which did not comprehend them. Our great Father does not tell us this or that law is true, rather than he told the ancients; but we, from studying the facts, have arrived at the laws, while our predecessors, who could not engage in the study, were suffered to remain in their ignorance, instead of being set right by a violation of established rules; and therefore one of the surest proofs we can have that Jesus Christ was indeed one with the Creator, arises from our knowing that he taught his greatest lesson himself (as

God always teaches his natural truths) not so much by *saying* as by *showing* what he was. The Baptist had previously borne testimony to Christ, but his was not the chief evidence; for the works which the Father had given the Son to finish, they bore witness of him that the Father had sent him.

This consideration, moreover, will aid us in perceiving why universal persuasion did not follow the miracles. Do any of God's works leave no room for the unchastened to doubt? Is it not altogether adverse to the analogy of nature that proffered evidence should carry with it overpowering conviction? Such teaching as this can be looked for only by those who have not understood our moral qualities, and the need of our undergoing moral discipline and probation. Sceptics say that an acknowledged miracle must have left no hesitation on the mind of any. We, on the other hand, feel assured that it would never have been wrought at all if it had possessed such power; and if we be disposed to think that nowadays, with our scientific acquaintance with the natural laws, no one of sane mind could resist the evidence furnished by a palpable miracle; and if we are right in believing that in former times a miracle would have no such weight, we partly understand why God does not now so interfere with the ordained course of things; for by so doing he might destroy all our moral responsibility.

There is one class of miracles mentioned as peculiar—the casting out of evil demons from those said to be possessed by them. We find it impossible to explain these demoniacal possessions, by referring them to the same causes as ordinary physical or moral diseases. The evangelists speak of them as of afflictions, quite distinct from simple lunacy, or from sin. The demons discourse quite independently of their victim. The man's will is not overruled, though his powers are subjugated; for he is violently torn, when urged by his tormentor, whither he himself would not. When the man seeks to be dispossessed, the demon departs, only after a struggle. Such a possession was a restraint in the same sense as chains and fetters might be. There was, in consequence, no sin implied; for the will was left unbound, and the dispossessed never wore the appearance of a penitent.

As the objection to a literal demoniacal possession is of the same kind as the objection to a personal devil tempting Christ; so our answer to the one will be, in great measure, an answer to the other; and will meet with approbation only from those whose views of sin agree with our own. Considering sin, as we do, in the light of something originated by another will than God's, and knowing how often we are tempted by causes external to ourselves—that is to say, by the influence of some secret sinful will—then

the existence of other and more powerful evil creatures than ourselves is not only probable, but, indeed, we cannot otherwise interpret actual facts.

Let us notice also that, since one great purpose of Christ's mission was to render our state more likely to be sinless—to remove all outward hindrances to our seeking and finding the Father; then it is a fitting scene in his ministry, that he should be depicted as taking away those untoward circumstances (such as demoniacal possessions) which prevent our having a holy mind, much as lameness prevents bodily movement. In both cases the will is unaffected, while the power is destroyed.

This kind of miracle was therefore in wonderful accordance with those by which bodily sicknesses were healed. For, as the curing of such diseases conveyed an assurance that the Lord was ready to save; so the expulsion of demons, who were goading the helpless man into difficulties, where he would be unfortunately tempted to sin, expressed most intelligibly God's loving message, that he had placed men in positions where they need not die, unless of their own choice. Regarded in this light, demoniacal possessions urged men to sin, in the same kind of way (though perhaps more forcibly) as a nervous disease does; which may not, it is true, *oblige* the will to sin, but which succeeds, in most cases (where God's grace is not secured), in *alluring* to sin. Are we not, moreover, justified in considering the atonement itself, partly, at least, as a subjugation of the infernal powers? Does not the author of the epistle to the Hebrews teach us this, when he says (ii. 14, 15) that Christ took our nature upon him, 'that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil; and deliver them who, through fear of death, were all their lifetime subject to bondage?' If we are right in believing that Christ's death has made the salvation of any human being possible, by destroying the powers which prevented such salvation, then the expulsion of demons was a foreshadowing, in a particular instance, of what he would at length effect for our entire race; for he removed from the man the impediments which obstructed the road to Him.

Whether demoniacal possessions exist now, is a far more difficult question to answer. Certainly an authoritative declaration that there are no such afflictions, would demand a much more accurate acquaintance with spiritual and moral diseases than any one among us has attained. Possibly we may admit that, if we had the means of *expelling* demons, we might see many possessed whom we now count only as mad, or as spiritually unfortunate. But at the same time, in the absence of these means, no one of prudent habit will venture to treat as a diabolical phenomenon,

what may be only a juggle or an illusion. And, since Christ has not yet annulled, but only lessened our external evils, we ought to be sure that such possessions (even if existing) must be less frequent and less terrible than before.^c If we really believe that evil beings take delight in enticing us into mischief, then we can comprehend why, at the time when Christ was putting forth the power of good to remove those powers of evil, the energy of demoniacal possessions should have been greater than at any other season. Such energy was, in fact, but a continuation, though in a smaller degree, of the great temptation of Jesus by Satan.

We have said that, in his office of chasing away the malignant potentates of darkness, the Redeemer showed himself as one who brought men nearer to the Eternal, by annulling all that came between them. The proclamation was issued that men *could*, if only they *would*, find access to the throne of grace. Events proved, however, that this, which we may call the *external* work of Christ, was not sufficient. Man wants the will, even when he has gained the power, to seek God. Strong *moral* inducements must affect the will, in order to bend it back to holiness.

The first preaching of the gospel did not seem so much to imply sinfulness in those that heard it; did not therefore very distinctly reveal the atonement, because the offer must first be made, that, the road being opened, men might approach God if only they would. They were convicted of sin chiefly because they would not. And hence, before Christ was absolutely set at nought—before it was manifested that the separation between God and man was due rather to internal disinclination, than to external hindrances, he spoke but little of the means which might make us willing as well as able. It was not revealed before men were proved to be *wilful* sinners. This wilfulness appeared in their refusing the possible salvation—in their rejection of the Lord.

These truths are symbolically expressed at the beginning of St. Luke's eleventh chapter, where the assurance that prayer for the Holy Ghost is heard and answered, is joined to the strong affirmation of Christ's power to expel demons, and followed by the parable of a man who, having lost one evil spirit, and remaining empty, becomes the abode of seven others more wicked than the first.

The connection is this: it is a grand piece of information that

^c The Scriptures speak of *dæmons* swaying the powers and faculties of *men*; and the peculiar circumstance attending *possession*, was the will and the power being in opposition to each other. What similarity, then, is there between this and the silly stories about possessed tables?

the Father will give the Holy Spirit to all who ask him, or that He is accessible to all who are willing to approach him; and this boon is secured to us by the work of Christ, in removing external hindrances, of which demoniacal possessions were a significant type. Men were enabled to know the Great Spirit, and to become holy and blessed, if only they had the inclination.

But when room is made for access to God, by the rejection of the demon, it is then that human disinclination is so often unmistakeably shown. The room is left empty, swept, and garnished, only for evil to take much firmer possession than before.

The last state of that man is worse than the first. If, when God opens the road, and man, thus invited, refuses to advance—refuses to be persuaded of God's love and his own needs, the road at length becomes again obstructed—perhaps irremediably so. There is no other power to clear the impediments when this has failed. 'If we sin *wilfully* after we have received the *knowledge* of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin, but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation, which shall devour the adversaries.'

W. H. J.

SCEPTICAL GERMAN THEOLOGY.*

THE times which immediately succeeded the Commonwealth were marked by the *manifestation* of that scepticism, infidelity, and atheism which had been too much concerned in the great civil war. Having found their efforts vain to overturn that church which is 'built upon the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone;' its enemies resolved to attack the foundation itself. It was much to the credit of all parties, at a time when the tempest of religious strife was scarcely assuaged, that so many were found who loved the truth of God more than their own differences, and that a large number of candid, able, and well-furnished men came forward in defence of revealed religion. The Deists had appealed to reason, and logical induction, at least the most respectable of them; this appeal was accepted, and the evidences of Divine truth were *demonstrated* to the full satisfaction of all candid minds, and to the silencing of gainsayers. Entrenchments were thus reared in the shape of imperishable works, which

* Die Biblische Theologie. Einleitung ins Alte und Neue Testament, und Darstellung des Lehrgehaltes der Biblischen Bücher, nach ihrer Entstehung und ihrem geschichtlichen Verhältniss. Ein Handbuch zum Selbstunterricht, von Ludwig Noack. Halle. E. M. Pfeffer. 1853. Pp. 392.

(Biblical Theology. An Introduction to the Old and New Testament, and a Statement of the Doctrinal Contents of the Biblical Books, according to their origin and their historical relation. A Manual for Self-instruction, by Louis Noack.)

have hitherto been found unassailable. The effect in *this country* was, that the rebellion against our holy religion was put down; the opinions and writings of its authors became almost unknown, or known only as they were cited in the pages of those who had refuted them. But, strange to say, the ungodly mischief which had thus been banished from England was received and welcomed on the continent, especially in Germany; and while the learned writings of our greatest men were scarcely read, and became almost unknown among them, the deistic writings were *naturalized*, and became a cherished portion of their standard literature. There have doubtless always been some strenuous defenders of Divine truth in Germany, and it ought not to be forgotten that there is now a band, alas! too small, of faithful and well-furnished men, who have lately been *the only men in Christendom* to put forth any serious efforts towards *conserving* the evidences of Divine truth. But in general, the course of things in Germany has for many years been a downward one, and many causes have conspired in that country to urge the downfall of their religion. In our own country, next to an open Bible, which has been 'marked, learned, and inwardly digested,' and to a church, the evidences for which are of the same kind as those for the Bible, on which it is founded, our national and hitherto inalienable *principles of reasoning*—our rigidly *inductive* method of arriving at truth of all kinds, is of inestimable value; and hitherto, except in the case of a few modern and somewhat noisy talkers, this principle has never been departed from. Whereas in Germany, from the time of Leibnitz downwards, it has been more and more abandoned. There are doubtless certain elementary truths of the nature of axioms, which we can neither *prove* nor *disbelieve*, such as the conviction of our own being, our continued identity in all the changes of life, the existence of a world without us, and our moral judgments—these, and some others, have always, in every sound system of philosophy, been admitted as being, if not *innate*, at least inherent in the thinking mind. While Locke, however, was going to one extreme in this country, Leibnitz went far to the other, by widening the boundary of this intuition and in his own treatment of moral subjects, *assuming* principles from his own consciousness which ought, if true, to have been arrived at by induction. And since his time this mode of speculating, we will not say of reasoning, on all subjects, has become the rule among his countrymen, so that external and historical facts have been treated with a degree of levity unworthy of sober and truth-loving men. The philosophy of Kant systematized this method of speculation, and that of Hegel carried it to an extent beyond which it could not well go. But the mischief of it has been, that with all the

appearance of profound analysis which it presents, the most notorious of those who have used it, have been guilty of nothing less than mistaking the *imagination* for what they call the *Gewissheit*—the intuitive *conviction* of the mind. In every new form in which this so-called philosophy has appeared, we have, in fact, merely the workings of an *imagination* excited apparently by some unnatural cause.

And what have been the *achievements* of this philosophy? It is remarkable, though perhaps not wonderful, that they have been almost solely *destructive*, consisting in the revival or invention of objections to whatever in history and religion had been established by investigation and research. It has thus taken the cowardly advantage of the negative side, and avoided the *onus probandi*; yet after all the only objections of any apparent weight, at least to the facts on which revealed religion is built, have been constantly taken from an old store of them, which had been furnished by the English deists; while the solid refutation which they had over and over again received has been entirely *ignored*.

The only product of the German philosophy which seems to have a positive form, is the so-called philosophical *myth*. This myth of theirs is a sort of parable, projected, as their phrase is, by the 'myth-forming energy' of the minds of some ingenious persons, nobody knows where and when, in which some political or moral notion is put into an historical form, but was never founded on any historic fact, though it has been mistaken and handed down as such. This sort of thing is found by the Germans in such abundance, as springing up in every age which goes a little above the memory of the present generation, and is asserted with so much confidence, that people are apt to think there must be something in it. That the ancients, both in sacred and profane writings, made use of *parables* and fables, like those ascribed to Æsop for instance, to convey political and moral truths, there is, of course, no doubt; but there is no proof that these have ever been mistaken for history, and they would not be classed with the philosophical myths. It may seem rash to say, but we will venture to say it, that the notion of a myth, as the Germans understand it, is a pure creation of the German fancy. Sure we are that *none of the philosophers of Greece or Rome* knew anything about it. Traditions, of the rise of which no other rational account can be given than that some fact had given birth to them, had in their course become distorted or embellished, and these are sometimes referred to by the Greek philosophers as *μυθοι*, yet never with the idea that they were the mere invention of fancy. Plato himself was a philosopher sufficiently speculative, yet no instance can be produced of any such myth of his invention.

The philosophers of whom we have any account before him had their hypotheses as to the origin of things, but these were treated entirely as such, and approved or disproved as the case might be. The Hellenes had their *epos*, as it is called, in which, according to the rigid and sober investigations of Thucydides, certain historic facts had been magnified and embellished, but that any of these were mere philosophical myths, is utterly improbable. The German myths, if ever they arose at all, must have been *projected* at a time when men did not philosophize—when they were occupied in the rougher work of maintaining their ground against some hostile race, or expelling from their seats some tribe which had preceded them. In short, that a myth ever arose after the German fashion is a mere assertion of their own, recommended by no probability, and by no assignable fact; yet for the sake of this dream of their philosophy, we are expected to give up almost all which even in historic times has been among the *πεπληροφορημένα* of honest and sober men! As long as the assaults of German sceptics were directed only against the facts of early profane history, the destruction at which they aimed was at least not of vital importance. It was certainly annoying to have our glorious Iliad condemned as a piece of mere patchwork, consisting of the songs of a number of ballad-singers—to have our early Greek and Roman history dissolved into a collection of fanciful vapours, the exhalation of a heated imagination; and to find men magnifying and multiplying the difficulties of ancient history, apparently for the mere purpose of exalting their favourite myth. But this sort of prey has lately been abandoned in the almost universal hunting down of those sacred documents on which our holy religion is built; and the result now is, that according to the finding of these men, there is scarcely a fragment of *real objective truth* in the Scriptures, and not a *particle* of what is Divine. The feeblest of these myth-wrights is able to pull down the strongholds of religious faith, by disregarding all evidence, and pronouncing the word *myth*! It is not too much to say, that in a vast majority of the almost innumerable writers in Germany, who have lately directed their hostility against revealed religion, all idea that there is such a thing as *real objective truth* seems to be absent; various and contradictory as their own speculations are, in which every man seems to be living on a gossamer of his own spinning, every man seems to be convinced that there is no other truth in earth or heaven than what has thus occurred to his own brain; and the levity with which writers, even of some distinction, charge with lying and falsification of the most atrocious nature, the writings of men whose whole aim was truth and morality of the purest kind, is a reflection on the honesty and principle of those

who invent this slander, to their deep disgrace. We hope and believe that as yet the mass at least of the middle and more educated classes of our own countrymen have suffered no serious mischief from the neighbourhood of this great evil. They have not divested themselves of those *convictions*, and of that love of 'whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest,' and the like, which is natural to an unsophisticated mind, and we trust there is no danger that they ever will. A few there are who affect a singular notoriety, who use the unintelligible jargon of the German philosophy, and tell us forsooth that 'the old foundations are shaking beneath our feet;' but these have in fact only mistaken a *vertigo* of their own brain for an earthquake, and all we need do is to wish them better. A few others have been alarmed out of their propriety at the big words which have exploded in their ears, and have hid their heads in the bush of Romish infallibility: these also are much to be pitied. But in every deed, if we look to our *evidences*, if we examine our foundations, they are as firm and impregnable as ever; only we *should* look to them, and make ourselves acquainted with them, that we may be able, for our own sakes, and for the sake of honest men who may have been unduly scared by modern apparitions, 'to give an account of the faith that is in us.'

The 'Biblical Theology' of Ludwig Noack, though not the very worst specimen of the productions of the school to which he belongs, would afford sufficient illustration of what has been said. The author of this work is somewhat notorious in his own country among those who approach the extreme of what is called the 'extreme left.' His book is intended chiefly for private students, and professes to supply these with the means of self-instruction. In some respects it is adapted to this object; the style is more perspicuous than German writing on these subjects commonly is. It contains some information which is valuable in a literary point of view, mixed however as even this is with much that is founded on mere assumption. But when we come to the author's *theology*, we think our readers will agree with us that the state of things in Germany must be very fearful which allows such things to be printed in the best style of Pfeffer of Halle.

After asserting that almost all the facts and doctrines of the Old Testament were *fabricated* by Jewish priests some time after the captivity, either out of myths, to which they gave the form of history, or out of their own *consciousness*, he tells us of course that the Pentateuch contains no information that may be relied upon; the books of Judges and of the Kings were founded on no historical documents; that neither David nor Solomon wrote anything, and so forth; he gives his solitary student the result of his own sagacity

on these subjects. He tells him, p. 40: 'The agency of Moses consisted mainly in the endeavour to establish in the minds of the people a reverence for the *ancient national god Kijun*' (mentioned as an idol, Amos v. 25). 'In order to accomplish this, Moses represented him as the negative power of nature manifested in consuming fire—made him a spiritual being, and raised him to the dignity of the divine ruler of nature under the form of Jehovah.' This statement he repeats p. 43. The agency of Moses was the beginning of a higher development, which was connected with his spiritualizing the ancient Sabæan national god Kijun—Moloch—Saturn, as the holy and exalted deity of the people of Israel—a development which had its origin with Moses, and was carried out by him.' So that the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob—a Being the conception of whom, as exhibited in every page of Scripture, is sublimely above the most exalted notion which the genius of the best and most brilliant of the heathen philosophers could picture, is here declared to be the *invention* of a half-barbarous and almost illiterate shepherd (for such Moses was, according to Noack), and his attributes of wisdom and perfect goodness dishonestly ascribed to one of the worst of barbarian idols! After this specimen of his *theology* in reference to the Old Testament, our readers will scarcely desire to enter into his details—suffice it to say, that according to the author, there is scarcely a particle of history in the Old Testament Scriptures, and not an atom of objective truth.

The writings of the New Testament cannot in general, even by a German, be declared to be quite unhistorical, but by our author's method the result is much the same as if they were. We had supposed that the 'risible absurdities' of the *naturalists* had been put down in Germany. The mythic school had in a great degree succeeded in doing *this* good, that they had laughed out of countenance the miserable shuffling of Paulus and his sort, who attempted to adhere to the *historic basis* of the Scripture narrative, while they explained away everything which appeared to be beyond the daily experience of life. We are surprised to find that Noack has not given up the method of the rationalists, while he goes the full length of the mythists in cases where his rationalism would have failed him. His definition of a miracle removes all difficulty on the score of them. 'A miracle,' he says, 'is the product of that *mythic-forming* activity of the mind which seeks to restore the regular connection of the world's development, which is lost to the present consciousness, by *assuming* an immediate interference of the unlimited will, a special divine display of power.' Of course any real display of such a power is quite out of the question according to the author's *theology*.

The absence of everything which was really divine, and which was at all above the vulgar events of life, being thus a settled thing, it would seem a matter of small importance whether the books of the New Testament are genuine or not, or when they were written; and we cannot imagine why they should be thought worthy of so much critical pains as philosophers and scholars have bestowed upon them any more than a multitude of later legends, speculations, and fancies on various other subjects which the ignorance or imposture of men put forth. It may, however, be useful to give some specimens of the manner in which our author contrives to dispose of the facts and documents of the New Testament, especially as he sometimes condescends to give us something like a reason for his opinions.

The Gospel of Matthew is, as the author rightly states, the oldest of the historical records of the rise of Christianity. But with regard to this, the author inclines to the conclusions of the Tübingen critics, that it was written considerably after the destruction of Jerusalem, and at a time when the confusion of things was such that it was impossible to arrive at certainty as to many important events. The other Gospels are worthy of scarcely any regard as historical documents; the Gospel of St. John was not written by him; and the Acts of the Apostles is to be consulted with great caution as to the events succeeding the death of Christ. Of the Epistles of St. Paul only four are allowed to be genuine; the rest are either forgeries, or falsely ascribed to him. As to the events recorded in the Evangelists, we shall see into how small a compass they are brought by the following account of them. His assumption being that because Jesus availed himself of the notions which existed among his countrymen respecting the Messiah, by presenting himself to them as such, in order to give effect to the doctrines which he wished to disseminate, those who in after-times drew up a sort of imaginary life of him, ascribed to him all those miracles which the Jews had expected in their Messiah. Hence all the so-called Messianic miracles, such as Jesus is said to have appealed to as proofs of his Messiahship, are myths. To these are to be added the following. All which is said about the *birth* of Jesus, as well as all which related to the birth of the Baptist—the accounts of the place of his birth—the circumstances of it—of the angels and the wise men—the descent into Egypt—his appearance in the temple—his baptism—temptation—all in fact which was extraordinary are mythic. What is said about the agony in the garden—the prophecies of his resurrection—the phenomena at his crucifixion—his departure from life—and his resurrection are either myths or mere legends.

The author thinks it likely that Jesus had the power of healing,

but here he employs his *rationalism*:—‘The healing power which Jesus had was connected with the healing arts of the Rabbins and Essenes, and may have had some analogy to *magnetic* cures. If then the healing power which Jesus possessed and exercised was related to the phenomena of *animal* magnetism, it was merely a natural gift, which could only so far support his claim to be the Messiah in the minds of the Jews, as they expected miraculous power of healing in their Messiah. The *failures of Jesus were, as happens in all cases, forgotten*, and the successful cases, which here and there occurred, were remembered, multiplied, and magnified, so that in the particular miracles of healing which the evangelical history has mentioned, the amount of fact which existed is not to be ascertained’ (p. 245). We will give our readers only one more specimen of this unprincipled shuffling. It relates to the crucifixion, and what he calls the legend of the resurrection of our blessed Lord. ‘After he had hung some hours on the cross, he became exhausted and lost his consciousness *in a swoon*. In this state he was taken down from the cross by one of his followers, and laid in a new-made tomb. On the evening of the next day the Galilean women who attended him went to the tomb, and found it empty, and on their return met Jesus, who commissioned them to tell his disciples that he was alive and would meet them in Galilee. How long he remained *in close concealment* at home and secretly communed with his disciples, we have no further account; but his public life was at an end, and when he really departed from life, his disciples entertained the conviction that he spiritually survived among them’ (p. 254). The author elsewhere says that there is no proof that Jesus died upon the cross; he merely swooned, and when taken down returned to consciousness, out of which circumstance the *legend* arose of his resurrection. It seems then that the Founder of Christianity was an *impostor*, who shrewdly availed himself of the vain expectations of the Jews to assume a character which did not belong to him—that his disciples were his dupes, a set of weak and credulous men, and that from this source the whole system of Christianity was developed. Now whether that system be true or false, it has always been allowed to be a *system* perfectly harmonious, containing the most exalted principles of religion and morals, and that it attained this form in perfection at no great distance from its origin. But we will ask at least our English readers whether there has ever been anything in the history of mankind to give a grain of probability to the notion that a *system* of any kind, and above all such a system, could have sprung from such an origin. A cloud of German philosophers have had their myth-forming activity in busy exercise for half a century, among whom have been many who have in the

estimation of their own people far outshone the brightest lights of antiquity, but what *system* have they evolved? Germany is at this hour nothing but a *chaos* of jarring opinions, the authors of which not only contradict each other, but almost as often contradict themselves; and whereas it cannot be denied that the founders of Christianity made great sacrifices in support of the system which they promulgated, we do not believe that the modern philosophers would give up a single whiff of their pipe in favour of any or all of the theories they have projected, and indeed this would be beyond their value. The Epistles of St. Paul cannot at any rate be disposed of as myths or legends. The author allows that 'they are the most important monuments of apostolic times, the truest expression of the original and deep-thinking spirit of their author.' But he seems inclined to yield to the decision of the Tübingen school, that of the thirteen Epistles *only four* are genuine. He gives us, however, *his own* reasons for rejecting the Epistles to the Colossians, Ephesians, Philippians, and the Pastoral Epistles; and as these objections are of a kind which common mortals may judge of, it may be well to see of what sort they are. We will take, however, but one example, viz. the Epistle to the Ephesians—observing that the Epistles rejected are just those which have been most valued by spiritually-minded men; this was too probably their fault in the eyes of these people. The Epistle to the Ephesians is cited as such by almost all the early Fathers. The absence of the words ἐν Ἐφεσῶν has raised a doubt whether it was addressed to the Ephesians; but whether it was addressed to them or to the Laodiceans, or was a kind of circular, is a matter of no importance as to its genuineness. His reasons for branding the Epistle to the Ephesians as a forgery are these:—'Its prolixity and poverty of thought.' Now we do not believe there ever was a piece of writing so *affluent* in ideas of the highest order as this Epistle, or in which the course of thought was more *progressive*. M. Noack's countryman Harless, in his valuable 'Commentary' on this Epistle, has admirably exhibited both these qualities. The manner of advancing, too, is such as is peculiar to St. Paul, or at least is used more abundantly by him than by any other writer, viz. by what may be called *episodical* departures from his subject for the sake of expanding a particular thought, to which he returns by natural degrees.

His next objection is the frequent departures in it from what is *Pauline*; and he has cited several passages which, for some reason or other, he thinks not Pauline in the mode of expression. Deriving his notion of what is Pauline from a superficial glance at *four Epistles*, he rejects the other nine chiefly for not being so; i. e. he has plainly *assumed* beforehand his notion on this subject

after the fashion of his school, and made this assumption his test. But when he gives us a hint of what his Paulinism is, we know what he means, and can judge accordingly. Thus he tells us the doctrine of Paul is contradicted in Eph. ii. 8, 9: 'For by grace are ye saved through faith, and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God. Not of works, lest any man should boast.' His objection to this is, that 'the writer speaks of grace as being *objective* instead of *subjective*, as Paul does.' Now we are bold to say that the word *χάρις* hardly ever, if ever, occurs in any New Testament writer in a *subjective* sense. The use of it here is exactly the same as in the 4th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, where the Apostle's whole argument is, that we are saved not by virtue of anything inherent in ourselves, but by God's free gift. But, strange to say, this writer brings the very opposite objection, almost in the same breath, to the passage Eph. ii. 10,—'For we are His workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained, that we should walk in them:' the objection being, that the writer connects faith with works, which Paul does not. The Apostle *always* connects the Christian virtues, which this *sciolist* confounds with God's grace, with faith, as *essential to its existence* in a Christian, though not the immediate cause of his justification; this being 'Not of works, lest any man should boast.' Our readers would hardly believe how much of this sort of contradictory levity there is in writers of this class who call themselves *theologians*.

Many passages are charged with *Gnosticism* and *Montanism*. The first heresy is said to be contained in the following passages, Eph. i. 22, 23:—'And hath put all things under his feet, and gave Him to be head over all things to the Church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all.' These sentiments, and most of these expressions, are identical with those in 1 Cor. xv. Christ is here said to be the *πλήρωμα* of the Deity, a word which is justified by many expressions of St. Paul. The Apostle *may* have thought of the Eastern philosophy in the use of it—a philosophy with which some *learned men* in Asia Minor were probably acquainted, but which had prevailed in the East long before the rise of Gnosticism; but this is very doubtful, and the charge of Gnosticism perfectly absurd.

Another Gnostic passage is Eph. ii. 14,—'For He is our peace who hath made both one, and broken down the middle wall of partition;' but this is as alien from the spirit of Gnosticism as it is consistent with the whole teaching of St. Paul, according to whom, 'In Christ Jesus there is no longer Greek and Jew, Barbarian and Scythian, but all are one.' Another passage in Eph. iii. 19, condemned as Gnostic, is so on the same ground as in

Eph. i. 23, viz., the use of the word πλήρωμα, 'that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith . . . that ye may be able to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that ye may be filled with all the fulness of God.' This passage explains the former, and shows that the fulness here referred to is anything on earth but the Gnostic πλήρωμα.

Montanism consisted chiefly in extravagant notions on the part of Montanus and his followers as to the Holy Spirit. He is said to have given out that the *Paraclete* was either manifested in him, or, at least, that a more than Pentecostal measure of His gifts was granted to himself and his followers. Now, in almost all the writings of the New Testament the gifts of the Spirit are declared to be possessed by the Apostles, and, at least, some of their immediate converts; and this subject is abundantly referred to in those Epistles of St. Paul which this writer allows to be genuine; yet a number of passages in the Epistle to the Ephesians are declared to be Montanistic on the mere ground of their reference to these spiritual gifts, such as Eph. i. 13, 14: 'In whom also, after that ye believed, ye were sealed with that holy spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance,' where the Apostle doubtless refers to what is stated to have taken place in the case of Ephesian believers on their reception of Christian baptism. The author charges the writer of this Epistle with forgery, moreover, on the ground of its being addressed to the *Ephesians*, whereas the only doubt on the subject which has ever arisen has been whether it really *was* addressed to them, and this chiefly because of the absence in some mss. of the words ἐν Ἐφεσῷ; and Noack himself mentions the circumstance of this omission. Yet he chooses to take it for granted that the writer did address it to the Ephesians, and implies that he did so in ignorance of the circumstances of the church to which it is falsely addressed. But here our theological instructor has himself displayed an ignorance or carelessness which we marvel at even in him. He says the Epistle is addressed to a church of converted Gentiles, and is therefore unsuitable to one which was made up of Jews and Gentiles. But from the account we have in the Acts of the Apostles, it appears that comparatively a small number of Jews were among the Apostle's converts at Ephesus. We are informed, Acts xix., that St. Paul, after having discoursed in the Synagogue some time without success, departed from them, and disputed for the space of two years in the school of Tyrannus; that the effect of his ministry was so great among the Gentiles as to ruin the trade of the heathen artizans, and to be the occasion of an insurrection on their part, which makes it certain that the bulk of believers must have been Gentiles; so that, in fact, a letter addressed to the Church at Ephesus, *ought*

to have consisted mainly of an address to Gentiles, though, indeed, the assumption that it was so entirely is contradicted by some important passages in this letter.

We will conclude by remarking that we cannot at all understand the state of mind which could so lightly, and on grounds so frivolous and false, attach the infamy of imposture to the writer of this Epistle. A character so destitute of a sense of moral rectitude could not have written it. In all cases of real imposture which have been met with, a want of subjective *acquaintance* with what was good has betrayed itself; a drivelling poverty of soul which has been unable to conceal the sinister motive for its hypocrisy: whereas it is impossible that anything below an ardent love for whatever is exalted in morals, and divine in the Christian virtues, could have raised the soul of the writer to the inspiration of this Epistle. It is here that that beautiful combination is found which comprises the substance of sound philosophy and of divine revelation in reference to human ethics, ἀληθεύοντες ἐν ἀγάπῃ, the union of truth with benevolence being the very soul of virtue; and, again, iv. 24, 'Put on the new man, which is formed according to God in righteousness and *sacredness of truth* (δοσιότητι τῆς ἀληθείας): wherefore, putting off what is false, speak truth every one with his neighbour.' And yet this very man, according to Noack, was a Gnostic or Montanist heretic, who was palming this Epistle upon his neighbours, as an apostle of Jesus Christ, by inserting such passages as the following:—'I, Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ for you Gentiles, desire that ye faint not at my tribulation for you.' 'I therefore, the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called.' 'Praying for me that utterance may be given me that I may open my mouth boldly to make known the mystery of the Gospel, for which I am an ambassador in a chain' (ἐν αἰλύσει). Would to God that these German theologians knew at least something of that *sacredness of truth* which is here recommended, or thought it possible the love of it had ever influenced a human heart. In that case they would feel the impossibility of charging upon a writer like this, especially on grounds so frivolous, an utter disregard to the principles for which he was so earnestly pleading—an imposture of the foulest kind, practised without any imaginable motive for it. We have remarked upon this book to a much greater extent than it individually deserves; but we mourn to say that it is a type of a vast proportion of the theology which the German press presents, and which has all but extinguished religion in that country.

Beckenham.

S. T.

WAS THE LAST SUPPER A PASCHAL FEAST?

THE repeated allusions to the passover in Luke xxii. 7-15, and in the corresponding passages of St. Matthew and St. Mark, have, as is well known, been a source of much difficulty to students of the Gospel history, especially to those who delight in tracing in our Lord's history, the accomplishment of what was foreshadowed in the law and in the prophets. The words of St. Luke seem to imply that the supper of which our Lord was about to eat, was the passover supper; while on the other hand, the whole tenor of St. John's account of it shows that all this took place *before* the passover.^a Moreover, by his allusion to that rule of the paschal sacrifice, 'a bone of him shall not be broken,'^b St. John clearly teaches us that Jesus really was the true passover lamb. If then Jesus really was the antitype of the lamb sacrificed annually at the passover, we might, *à priori*, expect that He would be sacrificed at the same time as the passover lamb; and there is much to confirm us in the belief that He actually did give up his life at the same hour that the paschal lamb was sacrificed in the temple. But then, if the Lamb of God was sacrificed *at* the passover, the supper which He ate on the preceding evening must have been *before* the passover. Here then lies the difficulty. St. John seems to be at variance with the other evangelists.

This difficulty has long been noticed, and various schemes have been proposed for the solving of it. Some suppose that there was a difference of opinion between different bodies of the Jews, as to the proper day for eating the paschal supper. Mr. Benson^c assumes that our Lord must certainly have eaten it at the correct time; and that therefore the other Jews were wrong in their calculations. Others suppose that our Lord ate the passover supper by anticipation; that the last supper was indeed a paschal feast, but eaten before the legal time. Of this opinion Mr. Clinton and Mr. Gresswell are the chief modern propounders.

These theories proceed on the assumption that the last supper of our Lord actually was a paschal supper. But here occurs an important question: 'Was it a paschal supper?' If it was not, then the difficulty at once vanishes: St. John's account would not then be at variance with those given by Matthew, Mark, and Luke.

^a John xiii. 1, for instance.

^b John xix. 36.

^c Chronology of our Saviour's Life, p. 301.

Now it has been observed by Mr. Gresswell,^d that in St. John's account of the supper there is not any 'such expression' . . . 'as would even suggest the inference that our Lord was celebrating a *passover*.' Neither, may we add, is there the least trace of its being a paschal feast in the accounts which the other evangelists give of the supper itself,^e as distinguished from the preliminary preparations for it. There is no mention of any bitter herbs, or even of the lamb, which constituted the material part of the feast. Neither do we, among the proceedings so minutely described, find any mention of the act of sacrificing the lamb.^f

Besides these negative arguments there are others, of a more positive nature, sufficient to shake the opinion so generally received, of its being a paschal supper. The law of Moses seems to indicate that the paschal feast was to be eaten in an erect posture:^g but Jesus reclined (*ἀνέκειτο*, Matt. xxvi. 20, *ἀνέπεσε*, Luke xxii. 14) with his apostles. The circumstance that John lay in Jesus' bosom, indicates the same posture. This was a deviation from the requirements of the law, which, if this were a paschal feast, could scarcely fail to attract notice at a period when the strict observance of the law to the very letter was so much insisted on.

Again; at the original passover—and there is every reason to believe that the same regulation was binding at all subsequent passovers—Moses said,^h 'None of you shall go out at the door of his house until the morning.' Butⁱ Judas Iscariot did go out; so too did Jesus and the other eleven apostles. Surely they would not have gone out on the evening of a paschal supper. We may, without irreverence, suppose that He, who came to fulfil the law, would not at so momentous a crisis have transgressed the law. Surely this is a strong argument against the supposition of this being a paschal supper.

All the accounts then of the supper itself completely negative the supposition that it was a paschal supper. They lead to quite a contrary conclusion. The idea of its being a paschal supper would probably never have been entertained at all, if it had not been for the frequent allusions to the paschal feast in Luke xxii.

^d Dissertations, vol. iii. p. 99.

^e Luke xxii. 15, will be noticed hereafter.

^f If they are right who suppose that each paschal lamb must be sacrificed in the temple, there is a fresh difficulty in the way of those who suppose that this was a paschal feast. The sacrifice of a paschal lamb on the day before the legal time must have attracted the notice and animadversion of the priests.

^g Exod. xii. 11.

^h Exod. xii. 22.

ⁱ Mark also the supposed reason of his departure. Some of the other apostles supposed that he was sent to buy something 'against the feast,' *εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν*. This seems to imply that they had not yet begun to keep the feast.

7-15, and in the parallel passages of St. Matthew and St. Mark. These allusions, it must be confessed, are such as at first sight to induce the belief that the last supper was a paschal supper; but it may be questioned whether they necessarily imply this. Πορευθέντες ἐτοιμάσατε ἡμῖν τὸ πάσχα, Luke xxii. v. 8; Ποῦ ἐστὶ τὸ κατὰ λυμα, ὅπου τὸ πάσχα μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν μου φάγω, ver. 11;^k Ἠτοίμασαν τὸ πάσχα, ver. 13. Such expressions certainly do imply that Peter and John did indeed *prepare* for the coming passover; but they do not necessarily imply that the supper, at which they that same evening reclined, was that passover supper. The preparations were perhaps made for a supper on the following day—the day on which the passover lamb would legally be eaten. Considering the holy occupations of that day, it is not unlikely that all preparations for the supper would be made the day before,^m except only the slaughter and roasting of the lamb. That of course would be deferred till the evening בֵּין הָעֶרְבִים of the fourteenth of Nisan.ⁿ

It does not seem that the mention of the preparations for the passover necessarily implies that the supper, at which our Lord sat down, was the passover supper. There is, however, one expression which tends to this supposition, when taken in conjunction with the mention of these preparations. St. Luke, v. 14, says, 'When *the hour* was come (ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ ὥρα), he sat down with his disciples.' Even this expression, however, is not conclusive. '*The hour*' might mean the usual supper hour—ὥρας γενομένης, as St. Matthew and St. Mark express it. It does not necessarily mean the hour for the paschal feast. If the expres-

^k Matt. xxvi. 18: 'I will keep the passover at thy house with my disciples,' seems, in our English translation, to denote that our Lord really was going to eat the passover supper at that man's house: but in the original the word is ποιῶ (present), 'I keep,' not ποιήσω (future), 'I will keep.' The expression seems somewhat indefinite in point of time; for of course our Lord did not mean to say, 'I am keeping the passover at thy house.' Can it be analogous to the English expression, 'Tell B. that I dine with him to-day'? In such a message A. informs B. that he intends to dine with him; but he by no means prophesies that he infallibly will dine with him. Many unforeseen events might interfere with this intention. In like manner, this message of our Lord might not amount to an actual prophecy that he certainly would eat the paschal feast at that man's house. Jesus might mean to say, 'I intend to eat the passover at your house, if not prevented.' (See note ⁿ.)

^m Calmet, as cited by Wolf, on Matt. xxvi. 19.

ⁿ The question will arise, 'But why should our Lord make such preparation against a feast of which he foreknew that he should not partake?' In reply to this we may remark that, though he would not live to partake of it himself, yet his apostles might eat of it. What is more important to remark is, that he was prepared to observe every ordinance of the law. Though in his divine foreknowledge he foresaw that the Jews would arrest him before the passover, yet it was not for him to fail in the discharge of any appointed duty. He prepared to eat the passover; and if the Jews at that critical moment prevented his eating of it, that would be their fault, not his. He had made every preparation for the approaching feast.

sion, ἡ ἄρα, had reference to any particular point of time in the paschal ceremonies, it would, we may suppose, indicate the precise hour at which the paschal lamb was sacrificed in the temple, rather than the hour (which was not prescribed in the law) at which the different families or *sodalities* began to eat each of the lamb which they had sacrificed for their households.

A more serious objection is in that expression of our Saviour recorded in the 15th verse of St. Luke's account: 'With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer.' Ἐπιθυμία ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν, πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν. An advocate of the usual opinion will say, 'How can you get over this? This surely proves that the last supper of our Lord was a passover supper.' Nevertheless it does not prove it. How often in the New Testament is the verb ἐπιθυμεῖν used to express *unfulfilled* desire! St. Matthew, xiii. 17, reports our Saviour to have said, Πολλοὶ προφῆται καὶ δίκαιοι ἐπεθύμησαν ἰδεῖν ἃ βλέπετε, καὶ οὐκ εἶδον. 'Many prophets and righteous men have desired to see the things which ye see, and have not seen them.' St. Luke, also, xvii. 22, records the following saying of our Lord: Ἐλεύσονται ἡμέραι ὅτε ἐπιθυμήσετε μίαν τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἰδεῖν, καὶ οὐκ ὄψεσθε. 'The days will come when ye shall desire to see one of the days of the Son of Man, and ye shall not see it.' In St. James, iv. 2, we find the following expression of the same kind: Ἐπιθυμεῖτέ, καὶ οὐκ ἔχετε, 'Ye lust, and have not.' If we turn to Rev. ix. 6, we find the verb ἐπιθυμεῖν again used in the same manner: Ἐπιθυμήσουσιν ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ φεύγεται ὁ θάνατος ἀπ' αὐτῶν; 'Shall desire to die, and death shall flee from them.' In all these places ἐπιθυμεῖν is used to express *unfulfilled* desire. In Luke xv. 16, and xvi. 21, and in 1 Pet. i. 12, this verb probably, though not necessarily, conveys the same meaning. If, then, the simple verb is so often used to express unfulfilled desire, it is not unlikely that the compound expression, ἐπιθυμία ἐπεθύμησα,* has the same meaning: so that, when our Lord said, 'With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you,' he may have meant, 'I should have liked exceedingly to have eaten it with you; but circumstances will not permit me to eat it with you any more on earth: I cannot eat it with you until it is fulfilled in the kingdom of heaven.' What might be the cause of this exceeding great desire to eat of that particular passover, we cannot know; but it is quite conceivable that there may have been some great reason for his wishing to eat of that one particular passover:^p or it may

* Corresponding to the Hebrew construction, with the infinitive absolute.

^p It may be that at that passover the season had arrived for some heavenly intervention—an intervention which, he foresaw, would be prevented by the unbelief of the Jews, but which would have taken place if they had permitted him to eat of that passover.

be, that affection for his followers induced this desire to eat of the paschal feast with them once more before his death. Whatever the reason might be, there is nothing to show that his desire was gratified. It might be—nay, it probably was—an unfulfilled desire. The last supper may not have been a paschal feast at all. If so, then the difficulty vanishes at once: the accounts of all the four evangelists will be perfectly consistent with each other. Other difficulties still remain; but one at least will have been cleared away, if it be established that the last supper of our Lord was not a paschal feast.

Burton Pedwardine.

H. H. B.

THE TREADING UNDER FOOT OF THE HOLY CITY

(Rev. xi. 2),

VIEWED IN CONNECTION WITH THE PREDICTIONS IN

Dan. xi. 40-45; Zech. xii. 1-9; and Zech. xiv. 1-3.

A portion of this Article has already appeared in print.

THE transactions recorded in the 10th and 11th chapters of the Apocalypse seem to be closely connected with each other. A mighty angel is introduced to us at the beginning of the former chapter, and the attentive reader cannot but be deeply impressed by the language of the oath which he pronounces, as well as by the description of his terrible glory and majesty.

Of the seven angels who had the seven trumpets, six had already sounded in succession; and the blast of each trumpet had been followed by severe judicial visitations from the Most High upon the sinners who had provoked his displeasure. Before the fifth angel had sounded, St. John 'saw and heard an eagle flying in the mid-heaven, saying with a loud voice, Woe, woe, woe, to those who dwell upon the earth by reason of the other voices of the trumpet of the three angels, which are about to sound.' Even the heavy judgments under the two woe-trumpets did not bring men to repent of, and forsake, their sins. For we read, in Rev. ix. 20, 21, that 'the rest of the men who were not killed by these plagues repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship demons and idols of gold and silver . . . neither repented they of their murders, nor of their sorceries, nor of their fornication, nor of their thefts.' Now such a state of universal impenitence in those who survived these plagues, may prepare us to expect that, whatever be the length of the interval between the sounding of the sixth and seventh trumpets, the seventh and *last*

trumpet will usher in the season of final vengeance upon the ungodly; and that, when the last trumpet shall sound, the Divine forbearance will have been exhausted, God will arise 'to finish the work and cut it short in righteousness; yea, that a short work will the Lord then make upon the earth' (Rom. ix. 28).

And if, before the sounding of the first of the woe-trumpets, the loud and warning voice of the eagle was heard, we are not to wonder if, shortly before the sounding of *the last woe-trumpet*, a mighty angel should appear upon the scene, and a louder voice of warning fall upon the ear of the listening Apostle.

In our authorized version this angel, who would seem to descend from heaven when the appointed season of Divine forbearance and delay, connected with the judgments under the sixth trumpet, was about to close, and 'who cried with a loud voice as when a lion roareth,' is represented as swearing that 'there shall be *time* no longer.' It is, however, now generally allowed that the Greek word χρόνος, here rendered 'time,' should rather be translated 'delay.'^a This change is very important, not only as showing the reality of such a connection between the transactions described in the 10th and 11th chapters of the Apocalypse, that the oath in the former against all further delay is to teach us to interpret literally the 42 months and 1260 days of the latter, but also as affording internal evidence of no inconsiderable weight in favour of the Divine origin of these visions. For the oath-assurance against further delay is pronounced by a personage of such awful majesty, in a manner so solemn and emphatic, and under such peculiar circumstances, as to be wholly inconsistent with any other view than this—viz., that a very long and distressing delay had been previously permitted by the Divine wisdom to try the faith and patience of the Church and to manifest the greatness of the Divine long-suffering and forbearance. And the great consummation so long deferred is doubtless that which follows the voice of the seventh angel,—'The kingdom of the world is become the kingdom of our Lord and his Christ.'^b Now, although the lan-

^a The emphatic clause, 'there shall be no more delay,' seems to teach us, not only that a very long and marvellous delay had already taken place, but also that this previous delay is *very much longer* than the period which is to elapse from the supposed time (in the chronology of the vision) of the utterance of the angel's oath to the sounding of the seventh trumpet. And thus, if we believe that the oath precedes the appearance of the witnesses, we cannot suppose that their testimony extends through twelve hundred and sixty years. Hence we do not appear to be at liberty to think with some commentators, that the slaughter of these witnesses happened in A.D. 1686; or, with others, that it occurred A.D. 1514. For we must thus believe that the angelic oath is to be considered (on the year-day theory) as having been pronounced so early as in A.D. 426, or even so early as A.D. 254.

^b Dr. Tregelles reads the singular instead of the plural form; and translates, 'The sovereignty of the world is become our Lord's and his Christ's.'

guage of Jesus to his disciples, on more than one occasion, might lead the Church to suppose that even a few generations might pass away ere all the tribes of men should be brought to acknowledge and submit to this Gospel, yet nothing that he said on this subject could be tortured into the remotest indication that at least eighteen centuries would intervene between his ascension and the universal triumph of his name and truth over the earth, or that more than *fifteen centuries* would elapse from the cessation of imperial pagan persecution to the universal establishment of Messiah's kingdom. It will, however, be allowed that the intensely emphatic language and manner of the mighty angel's^c oath is in no degree inconsistent with the long and marvellous delay of so many previous centuries. And thus the solemn clause in the oath of him who, 'standing upon the sea and the earth, lifted up his hand to heaven, and sware by him that liveth for ever and ever, who created the heaven and the things that are therein, and the earth and the things that are therein, and the sea and the things that are therein, that there should be delay no longer,' may be fairly regarded by the devout Christian reader as a Divine prediction, uttered in the days of the Apostle, that a long and wearisome delay, very far beyond all human calculation or expectation, would intervene between the time in which the vision was seen by the Apostle, and the subjection of the world to Messiah's royal power. And, as we know that this implied Divine prediction has been fulfilled, we may not unreasonably receive its fulfilment as an argument in favour of the Divine origin of the Apocalyptic visions, in which this prediction is found.

We are not, of course, to understand the angel as announcing that not another week or month is to elapse, or that no other painful and distressing events are to befall the Church, previous to the voice of the seventh angel, and the actual finishing of the mystery of God; yet he may be understood as assuring the Apostle that the short remaining interval will not really deserve the name of delay, and that all the events yet to occur will wear the character of a right-onward and rapid advance towards the destined termination. And, in agreement with the apparent purport of the angel's oath—viz., that no further interval of delay beyond that which the Divine wisdom shall deem to be absolutely necessary, is to intervene before the voice of the seventh angel,—

^c The mighty angel of Rev. xi. 1, as glorious as mighty, would seem to be the Lord Jesus; and this appearing may shadow forth the approach of the commencement of the time when Michael shall stand up, 'the great prince which standeth for the children of thy (Daniel's) people.' And it may be in fulfilment of Daniel's prediction (xii. 1) that the Lord Jesus, as Michael, leads his host against the dragon. The oath recorded in Dan. xii. 7, has special reference to Israel's final deliverance, 'when God shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people.'

we read soon after, in the next chapter, of such comparatively brief periods as 42 months, and 1260 days.^d And after the ascension of the two witnesses, it is added, 'The second woe is past; behold the third woe cometh *quickly*.' 'And the seventh angel sounded (see ch. x. 11), and there were great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdom of this world is become our Lord's and his Christ's, and he shall reign for ever and ever' (Rev. xi. 14, 15).

It must not be forgotten that the mighty angel had declared (x. 7) 'that in the days of the voice of the seventh angel, when he should sound, the mystery of God shall be finished, *as he hath given glad tidings* (εὐαγγέλιζε) to his servants the prophets.' There were prophets, as well as apostles, under the Gospel dispensation (Eph. ii. 20; and iii. 5); but we are rather to understand the angel as speaking of the Hebrew prophets of the Old Testament, when he testifies that through them God hath given the glad tidings of the coming kingdom and glory (see Acts iii. 21). It will be enough to quote one of these predictions, from Micah (iv. 7), although as a Jewish prophet, living many centuries before the Spirit's revelation to the Church of the mystery of Christ (Eph. iii. 4, 5), he especially speaks of the Jewish subjects of that kingdom, which he, nevertheless, knew (iv. 1, 3) was to be a world-wide sovereignty,—'And I will make her that halted a remnant, and her that was cast off a strong nation; and the Lord shall reign over them in Mount Zion from henceforth, even for ever.' Then will the long and mysteriously-permitted reign and triumph of sin and Satan in this our fallen world—a fact which is not only one among the mysteries of God, but which may be regarded, in connection with the means of redemption, as *the* mystery of God—give place to the triumphant and holy sovereignty of 'our Lord and his Christ.'

Now we might surely expect, reasoning from the analogy of Scripture, that the leading character of such events as should be deemed in the Divine wisdom necessary to intervene between the angel's oath and the voice of the seventh trumpet would be twofold, comprehending both a triumphant oppression, almost unprecedented, of the people of God by his enemies, and also such an

^d It certainly would seem that we must interpret figuratively 'the hour, and day, and month, and year,' of Rev. ix. 15. But it appears to the writer that the language of the angel's oath in ch. x. 6, absolutely constrains us to interpret literally the 1260 days and 42 months of the eleventh chapter of the Apocalypse. The mention of so small a portion of time as an hour encourages the idea of a symbolical expression of duration. Forty-two months are sufficient for the accomplishment of much. Twelve hundred and sixty days will include the period between Napoleon's crossing the Niemen (June 4, 1812) to invade Russia, and his arrival at St. Helena, Nov. 30, 1815.

overwhelming testimony in their sight of his power and Godhead, as should leave them utterly without excuse for their impiety, and thus justify him not only in blessing and rewarding his servants, but also in inflicting final and destructive vengeance upon the unbelieving and scornful opposers.

Nor is this expectation disappointed on a further perusal of the prophetic record. For when we proceed to inquire what were the leading events which occurred after the oath, and before the seventh trumpet, we find them described in the former portion of the 11th chapter. We there read of the measuring (by the Apostle) of the temple of God with its worshippers—of the treading under foot (*i. e.* the victorious possession) of the Holy City by the Gentiles, forty-and-two months—and of the ministry, death, and resurrection of the two witnesses.* The history of these witnesses is not brought before us as an isolated and separate matter, but is evidently connected (by the conjunction with which it begins) with the immediately preceding verses which speak of the temple and Holy City. 'And (also) I will give (power) unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy a thousand two hundred and three score days, clothed in sackcloth.' There is thus a strong presumption that these 1260 days of testimony are closely connected in the Divine purposes with the 42 months of the degradation and oppression of the Holy City. We are not, however, authorized to think that these two periods begin and end together, although the latter portion of the one may be contemporaneous with the former portion of the other. If we are to suppose that the oppression[†] of the Holy City does not terminate before the destruction of the beast and false prophet, then it would seem plain that the death and resurrection of the witnesses must occur before the deliverance of the Holy City from Gentile oppression; and, therefore, that their testimony must have commenced some time before the giving over of the Holy City into the power of the Gentile conqueror.

* Would not the theories, which assume that the two witnesses have already testified and been slain, be greatly confirmed if the language of the prophetic narrative (Rev. xi. 5, 6) were the very reverse of what it is—*i. e.*, if it described these witnesses, not as invulnerable and armed with superhuman power during the 1260 days of their testimony, but as unsuccessfully resisting and struggling against mighty persecutors during this period, and almost always constrained to seek their safety in flight and concealment?

[†] Dr. Bloomfield observes on the word *παρῃσονται*, in Rev. xi. 2: 'Dean Woodhouse and Dr. Burton object to our common version, "they shall tread under foot," and take the sense to be, "shall walk in, frequent," as Isa. i. 22, compared with Ps. xlv. 4. But the most learned commentators take *παρῃσονται* for *καταπαρῃσονται* or *ὕβρισται*, as did our translators. In the Syriac version, the same expression is used as had been employed at Matt. vii. 6, of the trampling under foot of the pearls by the swine.'

In the hand of the angel who pronounced the oath-assurance that 'there should be delay no longer,' was a little book open. John was commanded to receive this from the angel, who gives it to the Apostle, with this injunction,—'Take it, and eat it up: it shall make thy belly bitter, but it shall be in thy mouth sweet as honey.' That this was a little book or codicil, and that it was *open* in the angel's hand, and given by him to the Apostle, may be designed to teach us, not only that its contents were brief, but also that these were immediately to be revealed to John, and through him to the Church. That it made his 'belly bitter, though sweet as honey in his mouth,' would seem to indicate that, however glorious the final consummation, there was much of a painful and distressing character with reference to the suffering of the Church and the temporary triumph of her enemies, in the information conveyed by the little book. It may therefore be reasonably inferred that the events of the 11th chapter are, in regard to the (terrestrial) chronology of the vision, immediately subsequent to the descent of the mighty angel in the tenth; that when John begins again to prophesy, he immediately announces what he had just learned from the little book; and that the temporary triumphs of the persecutors of the truth of the Gospel will form a portion of that which is thus communicated. It will thus at once be concluded that the former part (at least) of the 11th chapter was derived from this source; and a highly esteemed commentator (with whom the writer agrees) is of opinion that the contents of the little book or codicil extend to the end of the fourteenth verse of this chapter.

And here, in attempting to offer an explanation of the first and second verses of the 11th chapter of the Apocalypse, the following introductory remark may not be unnecessary. We are not to take for granted that the terms in which the component parts of a prediction like that contained in these two verses are expressed, must be all entirely figurative, or all entirely literal. No judicious person can for a moment expect to find in the inspired word a confused mingling of the one with the other. It is however quite conceivable that in the different portions of a command and announcement such as we find in these verses, figurative and literal terms may be so employed, without being crudely intermingled, that a plain and sincere student of the prophetic Scriptures, who reverently prays for Divine teaching and illumination, cannot easily be led into error in this respect. The passage now under our consideration is—'And there was given me a reed like unto a rod; and the angel stood, saying, Rise and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that are therein. But the court, which is without the temple, leave out, and measure it not; for it

is given unto the Gentiles; and the Holy City shall they tread under foot forty-two months.'

It is assumed in this essay that the commencement of these forty-two months is to be dated long after the overthrow of Jerusalem by the Romans, under Titus, when both city and temple were raised to the ground. God will, therefore, at the time in question, have no such special local and material temple and altar upon the earth as existed in the days before the first captivity, and again after the return from Babylon. Hence the terms here used by St. John—temple of God, altar, and worshippers therein; not of a local and material temple and altar, but of the true and spiritual Church of God. Again, the outer court is so intimately connected with the temple, being, as it were, a part of the building, that if we interpret the temple figuratively, we must also put a figurative interpretation upon the terms 'the court which is without the temple.'

Accordingly, we may believe that in these verses the temple, altar, and court are to be understood in a figurative sense. Yet, on the other hand, it would seem plain that the last clause of the second verse, which does not record *a symbolic injunction that cannot be literally obeyed*, but rather a prediction of that which may one day become historic fact, viz. 'the Gentiles shall tread under foot the holy city forty and two months,' is at least capable of a literal and local interpretation, if we understand by the words 'treading under foot,' victorious and oppressive possession.

Let me now proceed to inquire how far it is scripturally probable that the terms 'holy city,' here employed by St. John, are to be understood as spoken of some particular city. Can, then, a city be found, bearing in the holy Scriptures this high appellation, and distinctively and exclusively bearing it? It is important to keep in mind that we are not now asking whether any place may have been honoured with this title at some particular period of its history, and on some special occasion, to mark the Divine approval of the piety of the generation then dwelling there. The question is—do we find in the inspired volume a city thus designated by the Holy Spirit, irrespective of the moral and religious character of the great majority of the inhabitants at the time when the honourable title is employed? and as if to show that the city thus distinguished is (not, indeed, necessarily in the sight and judgment of men, but) in the secret purposes of the Most High, THE HOLY CITY, *i. e.*, the city which God has especially set apart for himself above all other cities on the earth? We do not hesitate to reply in the affirmative, and point to Jerusalem. It will not be denied that, at the commencement of our Lord's ministry, this devoted and guilty city was fast ripening for her

rejection by the Most High, and her destruction by the Romans. Yet in the Evangelist Matthew's inspired narrative of the temptation, this same Jerusalem, which was soon publicly to deny, and persecute to the death, the promised Messiah, the Son of God, is called 'the holy city' (iv. 5). It might have been thought that after the Lord's condemnation and crucifixion such an appellation would occur no more. Yet the same inspired Evangelist, when relating a marvellous event which happened very soon after the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus, writes 'many bodies of the saints which slept arose, and came out of the graves after his resurrection, and went into *the holy city*, and appeared unto many' (Matt. xxvii. 52, 53).

But it may not unfairly be asked, is this high designation ever applied to Jerusalem in the inspired history of the Acts of the Apostles, and after the awful national rejection of the testimony of the Holy Spirit, which was given on the day of Pentecost, and subsequently through the preaching and miracles of the Apostles? Certainly not. Yet the mere fact that the title is not named, is no valid proof of its final forfeiture and loss. Indeed, the title in question, though twice found in St. Matthew's history, does not once occur in the other Evangelists. It must, however, be remembered that the temple, although its vail had been 'rent in twain' at the crucifixion, and its sacrifice rendered useless by the death of the Lamb of God, is still regarded as the temple, and spoken of as such, throughout the book of the Acts. We read that Peter and John went up together into the temple at the 'hour of prayer' (iii. 1). And, which is still more to our purpose, the angel of the Lord thus addressed the Apostles whom he had just delivered from prison, 'Go stand in the temple, and speak to the people all the words of this life' (v. 20; see also xxi. 26). And it may seem to be neither unreasonable nor unscriptural to think that as long as this sacred edifice retained the name of temple, so long, at least, might Jerusalem be regarded as retaining the appellation of 'the holy city.'^s

It may, perhaps, be here objected that while it is conceded that

^s Jerusalem is called 'the holy city' by the angel Gabriel, in the first year of Darius (Dan. ix. 24), when it was little better than a desolate heap of ruins. After the return from the captivity, we find Nehemiah giving this title in ch. xi. 1-18. Isaiah seems to apply this designation to the future and literal Jerusalem: 'Awake, awake, put on thy strength, O Zion, put on thy beautiful garments, O Jerusalem, the holy city' (ch. lii. 1). When the man 'clothed in linen' said, in the hearing of Daniel, that all God's great purposes would be finished at the time 'when He shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the *holy people*,' does not God himself teach us that this title of 'holy people' (with reference to the Divine choice and purpose) is the permanent designation of the literal seed of Jacob? And may we not infer from this that, in like manner, 'the holy city' is the permanently scriptural title of Jerusalem?

the designation of 'the holy city' (in the sense of its 'being consecrated and set apart in the Divine purpose,' and of its possessing God's only earthly temple) may be regarded as permanently belonging to the first Jerusalem until its destruction by the Chaldeans, and also to the second Jerusalem (which, with its temple, was rebuilt at the express command, and under the special protection, of the Most High), until its destruction by the Romans—it may yet be denied that we have any warrant for supposing that the present Jerusalem, the third material city, which (even if reared upon the site of the two former) was neither rebuilt at the command of God, nor exclusively adorned with his only earthly temple, should be designated in the inspired word by the Apocalyptic Angel, simply as 'the holy city.'

There is, however, another designation given to Jerusalem in the New, borrowed from the Old Testament, and from which its title of Holy City may be derived. When our Lord was speaking on the subject of oaths, he said (Matt. v. 35); 'Swear not by Jerusalem, for it is the City of the Great King' (Ps. xlviii. 2). The Blessed Jesus thus confirms the words of the Psalmist, and seems to teach us that the City of the Great King is as much the New as the Old Testament designation of Jerusalem. And if we bear in mind that the guilty Jerusalem was ripening for destruction when St. Matthew called it the Holy City, and also that Judea was a Roman province, and Jerusalem a city of the Roman empire destined about forty years after to be rased to the ground by the Romans, when it was called by the Lord the City of the Great King, we shall find it difficult to believe that these august appellations do not refer to a yet future and glorious destiny of the city of David. Nor will this impression be weakened if we consider one or two other passages in the New Testament, which bear upon this point. When the Angel Gabriel said of Jesus, 'The Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David, and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end,' is it not offering great violence to the words of this promise to sever them altogether from the local site of the earthly Jerusalem, where David reigned? And are we not entitled to require very clear warrant for this severance, before we cease to regard the Angel's promise as referring to that which is predicted by Micah, 'And the Lord shall reign over them in Mount Zion, henceforth even for ever?' The statements of the Divine word appear to justify us in expecting that both the promise and the prediction are to receive their local and literal fulfilment in the future establishment of a glorious theocracy on the Mount Zion, 'When the nations shall come up to Jerusalem to worship the King the Lord of hosts' (Zech. xiv. 16). Then will Jerusalem

be manifestly and truly 'the Holy City,' and the 'City of the Great King.'

We may also compare this royal title, given to Jerusalem by the Psalmist, and afterwards confirmed by Jesus at a time when the Romans were the lords of the city, with that yet future régál destiny of Israel, implied in the question put to the Saviour just before his ascension, 'Lord, wilt thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?' This question plainly shows that up to that time all the Apostles, without exception, fully expected that there was certainly to be (sooner or later), according to Old Testament predictions, a literal restoration of the kingdom to the seed of Jacob under the sovereignty of Messiah, when, in the language of Micah, 'the kingdom should come to the daughter of Jerusalem' (iv. 8).

Again, let us consider, in reference to what has just been advanced, another passage in which the Lord is speaking of the Jews, and the victorious possession of Jerusalem by the Gentiles. 'And they (the Jews) shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captives into all nations; and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled' (Luke xxi. 24). We cannot indeed assert that the employment of the word '*until*,' absolutely constrains us to believe that the time will come when Jerusalem will be no longer trodden down (or even inhabited) by the Gentiles, and when she shall again be God's own and openly acknowledged city; the holy and happy residence of the restored and converted descendants of Abraham. Yet, we shall probably be in little danger of error, if we put a charitable and gracious interpretation on these words of Jesus concerning Jerusalem, and think that they teach us that this now degraded city will yet be raised to that glorious dignity which the Hebrew prophets so plainly predict. And as the mind pauses on these words of our Lord, 'Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled,' a persuasion comes, as it were insensibly, over us, that Jesus is here teaching us, that the scorned and trampled city is still Jerusalem—is still the 'Holy City' and the 'City of the Great King' in the sight and purpose of the Most High God.

It would seem then that the two New Testament designations of Jerusalem (each of which is found also in the Old Testament)—viz. 'the Holy City' (Dan. ix. 24), and the 'City of the Great King' (Ps. xlviii. 2), if we duly take into consideration the time when, and the circumstances under which, they were applied by the Holy Spirit, and by the Lord Jesus—(the Holy City was then full of unbelief and wickedness, and the City of the Great King had become one of the subordinate provincial cities of the Roman empire)—these two New Testament designations of Jerusalem, in

this connection, would seem very strongly to favour the idea that the Most High, as the God of Israel, has established a special and *permanent* relation between Himself and the *local site* of the ancient Jerusalem. This special relation may be seemingly interrupted, and even appear to have been destroyed. A first and second city may be raised to the ground, and a third afterwards erected on the same spot, bearing no marks of the Divine favour, and resembling to the eye of man a common Gentile city. Yet will God again in the last days regard the degraded and seemingly forgotten Jerusalem with manifest and marvellous favour and blessing. And indeed every argument in behalf of the literal restoration of Judah and Israel to Palestine, is, to a very considerable extent, favourable to the view that Jerusalem will yet be both the 'Holy City' and the 'City of the Great King.' And if so, then, in the mind of God who looks not to earthly vicissitudes but to his own immutable purposes, Jerusalem even now retains the titles of Holy City and City of the Great King. And surely the spirit of the Apostle's well-known words (Rom. xi. 29), 'The gifts and calling of God are without repentance (change of purpose),' is applicable not only to the literal Israel, but also to the literal Jerusalem. Accordingly it is now assumed that the application of the title of the Holy City (Rev. xi. 2) to what may be called the third literal Jerusalem, at a time in which, as is plain from the context, the majority of its inhabitants will not be faithful to God, is, to say the very least, scripturally probable. We may perhaps advance a step further, and believe that it may be reasonably inferred from what has been advanced, that the title of the 'Holy City' is the special designation by which we might expect Jerusalem to be distinguished in the visions of the Apocalypse, should any reference be made to this city in those mysterious visions.

And if we think that it is, after a very protracted period of long-suffering and delay, and when God is about to cast away forbearance, and 'make a short work upon the earth,' that the mighty angel descends, and declares with an oath, 'ὅτι χρόνος οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι,'^b it would seem to be almost a necessary consequence of

^b The separation of οὐκ from ἔτι, by the interposed verb ἔσται, may seem to make it possible that in this clause the words οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι may bear the rendering, 'shall not be yet.' And Bishop Newton translates the passage, 'that the time shall not be yet.' It is enough to say that this version would absolutely require the corresponding definite article in the original; where, however, χρόνος is anarthrous. In Matt. v. 13, the negative term is similarly separated from ἔτι by the verb ἵσχυται: yet we must translate the phrase, εἰς οὐδὲν ἰσχύει ἔτι εἰ μὴ βληθῆναι ἔξω, by 'it is no longer good for any thing but to be cast forth.' The result of Dr. Tregelles' careful investigation is to show that the reading οὐκέτι ἔσται is to be preferred to that of οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι; and thus it seems impossible to admit Bishop Newton's version, 'not yet,' instead of 'no longer.' The verb χρονίζειν is used in the sense of delay. Matt. xxiv. 42: χρονίζει ὁ κύριός μου ελθεῖν, 'My lord delayeth

this supposition, that the forty-two months of the Gentile oppressor's triumph are to be received as literal months, and that the holy city points out the literal Jerusalem.

If, however, we thus assume 'the holy city' of Rev. xi. 2, to be really the literal Jerusalem, we must also, in order to be consistent, understand literally the term 'Gentiles' in the same verse—*i. e. Gentiles as opposed to Jews*. And it will also be in strict accordance with this assumption to suppose that, at the yet future time of the angel's oath (and, if yet future, it may be very near at hand), which is presumed to precede, at no great interval, the abandonment of the holy city to the Gentiles, the descendants of Abraham will form the great majority of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and that an ungodly Gentile power overcomes them, and takes forcible possession of the city. This would seem to imply that the Jews must have been previously inclined, and enabled by the Divine Providence, to return in large numbers to Jerusalem, and probably, to a considerable portion of that part of Palestine, which constituted the territories of Judah and Benjamin. Now few thoughtful minds will think that events of so great importance to the literal Israel (if they are really to happen), could have been either wholly overlooked, or only very darkly alluded to in the prophetic Scriptures of the Old Testament. Accordingly they will deem it not unreasonable to ask for one or more predictions in the Hebrew prophets, which (without being strained from their natural and obvious meaning to support a particular hypothesis) announce clearly, or teach by fair inference, this *second* return of the Jews to Jerusalem, and also this *third desolating capture* of the holy city; and that as introductory to the *final triumph* (proclaimed at the sounding of the *seventh* trumpet) of the truth and people of God, over all infidel and ungodly persecutors and oppressors.

Let me, therefore, next proceed to examine briefly, three predictions in the Old Testament, with a view to the inquiry concerning the re-establishment of the descendants of Abraham in the city of Jerusalem, the assault and capture of that city by an ungodly Gentile power after such re-establishment, and the final and glorious deliverance of Judah and Jerusalem, by the special interposition of the Most High. The predictions here alluded to are found in Dan. xi. 40, 45; Zech. xii. 1, 9; and in Zech. xiv. 1, 3. This last is also to be compared with Zech. xiii. 8, 9.

his coming.' And elsewhere also in the New Testament. We thus seem authorised to give a corresponding signification to the noun χρόνος—ὅτι χρόνος οὐκ ἔτι ἔσται, 'that there should be no more delay.' Thus the gracious announcement, that the earnest hope of the Church is to be no longer deferred, is also graciously confirmed by an oath.

I. The predictions in Dan. xi. 40, 45. The inspired Prophet is speaking in these verses of events which are to occur at *the time of the end* (ver. 40); among which he announces that the wilful king shall enter at the head of a large army, into 'the glorious land.' Very few will deny that 'the time of the end' marks a period that is yet future; and it will, perhaps, be generally allowed that this expression has special reference to the accomplishment of the scattering of the holy people (the literal Israel), Dan. xii. 7, *i. e.* to the time when the dispersion and oppression of the literal Israel shall come to an end; for their God will then 'plant them upon their land, and they shall *no more* be pulled up out of their land which I have given them, saith the Lord'¹ (Amos ix. 15). The country also which Daniel

¹ *i. e.*, the land, which I, Jehovah, have given to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and their seed, in a covenant which cannot be broken. May it not be thought that this truth, viz., the sure steadfastness of God's covenant with the literal Israel, with reference both to the people and the land, is set before us in Rev. xi. 19? 'And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen (*ἐφθη*) the ark of his covenant in his temple.' Neither the heavenly temple nor the heavenly ark is to be understood as now for the first time brought into existence. The ancient heavenly temple is now opened. And the ancient ark of the covenant, which (speaking after the manner of human reckoning) we may suppose to have been treasured up in that temple at least from the day that Moses was commanded to make all things 'according to the pattern showed to him in the mount' (Heb. viii. 5, Exod. xxv. 40), is now visible to the apostle, who (and the Church through him) is thus taught that, amidst all the earthly vicissitudes of the seed of Abraham, the ark and the covenant had never been discarded from the heavenly temple—had never been annulled, or even forgotten. Let us consider how God has dealt with the land in past times, and how he has spoken of the land. When God had removed Ephraim into Assyria, and allowed the heathen to occupy Samaria, did he break off all special connection with the land after Ephraim's removal? No. He sent lions into Samaria. And the very fact that, while he* exacted from the terrified Gentile colonists such a portion of Levitical worship as amounted to an open acknowledgment of his supremacy and lordship in the land, he yet permitted them to continue the idolatrous worship of their various false gods—would seem to show that he retained his special hold on the land as *covenant land*, yet would not, as if outcast Ephraim had been finally and for ever rejected, take the new colonists into a new covenant, as his covenant people. Such of the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem, in those days, as feared the Lord, would, on hearing of the entrance of the lions into Samaria, and the strange result of an apparently offensive combination of continuance in idolatry with the open recognition of Jehovah's supremacy, might, through divine illumination and teaching, thus learn, with pious gratitude, that God still remembered the land, and had not utterly cut off outcast Ephraim—that the Gentile colonists, who had come into Ephraim's land, had not also taken

* It is important to remember that the result of this visitation was the permanent establishment of Levitical worship in Samaria. When Nebuchadnezzar had taken Jerusalem, burned the temple, and carried the Jews into captivity, the descendants of these Gentile colonists might have said, 'The gods of Babylon have conquered the God of the land; let us no longer worship him.' They did not do so. For afterwards they send to Zerubbabel, and say, 'We seek your God, as ye do; and we do sacrifice unto him since the days of Esarhaddon, king of Assur, which brought us up hither' (Ezra iv. 2).

designates as 'the glorious land,' is doubtless the literal Palestine, the land which Jehovah covenanted to give (1) 'to Abraham and his seed;' (2) to Isaac and his seed (Gen. xxvi. 3); and again, to Jacob and his seed (Gen. xxviii. 13); *the thrice-covenanted land*. And all the Hebrew prophets seem to declare (in accordance with the passage just quoted from Amos) that this covenant gift, however its blessings may for a time be interrupted and suspended, and the seed of Abraham scattered in remote Gentile regions, has never been, and will never be annulled; but rather, that after sharp judicial visitations upon Judah and Ephraim for their transgressions, the Most High will fulfil the assurance which he hath given through Moses—'I will not abhor them to destroy them utterly, and to *break my covenant* with them: FOR I AM THE LORD THEIR GOD' (Lev. xxvi. 44). 'I will remember my covenant with Jacob, and also my covenant with Isaac, and also my covenant with Abraham will I remember; and I WILL REMEM-

Ephraim's place in the covenant of blessing—that Ephraim, though an exile from the land, was not an outcast from the covenant.

Should it, however, be objected, that while it is not difficult to believe that God may remember Ephraim the tribe, and Samaria the territory, which bordered immediately on Judea, it is less easy to believe that he will also remember all the other tribes, we are furnished with a satisfactory reply to this objection. Does God teach us, through Jeremiah, that long after the overthrow of Samaria by Assyria, he regards outcast Ephraim with tender compassion, and with the fixed purpose of future deliverance and blessing? (Jer. xxx. 20). He also teaches us, through the same prophet, that Ephraim is not the only outcast tribe which God remembers. Let us read attentively Jer. xlix. 1: 'Concerning the Ammonites, thus saith the Lord, *Hath Israel no son? hath he no heir? why then doth their king inherit Gad, and his people dwell in his cities?*' Thus, nearly a century and a half after the captivity of Gad by Tiglath-pileser, God still regards Gad as one of the sons and heirs of Israel, and the cities, which Ammon occupies, are still, in the mind of Jehovah, his (Gad's) cities. And we are to bear in mind that Gad was the son of Jacob neither by Leah nor by Rachel—his mother was Zilpah, the handmaid of Leah. Again, the territory of Gad was on the eastern side of the Jordan, and therefore was not, strictly speaking, in the original covenant with Abraham. Gad wilfully and selfishly sought it, against the revealed plan of the Most High, who gave it to him through Moses. And, because Gad was equally a covenant tribe with the tribes of Judah and Ephraim, the Lord determines to deal with the territory of Gad as it had been, equally with Judea and Samaria, in the original covenant with Abraham. When the prophet Amos (writing a few years before the submission of Menahem to Pul) gives us these words of the Lord, 'I will bring again the captivity of my people Israel,' we seem to be taught that God purposes finally to restore and bless all the tribes; and if so, then must we expect restoration and blessing on both sides of the Jordan. And this appears to be predicted and promised, more than a hundred and fifty years after the successes of Pul, in Jer. i. 19, where the Lord says, 'I will bring *Israel* again to his habitation, and he shall feed on Carmel and Bashan, and his soul shall be satisfied on Mount Ephraim and Gilead.' Of these places, Carmel and Ephraim were on the western, and Bashan and Gilead on the eastern side of the Jordan. In the 17th verse the term Israel evidently comprehends all the tribes—those whom 'Assyria had devoured and those whose bones Nebuchadnezzar had broken.' And in the 19th verse, the expression, '*his soul shall be satisfied* upon Mount Ephraim and Gilead,' would seem to denote that fulness of grace and blessing which is promised to Israel in the latter days.

BER THE LAND' (Lev. xxvi. 42). This latter assurance had a wonderful fulfilment in regard to Judah, at the return from Babylon; and it is yet to find its final and glorious fulfilment in reference to all Israel, at the time of the end, as the accomplishment of the scattering of the holy people.

The writer of this essay is disposed to agree with those who place a long interval between the 35th and 36th verses of the eleventh chapter of Daniel, and who think that the fierce chief, described in the latter verse as 'the king who shall do according to his own will,' and who is 'to prosper *till the indignation be accomplished*,' is the haughty conqueror who 'plants his tabernacles in the glorious holy mountain;' and then, when the indignation against Israel is finally accomplished, 'comes to his end, there being none to help him.' It is, however, perhaps impossible to decide* at present, whether or not the king of the north, in ver. 40, is to be identified with the wilful king. If they are not to be identified, then Daniel teaches us that this mighty wilful king, having overcome the resistance of the kings of the north and south, proceeds to attack and overflow many countries. Daniel merely says that 'he enters into the glorious land;' but when we consider his victorious and rapacious character, and that he is an impious despiser of the Most High God, it is perfectly consistent with the tenor of the whole prophetic narrative to believe that he makes himself master of the city of Jerusalem, and of such wealth and costly articles as shall be, at the time, possessed by its inhabitants. 'Edom, Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon, escape out of his hand.' They who will then occupy these regions will perhaps offer no sufficient temptations to his cupidity or policy; or their subjugation may appear to be a work of too much delay and difficulty to make it expedient to undertake the task. Afterwards he enters into Egypt, and becomes the master of all its 'treasures of gold and silver, and of all its precious things.'

* Mr. Faber thus writes in the preface to his 'Tract on the Downfall of Turkey,' etc.: 'Of the progress of the wilful Roman king, associated with his ally the false Roman prophet, a wonderfully minute account is given by Daniel. He will be opposed, it seems, by the two powers, which at that time will be the lords respectively of Egypt and of Syria; whence those two powers are called the *king of the south* and the *king of the north*. But the event only can determine with certainty *what* those two powers will be.'

The present aspect of affairs would seem to lead us to think, that at the yet future time of which Daniel speaks the then kings of the south and north will be the sovereigns of Turkey and Russia. Should Turkey continue to retain Palestine, her pecuniary necessities may incline her to allow the Jews to occupy Judea and Jerusalem as her feudal tenants—governing themselves, and paying an enormous rent (so to speak) for their land and city to the Turkish sultan. And a gradual indifference to the creed of Mohammed may spread through Turkey, so that the sanctity of the mosque of Omar may no longer be an obstacle in the way of such an arrangement.

The prophet then adds that the Libyans (of Western) and the Ethiopians (of Southern Africa) are at his steps ; *i. e.* acknowledge his superiority, and serve under his banner. These last statements are important in reference to all attempts to connect these predictions of Daniel with those of Zech. xiv. 1, 3. For the fact that these more remote African nations (assuming that the קְשִׁים of ver. 43 denotes the African, and not the Arabian, כְּנָעִי) thus submit themselves to the wilful king, may show that this African expedition, including the conquest of Egypt, is not a brief and hastily concluded enterprise, but that a certain and not inconsiderable interval of time occurs between the victor's entrance into Africa, and his subsequent return into Palestine. It would seem indeed, that the victor's return was earlier than it would otherwise have been, in consequence of certain unexpected tidings from the east and the north. Whatever may be the nature of the tidings, they are sufficiently important and unwelcome to fill him with rage, and constrain him to quit Egypt in haste. It seems plain that there is something in the tidings thus received, which exasperates the conqueror, especially against Jerusalem, and it is towards that city that 'he goeth forth with great fury to destroy and utterly make away many.' When, however, he reaches Palestine, and has been permitted 'to plant the tabernacles of his palace on the glorious holy mountain' (Ps. xlviii. 1, 2), 'he shall come to his end and none shall help him.'

This decisive language, when viewed in connection with the context, marks not only the *final* destruction of the fierce and impious enemy, but also that he is destroyed by *special Divine interposition*, and in the *promised land*. And the twelfth chapter of Daniel teaches us that this fierce and impious king is to be the last *successful* (his success is recorded in xi. 41) Gentile conqueror of Judea and Jerusalem, and that no other, at least in the Hebrew prophets, is to succeed him. Whatever may be intended by the assault of the 'beloved city' in Rev. xx. 9, that assault will not be successful. The holy people also, the people of Daniel, are to be finally restored to the favour of their God, when this enemy shall have been utterly overthrown in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem, after his hasty return from Egypt. Hence, when we find in Ezekiel, the contemporary of Daniel, and also in Haggai, and Zechariah (not to mention Joel and Zephaniah), predictions of a final gathering of all nations against Jerusalem—that they are there finally and utterly overthrown by the Lord, and that their final overthrow is immediately succeeded by the re-establishment, in godliness and prosperity, of the literal Israel in their own land, it is very difficult to resist the conclusion that these predictions refer to the events which Daniel has foretold at

the conclusion of his eleventh, and in the beginning of his twelfth, chapters. And if this be conceded, we shall perhaps be able to learn from Zechariah, fuller particulars of this last great enemy's first entrance into 'the glorious land' (Dan. xi. 41), and of his final overthrow near Jerusalem (Dan. xi. 45).

With regard to the important question—whether Jerusalem will, at this yet future period, be inhabited entirely or in great part by Jews, Daniel appears to take for granted that this will be the case, *and the very nature of his prophetic narrative seems to require it*. At all events, no reader of his book can doubt that this must have been the conviction of the prophet himself, and of all his devout Jewish contemporaries, who might have the opportunity of reading his prophecies.

II. The predictions in Zech. xii. 1-9. In this passage no allusion is made to a previous victorious entrance into the glorious land, followed by the triumphant invasion of Egypt, and the submission of Libyans and Ethiopians to the conqueror. It cannot, however, be reasonably doubted, that Zechariah is here speaking of the literal Judah and Jerusalem. An army, collected from many peoples, is to be assembled against Jerusalem, an event which has already occurred twice to that devoted city, in fulfilment of the denunciations of the prophets, and of the Lord Jesus: once in the days of the Chaldean Nebuchadnezzar, and again in those of the Roman Vespasian. But in the prophecy now before us, Jerusalem, instead of being cast down and rased to the ground (as was the result of each of these two sieges), is to be 'a cup of trembling and a burdensome stone' to the confederate Gentile oppressors of the glorious land and of the holy city. Accordingly this great hostile gathering is to be regarded as an event yet to happen, and is, therefore, to be identified with the final advance of the wilful king upon Jerusalem, *after his return from Egypt*. It has been already remarked, that no notice is here taken of the previous Gentile successes in Palestine and Egypt. The son of Berechiah appears to take up the prophetic narrative, at the period of the enemy's return from Africa into Palestine. He sets before us Jerusalem as threatened by a formidable host from many nations; and the decisive and *final* character of the crisis is manifest from the language of the prophet: it is plainly to be the *last* siege and the *last* deliverance. For the Most High will then and there seek to destroy all the nations that come against Jerusalem; 'all that burden themselves with Jerusalem (the burdensome stone) shall be cut in pieces, though all the people of the earth be gathered together against it.' And the Lord, who thus smites the oppressor, and delivers his people, will then 'pour upon the house of David, and the inhabitants of Jeru-

saalem, the spirit of grace and of supplications, and *they shall look on me whom they have pierced*' (ver. 10). When we call to mind the reference to these words in the inspired evangelist (John xix. 37), we seem to have the highest authority for asserting that the predictions recorded in this twelfth chapter of Zechariah are to be fulfilled at some time subsequent to the piercing and crucifixion of the Messiah; and if this be correct, the time is yet future in which they are to receive their accomplishment. And, when the prophet says that, at this yet future season, the Lord will pour the spirit of grace and supplication upon the HOUSE OF DAVID AND THE INHABITANTS OF JERUSALEM,^m is he not of necessity to be understood as speaking of the literal Jerusalem and Judah? And does he not plainly teach us that at the time (yet future) of which he is speaking, Jerusalem will be chiefly inhabited by the literal descendants of Abraham? And if we grant this, it follows that a large number of unconverted Jews are yet to return and occupy Jerusalem, before the fulfilment of the predictions in the twelfth chapter of Zechariah.

In proceeding thus far, we seem to have found Daniel and Zechariah agreeing together in teaching us that, in the last days, Jerusalem is again to contain a Jewish population; that it shall be besieged by a formidable Gentile host; that this host shall be utterly overthrown before the city, by the special interposition of the Most High; and that Judah and Jerusalem shall then be finally and gloriously delivered from Gentile oppressors. But we have also seen from Dan. xi. 41, that it is very probable that Jerusalem may have been already taken and trodden under foot by the wilful king, on his first entrance, at the head of his victorious army, into the glorious land. I now proceed to inquire how far that which may, with great probability, be inferred from Daniel's language, can be proved from another prediction in Zechariah, viz. that there will be a third desolating capture of Jerusalem, and treading down of the holy city, by a Gentile oppressor, not very long before its *final* siege by the same oppressor, and from whom it is then finally delivered.

^m In vv. 12, 13 of this chapter, mention is made 'of the house of David, of the house of Nathan, and of the houses of Levi and Shimei (Simeon).' Yet, how are these persons, at the future time in question, to know that they belong to these several houses? We must leave the solution of this difficulty to the Omniscient God. It would certainly appear that *all the families of Israel* are to be known as such to the Lord in the last days. And He who will then know the families of the houses of David, Nathan, Levi, and Shimei, can reveal this knowledge to them. In Jer. xxxi. 1, God declares that he still regards Ephraim as his *first-born*, and that He will have mercy upon him. Does not this teach us that the Omnipotent and Omniscient God, when, in gracious mercy, though also in covenant-faithfulness, He restores Jacob, will deal with Ephraim as a separate and distinct tribe? And what is to prevent Him from then making known who are the descendants of Ephraim?

III. *The predictions in Zech. xiv. 1-3.* In examining these verses we discover a prophetic narrative in striking agreement with that which is set before us in the book of Daniel (xi. 40-45). Zechariah here plainly mentions a successful invasion of Palestine, followed by the final overthrow of the Gentile conqueror near Jerusalem. He not only informs us that the ungodly enemy enters the glorious land, but also directly asserts (what can only be inferred, though with great probability, from Daniel's description of the character and career of the wilful king) that he takes and sacks Jerusalem. It might, indeed, seem, on a hasty perusal of Zech. xiv. 1-3, that the victors are crushed by the Lord, almost immediately after the fearful desolation of the city, so that they will have no time to withdraw from Judea, much less to invade Egypt successfully, and then return to perish in Palestine. I hope, however, to show that the language of Zechariah favours the view that it is not until after a certain interval of time (probably corresponding to the interval described by Daniel as employed in the conquest of Egypt), that the victor is finally overthrown before Jerusalem. I here quote, at length, the words of Zechariah (xiv. 1-3): 'Behold, the day of the Lord cometh, and thy spoil shall be divided in the midst of thee. For I will gather all nations against Jerusalem to battle; and the city shall be taken, and the houses rifled, and the women ravished; and half of the city shall go forth into captivity, and the residue of the people shall not be cut off from the city. Then (or rather *and*) the Lord shall go forth and fight against those nations, as when he fought in the day of battle.'

Our attention may be directed to two important clauses in the verses which just have been cited. (1.) 'Thy spoil shall be divided in the midst of thee.' (2.) 'Half of the city shall go into captivity.'

1. *Thy spoil shall be divided in the midst of thee.* These words may doubtless be interpreted to mean that the victorious oppressor is to become master of all the wealth, be it much or little, which shall be found in Jerusalem at the time in question. Yet surely, the language of this clause would seem to imply, that at this yet future period—defined as synchronous with the very near approach of the day of the Lord—Jerusalem will abound in the wealth that tempts the rapacity of the spoiler, and assists in bringing upon her the calamities which the prophet describes. And the whole tenor of the prophecy may be regarded as teaching us that Zechariah is undoubtedly speaking of Jerusalem as chiefly occupied by his own people, the descendants of Abraham, at the time in question. We cannot, as we study his predictions, suppose, for a moment, that he entertained a thought that in the day of the Lord, and at the season of this terrible visitation, Jerusalem would be a gentile,

and not a Jewish city. Nor can we, at the present day, conceive any possible combination of circumstances to arise, that shall make Jerusalem, as *a city of Gentiles*, remarkable for its riches and opulence. If the ancient capital of Palestine, situated in a mountainous district, and at a distance from the sea, is indeed ever to become famed for its wealth, it must unquestionably become so as *a Jewish city*. Hence the language of Zechariah may almost constrain us to believe that, when the oft-predicted day of the Lord shall be absolutely and imminently near at hand, Jerusalem will be made ready for the predicted final judgment, in being again inhabited by returned, though unconverted, Jews, possessing vast wealth, which may not only lead many of them into pride, luxury, and ungodliness, but also tempt the assault of a powerful and rapacious invader. And as it cannot be supposed that these returned Jews will have it in their power to acquire such immense riches in Palestine, after their settlement in the land of their fathers, we must think that they will carry thither abundant wealth out of the various gentile countries from which they are to return to Jerusalem. And is not all this strikingly consistent with present facts, in reference to the actual condition of the dispersed of Judah, and to what it may be allowed us to designate as the present probabilities of their future destiny? For it is notorious that the scattered members of the Hebrew family have long been accumulating treasures upon treasures, and that the riches already possessed by this hitherto despised people, are well nigh incalculable. It must also strike the student of the prophetic scriptures as a very significant fact, that this enormous wealth does not consist in vast landed possessions, but in money and other moveable articles of value. This fact is important in more than one point of view, with regard to the expected fulfilment of the predictions which are now before us. The Jews have thus no special ties to bind them to the gentile countries in which all their early training, ancestral recollections, and most solemn forms of prayer, teach them to regard themselves as sojourners, rather than as permanent residents. Hence, they can at any time, should opportunity be offered, remove with their treasures to the land of their forefathers' renown, and of their own best affections and hopes; the land which contains the dust of their illustrious patriarchs, kings and prophets—a land, in which they believe and expect that the seed of Jacob is yet to be a mightier nation even than in the days of David and Solomon, and supreme over all the nations of the earth. Hitherto, the idolatrous desecration of Christianity by the Romish apostacy, and the superstitious observances of the degenerate and corrupt Greek and Armenian churches, must have tended to degrade Jerusalem in the eyes even of the races of Judah, and have been to them a

source of humiliation and despondency. But in the Protestant church and Episcopate, recently planted there, and in the fact that a descendant of Abraham was the first Protestant Christian Bishop in the Holy City, the Jews will recognise a homage paid to the name and the metropolis of their fathers, calculated to revive their own patriotic feelings, and to arouse such a determined spirit of emulation, and watchful national jealousy, as shall incite them to spare neither cost nor effort to obtain Jerusalem for themselves, and render it once more not merely a Jewish city, but also a splendid and magnificent Jewish city. How marvellously, in these last days, does every year seem to render their return to Palestine more easy, safe and practicable. They, who are already rich enough to purchase Palestine, may yet aspire to obtain for themselves and their brethren, the liberty of returning into the Holy Land, and of re-establishing there the Jewish name and race, under the protection of the higher European powers, with the privilege of being governed by a Jewish magistracy, though, at the same time, acknowledging the sovereignty of Turkey—should the Divine Providence permit the Turkish dominion to continue so long. Without venturing to enter upon presumptuous attempts to explain too minutely the predictions of events that are yet hidden in the future, it may be suggested that, when Zechariah speaks of ‘the governors of Judah, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem’ (xii. 5-6), and says that ‘the Lord will save the tents of Judah first,’ (the Jews who reside not in the city, but in the surrounding districts)—he seems to indicate that not only are Jerusalem and much of Judea to be inhabited by a Jewish population, shortly before the day of the Lord, as of old, but that also a Jewish magistracy is then to administer the civil government both of the city and its surrounding district. And why should this be regarded as improbable? The possession of enormous pecuniary wealth is already giving to the Jews a political weight and influence in Europe, which could never have been derived from landed property however vast or valuable. Nor is the assertion altogether without foundation, that, as money is the sinew of war, the continental powers cannot easily carry on costly military operations without the aid of the leading Hebrew capitalists. Is there anything, then, improbable in the supposition that, before many years shall have elapsed, these great capitalists may enter into amicable negotiations with the European powers and the Turkish Sultan, and be permitted to become the purchasers of the territory of the ancient Judea?

Even the canded sceptic will, perhaps, hesitate to assert that these suppositions are visionary. For what, in reality, is the present position of the once illustrious but now degraded Hebrew race? These descendants of Abraham have no cherished Jewish

recollections to bind them to any gentile land. In most of the countries (our own not excepted), in which they have been dispersed sojourners, their past history is written in characters of blood. After the lapse of more than seventeen centuries of exile and dispersion, of ignominy and depression, there still exists, in the minds of vast numbers of the scattered race, a deeply rooted reverence and affection for the Land of Promise, with a fixed persuasion that the Most High will yet, according to the predictions of their prophets, re-establish gloriously their nation in Palestine and Jerusalem. In Protestant countries the Hebrew race is beginning to be treated with a kindness and consideration that will assist in giving the Jew the self-respect which he has so long lacked. The sovereigns of Great Britain and Prussia are become, to a certain degree, personally interested in the welfare of the Holy City. The comparatively brief period of thirty-three years (the half of this period would probably suffice), the ordinary limit of the duration of a single generation, would, in the present aspect of Europe and of the Sultan's Asiatic dominions, be amply sufficient for the accomplishment, without hurry or difficulty, of the return of vast numbers of the Hebrew family to Palestine, and of their re-establishment in Palestine with those treasures of which Zechariah would seem to be speaking, when he says—'Behold, the day of the Lord cometh, and *thy* spoil shall be divided in the midst of thee.' And, when the time appointed in the Divine purpose shall arrive, the providence and power of God can easily remove every remaining obstacle—effectually open (without any manifest or extraordinary interposition) a permitted way for their entrance into Palestine—and secretly incline the hearts of thousands gladly to avail themselves of the opportunity of finding a permanent home in the city and land of their fathers.

Let us now proceed to the other clause, which it was proposed to notice, viz.—'*Half of the city shall go forth into captivity.*' In the Authorized Version, we read as follows: 'a half of the city shall go forth into captivity, and the residue of the people shall not be cut off from the city. Then shall the Lord go forth and fight against those nations, as when he fought in the day of battle.' Our translation, in thus employing the word '*then*' to connect the third with the second verse, would most probably lead the English reader to understand that almost immediately after the sack of the city, and while the conquerors are exulting over the spoil, they are at once crushed by the going forth of the Lord to fight as in the day of battle.' Were this the case, the horrible barbarities which mark this *final* sack of Jerusalem, would be the *final accomplishment* of God's indignation against the holy people, and the Lord would at once descend in vengeance upon the ungodly oppressor. But that

the divine indignation against the holy people is not then fully exhausted, is plain from the fact, that half of the surviving (Jewish) population is to go forth into captivity.' Hence it is not at all necessary to suppose that, almost immediately after the capture of the city, the fierce victors are at once destroyed, before they have time to march to fresh conquests beyond the borders of Palestine. As the mind pauses over the terms of the prediction, we can scarcely refrain from thinking, that a certain, and probably not inconsiderable, space of time is to intervene between the sack of Jerusalem and the complete and final destruction of the ungodly invaders. And the fact of the existence of such an interval is here inferred from the important clause—'half of the city shall go forth into captivity.' Are these captives (probably not few in number) merely to be led forth beyond the gates of the city, or even to the distance of one or two days' journey from Jerusalem, when their captivity is to be suddenly terminated at its very commencement, and before they have passed beyond the limits of Judea, by the sudden interposition of the Lord? Nay, does not the language of the prophet rather imply that this going forth into captivity 'is a part of the Lord's righteous visitation upon his people, who have not yet acknowledged the Messiahship of Jesus of Nazareth, and that this band of captives is to be conducted into some foreign country, where *they* are to be punished with exile from Palestine, while those, who remain in the city, are to be heavily oppressed by the conquerors? The very journey itself into the place of their exile may occupy weeks, or even months. Again, if, as would seem not improbable, that residue of the (Jewish) population 'which shall not be cut off from the city' (xiv. 2) is to be identified^a

^a We read in Zech. xiii. 8, 9, 'And it shall come to pass that in all the land, saith the Lord, two parts therein shall be cut off (יִכָּרֵת) and die; but the third part shall be left therein. And I will bring the third part through the fire.' These words may perhaps be brought into agreement with the second verse of Zech. xiv., viz., 'And the city shall be taken, and half of the city shall go forth into captivity, and the residue of the people shall not be cut off (יִכָּרֵת) from the city,' in the following manner: The Hebrew verb (יִכָּרֵת), 'to cut off,' when spoken of persons, strictly means 'to kill.' But, in Zech. xiv. 2, this verb, with the adjunct, 'from the city,' means 'to send into exile.' And Gesenius says on this passage, 'Figuratively, *to be cut off from one's country*, i. e., to be driven into exile.' And may not this same verb, even though not followed by the qualifying phrase, '*from the city*,' have a like figurative meaning in Zech. xiii. 8? two parts therein shall be cut off, shall die (there is no connective particle between these two verbs in the original), 'but the third part shall be left therein;' i. e., of two third parts of the then existing (Jewish) population, one part shall be slain by the sword, and the other part shall be cut off from the city, and led away into captivity; and the remaining third part shall be left therein. The surviving two third parts would thus form the *two halves* of the (Jewish) population which remains after the carnage and slaughter in the assault and pillage. Of these two remaining third parts, which, in reference to the whole surviving (Jewish) population, are no longer to be regarded as *thirds*, but as *halves*, the victor sends one part into captivity (xiv. 2),

with '*the third part*' which, as the same prophet tells us, 'shall be left in Jerusalem' (xiii. 8), and which 'the Lord will bring through the fire, when He will refine them as silver is refined, and will try them as gold is tried.' Then will this period also of fiery trial and refining in the furnace occupy a certain space of time more or less considerable, between the going forth of their captive brethren into exile, and the final overthrow of the oppressor, which is to take place at the actual accomplishment of the indignation against the holy people.

And how are we to think that the triumphant conqueror will employ this interval? It cannot be supposed that a king so rapacious and ambitious will remain inactive in the vicinity of a city which has just been pillaged, and deprived of one-half (or rather of two-thirds) of its original population. While Zechariah gives no answer to this question, the prophet Daniel would seem to furnish us with the information which we are now endeavouring to obtain. As we have already seen, after the wilful king's victorious entrance into the 'glorious land,' Edom and Moab,^o and 'the chief of the children of Ammon,' are to escape out of his hand. The expression, 'the chief (ראשית) of the children of Ammon,' may possibly intimate that he subdues a portion of the territory of Ammon. It may thus be supposed that he also attempts the subjugation of Edom and Moab, an enterprise in which he is to be unsuccessful. We read also, that when Edom and Moab shall have escaped, 'he shall stretch forth his hand upon the countries; and the land of Egypt shall not escape.' He subdues the kingdom of the Pharaohs; and the Libyans and Ethiopians (whether moved by the dread of his power, or constrained by his actual advance into their territories) submit themselves to the invader. And when the prophet adds that this same mighty conqueror returns with his host (increased by Libyan and Ethiopian auxiliaries) to Jerusalem, where 'he shall come to his end and none shall help him'—this prediction of Daniel appears to be in strict agreement with that of Zechariah—'And the Lord shall go forth

which is thus 'cut off' (xiii. 8) from the city, while he permits the other part, or half, to remain—the residue of the people shall not be cut off from the city.' And it is this 'residue of the people' (xiv. 2) which will constitute that third part which (xiii. 9) is to remain in the city, and to be tried and refined in the fiery furnace of affliction. The following consideration would also seem strongly to support this view. The third part, named in ch. xiii. 9, is to be *finally* and gloriously delivered after the fiery trial: 'They shall call upon my name, and I will hear them: I will say it is my people: and they shall say, The Lord is my God.' Hence it would seem to be necessary to identify this third part with that 'residue of the people' (xiv. 2) which shall not be cut off from the city, and which is also to be *finally* and gloriously delivered.

^o See Isa. xl. 14.

and fight against those nations (the same host which had spoiled Jerusalem) as when he fought in the day of battle.'

Hence we appear to find in Zechariah, predictions of certain great and decisive transactions (of a character, and on a scale of grandeur not to be repeated), immediately introductory to the *final* and glorious deliverance of Judah and Jerusalem. But we have also found in the book of Daniel, events similar to these, apparently decisive, and not to be repeated, and also introductory to the final deliverance of Judah and Jerusalem. Thus each of the inspired prophets throws light upon the predictions of the other. And while we learn from Zechariah that Daniel's wilful king, who enters with a vast host into the glorious land, takes and sacks its metropolis, and sends the half of its surviving population into captivity; we are also taught by Daniel that Zechariah's conqueror of Jerusalem marches from that city into Egypt, which he subdues, and whence, disturbed by unwelcome tidings from the east and north, he returns full of rage into Palestine, to be *finally* crushed by the Lord before Jerusalem.

But we are to speak briefly concerning the length of the time which may be supposed to elapse from the conqueror's first entrance into the glorious land to his final destruction near the city of David. We appear to have learned from Zechariah, that a certain interval of time occurs between the cruel spoiling of Jerusalem, and the Lord's going forth against the spoiler, and that it is during this interval that a moiety of the surviving inhabitants goes forth into captivity, while 'the residue of the people, which is not cut off from the city,' is to pass through the fiery and refining furnace (Zech. xiv. 2; xiii. 9). Also, according to Daniel, it is during this same interval, that Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon, escape out of the hand of the wilful king; that this king stretches forth his hand upon the countries; that he becomes master of Egypt; that the Ethiopians and Libyans submit themselves to him, and that he receives the unwelcome tidings^p from the east and north, which

^p As the effusion of the vials takes place after the angel's oath against further delay, it may not be unreasonably assumed that they will follow each other in rapid succession, whatever may have been the length of the periods comprehended under the preceding trumpets. When the time of God's forbearance towards Egypt ceased (which lasted at least eighty years, as we learn from Stephen, Acts vii. 23 and 30), He proceeded to cut short the work in righteousness, and plague quickly succeeded plague, until Israel was delivered. It is not intended to suggest that the time which elapses from the effusion of the first to that of the seventh vial is not to be longer than the very brief space which intervened between the first and last of the Egyptian plagues. The trumpets may be supposed to represent God's loud calls to the nations to attend and repent,—an idea which implies that they are sounded (with the exception of the seventh) during the season of the Divine patience and forbearance. But when we are told that the seven vials (or cups) are

hasten his return from Africa into Palestine. Now, as Zechariah teaches us that the DAY OF THE LORD will then be rapidly approaching, and almost imminent, we are called upon to suppose

'full of the wrath of God,' we are taught that the season of patience and forbearance is already passed away. We may perhaps feel certain that the close of the period of the effusion of the vials is synchronous with the close of the wilful king's expedition into the land of Egypt, and his return into Palestine. The first vial is poured out, after the making of the image to the revived seventh head of the Apocalyptic beast, and after the imposition of the mark of the beast upon his votaries (Rev. xvi. 2). If Daniel's wilful king is to be identified with the revived seventh head of the Apocalyptic beast, and the latter is therefore to be regarded as an individual king, then will forty-two months (Rev. xiii. 5) comprehend the whole period of the seven vials. On this view, if the forty-two months, during which the holy city is oppressed by the Gentiles, strictly coincide with the forty and two months during which it is given to the beast to work, i. e., to triumph (*ποικίσαι*), then these forty-two months do not commence when the beast begins to reign, but from the time of his becoming master of the holy city. Whatever be the fearful judgments indicated by the vials, it does not seem probable that he would set out with his army after their commencement. God may not see fit to begin his work of vengeance and wrath immediately on the making of the image, and the imposition of the mark of the beast. The words of Daniel, that at the time of the end there shall be a time of trouble such as never was since there was a nation, are not to be limited to the trouble of Jacob, but also to a contemporaneous and unprecedented trouble of the ungodly Gentiles. These troubles will not merely differ in degree from those which were suffered under a Philip of Spain or an Alva, under an Attila or Zingis Khan. The season of great and unprecedented trouble will differ in kind, as well as in degree, from all that has preceded it. God will not then confine himself to human instruments; and to famine, pestilence, and wild beasts, as a consequence of sanguinary human warfare and conflict. He will also interpose by special divine judgments, far more terrible than those with which he visited Egypt, when about to deliver his people Israel.

The battle of Armageddon (Rev. xvi. 14-16, and xix. 19) is surely to be identified with the destruction of the wilful king (Dan. xi. 45). The sixth vial must therefore have been poured out (on the present view) shortly before the wilful king's hasty departure from Egypt. The tidings from the east and north may be connected with the sixth vial, and indeed with the fifth also, which 'was poured out upon the throne of the beast.' Whatever be the real meaning of the language employed in Rev. xvi. 10—'And the fifth angel poured out his vial upon the throne of the beast; and his kingdom was full of darkness, and they gnawed their tongues for pain, and blasphemed the God of heaven because of their pains and the sores, and repented not of their deeds'—it is evident that some awful judicial inflictions are intended. His ministers, in the hope of the speedy cessation of the fearful visitation, may not be unwilling to delay for a time the transmission of such humbling information to their fierce and haughty sovereign. Some portion of the tidings from the east and north (which are probably connected with the sixth vial) may appear to him of a marvellous and supernatural character, leading to the idea of special divine interposition. Even if a statement of the sufferings in his own realm, occasioned by the effusion of the fifth vial, had previously reached him, the statement would contain no account of powerful political factions and dangerous insurrections, threatening the stability of his crown and throne. There would thus be nothing to urge his hasty departure from Egypt, because the calamities were not such as could be removed by his personal presence and efforts—he might rather be goaded to pursue with greater eagerness his career of foreign conquest. Yet if at the throne of the beast they blaspheme the God of heaven, we may well suppose that the same spirit of blasphemous enmity and defiance is permitted to rage more intensely in the soul of the wilful king. Having already made himself master of Jerusalem, he may know something of the glorious expectations entertained by the Jews for themselves, their brethren of the ten

that this interval of ungodly triumph will not continue very long, and that the victorious career of this last great Gentile oppressor is to be comparatively short. We must draw a similar inference from the prophetic narrative which Daniel sets before us. Indeed it is from this prophet that we may expect to obtain more accurate information concerning the duration of the interval of which we are speaking. He tells us that the wilful king is to head the last great Gentile invasion of the glorious land, '*at the time of the end,*' a form of expression which seems obviously to indicate that the season of the Lord's long indignation against Judah is about to cease, and that the day of Divine judgment and vengeance will then be very near at hand, 'even at the door.' He also informs us that, at this same time, there is to be a certain period of unprecedented trouble: 'there shall be a time of trouble, *such as never was since there was a nation*; and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book.' With reference to Daniel's people, this season of disaster and distress is apparently to be identified (1), with that which the prophet Jeremiah (xxx. 7) calls '*the time of Jacob's trouble*;' inasmuch as from that great trouble Israel is to be finally and gloriously delivered. 'Alas! for that day is great, so that none is like it: it is even the time of Jacob's trouble; but he shall be saved out of it. For it shall come to pass in that day, saith the

tribes, their city and their land. And if we suppose the tidings from the east to have reference to the homeward journey of the remnant of Jacob across the Euphrates into Palestine, this would explain why the wilful king hastens to return to Jerusalem, 'with great fury to kill and destroy, and utterly to make away many.' And it must be remembered that this explanation rests upon (and apparently confirms) the supposition that, previous to the wilful king's first entrance into the glorious land, Jerusalem will be occupied by returned Jews. Isaiah tells us (xi. 15) that at the time of the final restoration of Israel the Euphrates is to be smitten 'in its seven streams, that there may be a highway for the remnant of his people which shall be left from Assyria.' It is said that 'the great river Euphrates,' in Rev. xvi. 12, is to be mystically interpreted of the peoples and nations mentioned in xviii. 15. This would perhaps be unquestionably correct if the river had not been alluded to before in the Apocalypse. The mention, however, 'of the great river Euphrates' (ix. 14), apparently in reference to the literal Euphrates, may perhaps justify us in considering the Euphrates of Rev. xvi. 12 to be identical with that of ix. 14.

We read in Dan. xii. 1 of the time of unprecedented trouble; and we have reason to believe that the vials are being poured out during the whole period of the wilful king's African campaigns. Yet he and his army appear to be in continual success and triumph, unharmed by any judgments. Are we not, then, to think that the vials are poured out on Europe, and not on Africa? The greatest enemy of God is the two-horned beast, the false prophet, the leader in all impiety and blasphemy, and who exercises all the power of the apocalyptic beast before him. May he not be left behind by the wilful king, on his departure for the east, to administer the political government in the absence of the sovereign? and it is therefore upon the beast's kingdom, thus impiously administered, that the vials, '*full of the wrath of God,*' are poured out. The false prophet may afterwards join the wilful king near Jerusalem, where he perishes with him (Rev. xix. 20).

Lord of hosts, that I will break his yoke from off thy neck, and will burst thy bonds, and strangers shall no more serve themselves of him; but they shall serve the Lord their God, and David their king, whom I will raise up unto them.' (2) The season of unprecedented trouble in Dan. xii. 1, is also apparently to be identified with that period of fiery trial, and of refining in the furnace, of which Zechariah writes (xiii. 9), and which is also to be followed by a final and glorious deliverance. 'And I will bring the third part through the fire, and will refine them as silver is refined, and will try them as gold is tried: *they shall call on my name, and I will hear them: I will say, It is my people: and they shall say, The LORD is my God.*'

The writer is much inclined to believe that it is to this very interval, and its comparatively brief duration, that reference is made in the question and answer which are recorded in Dan. xii. 6, 7. 'And one said to the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, How long (shall it be to) the end of these wonders? And I heard the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, when he held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and sware by him that liveth for ever, that it shall be for a time, times and a half: *and when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people*, all these things shall be finished.' Now it will be at once conceded by the great majority of the students of the prophetic Scriptures, that the time, times and a half here mentioned, signify either 1260 years, or 1260 days; and that, on either supposition, they terminate at the season of the Lord's accomplishment (or final completion) of the scattering among the nations, of the literal seed of Jacob.

With regard to Daniel's personal wishes, we may feel assured that he would have desired to know at least two things, viz., what length of time would elapse between his receiving the vision, and the final deliverance of his people; and what would be the duration of the time of great trouble. On the former point we know that he received no information in this vision; for the vision was vouchsafed to him in the third year of Cyrus, cir. 534 B.C.; and although more than 2380 years have elapsed, the deliverance in question has not yet taken place. It would therefore seem not unreasonable to conclude, that the information which he receives is concerning the duration of the season of unprecedented trouble. And, as we cannot suppose that 'a time of trouble, *such as never was since there was a nation,*' is to continue 1260 years, we appear to be thus led to the conclusion, that the time, times and a half, must be limited to 1260 literal days.

The time, times and a half, evidently *terminate* at the end of the scattering of the holy people, the people of Daniel; and it

appears to me highly probable, from the character of the vision in the eleventh chapter of the prophet Daniel, that their *commencement* also dates from some crisis in the history of the literal descendants of Abraham and the literal Jerusalem. And perhaps no suitable crisis can be found since the days of Titus,^a and afterwards of Hadrian, from which the three times and a half can be dated; and it is more than 1700 years since the desecration of the city by the latter emperor, who erected a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus on Mount Moriah. Jerusalem was taken by the army of Omar, cir. 636 A.D., 'who commanded the ground on which had stood the temple of Solomon, to be cleared and prepared for the foundation of a mosque, which still bears the name of Omar.' Were we to date the (supposed) 1260 years from this event, they would not terminate until cir. 1896 A.D., and thus forty-two years would yet have to elapse before the deliverance of Judah and Jerusalem. There are, however, strong objections against dating the commencement of the (supposed) 1260 years from the conquest of Jerusalem by the followers of Mohammed. At that time Jerusalem was a city of the Gentiles, being occupied by the Christian subjects of the Greek emperor: nor was the condition of the literal Israel materially affected by this triumph of the army of Omar. The triumph in question, though a crisis in the history of the (nominally) Christian Greek Church, was an event of comparatively little importance to the Jewish race; Mohammedan Gentiles had conquered Christian Gentiles, and wrested from them the dominion over Judea and Jerusalem; and both city and territory still owned a Gentile master.

If, however, we attempt to date the commencement of the time, times and a half (understood as denoting 1260 literal days), from the entrance of the wilful king into the glorious land, when he sacks Jerusalem, slays one third of the inhabitants, and sends half of the survivors into captivity, while the remaining moiety continues in a state of oppression in the city—will not three years and a half be much too long a period to correspond with the brief interval between the sack of the city and the going forth of the Lord to destroy the destroyer? As the eye glances over Daniel's prophetic narrative (xi. 41, 45), we seem to think that a single year will amply suffice to include all that is to occur from the wilful king's first invasion of the glorious land (v. 41), to his destruction by the Lord near Jerusalem (ver. 45). Could we feel assured that 'the treading under foot of the holy city (Rev. xi. 2)

^a As no suitable Jewish crisis (so to speak) can be found since the days of Titus and Adrian, if we think that the time, times and a half, commence (as they certainly terminate) in close connection with a Jewish crisis, we must consider that the commencement of these three times and a half is yet future.

by the Gentiles, during forty-two months,' is to be identified with the events predicted in Dan. xi. 41-45, and Zech. xiv. 1-3, the question before us would be at once decided on the authority of the inspired word; and it would be necessary to allow that forty-two months are not too long a period to correspond with the duration of the interval of which we are speaking. Yet, however probable this identification may be considered, we are scarcely warranted, on the ground of mere probability, to employ this summary method of decision. It therefore becomes necessary to devote a few additional lines to a closer examination of Daniel's prophetic narrative.

Now the wilful king, after his triumph in the glorious land, still thirsts after fresh conquests; his ambition and rapacity are insatiable. It is said that while other countries are overthrown, Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon escape out of his hand. It is quite possible that he may see fit not to march against these countries, but proceed at once against Egypt. Yet it is equally possible that he may attempt their subjugation, and, on finding the task somewhat tedious and difficult, may desist from the enterprise. It has been already observed that the expression, 'the chief (נֶחֱמִי) of the children of Ammon,' may possibly intimate that the wilful king subdues a portion of the territory of Ammon.

Yet, even if we grant that he may spend two or three months in fruitless attempts against these bordering tribes, such a space of time will form but a small part of forty-two months, or 1260 days. And if he hastens into Egypt, eager to subdue that land, and desirous to return as soon as possible into Palestine, can we venture to assign a longer period than twelve months for the accomplishment of this purpose? And, in reference to this point, it is not unimportant to bear in mind that Daniel's prophetic narrative does not lead us to suppose that the conqueror will be at all desirous of returning speedily into Palestine. Nor is it probable that he should. For why should an ambitious and victorious monarch be anxious to retrace his steps through countries which he will have recently subdued, and return to Jerusalem, so soon after its pillage and the loss of two-thirds of its population by slaughter and exile? At all events, the language of the prophet would seem to show clearly that the wilful king does not quit Egypt because at the time of his departure he is weary of remaining there, and anxious to return into Palestine, but because he deems himself compelled to take this step by the offensive and unexpected tidings from the east and north.

Again, the Egyptians are not the only African nation with which the wilful king is brought into contact: it is added that

the Libyans and Ethiopians are at his steps^{*}—submit themselves to his authority. The renown of his achievements may win or alarm these tribes of Western and Southern Africa to proffer an early and voluntary submission, in order to prevent their territories from being overrun by a force which they may consider themselves unable to repel. If we think that such a voluntary submission will be early tendered and accepted, then, perhaps, a year and a half, or less than twenty months, would more than suffice for a short unsuccessful campaign against Edom, Moab, and Ammon, and for all his subsequent successes in Africa, against Egyptians, Libyans, and Ethiopians, together with his return from Egypt into Palestine—still, however, on the supposition that the conqueror is desirous of retracing his steps towards Jerusalem as soon as the accomplishment of his schemes of African conquest shall allow him to do so. But it has been already observed that Daniel appears plainly to teach us, that the victor's constrained return from Egyptian, Libyan, and Ethiopian homage, into the vicinity of Jerusalem, permits us to think that the wilful king, at the time of his hurried departure, may have already continued in Africa a much longer time than was actually requisite merely to obtain the triumphs which he achieved there.

There is, however, yet another view to be taken of this part of our subject; and it may be, to a certain extent, illustrated by what Herodotus has related concerning the expedition into Africa of the Persian king Cambyses. After the subjugation of Egypt, the conqueror planned three several expeditions; 'one against the Carthaginians, another against the Ammonians, and a third against the Macrobian Ethiopians.' According to the commonly received chronology, the son of Cyrus entered Egypt cir. 525 B. C., and left it cir. 522 B. C. And thus he passed the greater part of three years in Africa. Nor is there anything in the language of Daniel (xi. 41-44) to forbid our believing that the African career of the wilful king may, in some measure, resemble that of Cambyses,

* If the wilful king defeats a Sultan of Turkey (king of the south), and takes Constantinople, his subsequent career may be in the track of Alexander of Macedon—he may pass through Asia Minor, 'overflowing the countries,' and enter the glorious land.

The expression 'the Ethiopians and Libyans are at his steps,' probably means not only that these countries have been subdued by the wilful king, but that great numbers of these Ethiopians and Libyans march under his banner. We may reasonably suppose that during the conqueror's campaigns in Africa, the evil powers mentioned in Rev. xvi. 14 are exerting their malignant influence over the minds of men. If the wilful king had never entered Africa we might have questioned how far the term *ἡ οἰκουμένη ὅλη* (Rev. xvi. 14) could be supposed to embrace territories so remote from European Christendom as the Libyans and Ethiopians. But as this king is the great instrument of Satan in the last struggle, we seem at liberty to think that wherever he is, there especially the evil spirits of the sixth vial exercise their influence.

though it will be far more successful, and far more skilfully conducted. This future conqueror, when he shall have subdued Egypt, may invade and conquer the western tribes and nations of Africa, which border upon the southern coasts of the Mediterranean. Having succeeded in this enterprise, his ambition may next aspire to the subjugation of the southern nations, as far as Sennaar, or even of the kingdom of Abyssinia. The possibility (and there is no improbability in the idea) of such a series of campaigns against Egyptians, Libyans, and Ethiopians, coupled with the fact that, after the submission of these nations, the conqueror appears to be in no haste to return into Asia, makes it not difficult to believe that even forty-two months may elapse from the wilful king's first entrance into the glorious land to his return from Egypt, and his destruction in Palestine by special divine interposition.

I have said above that the prophets Daniel and Zechariah appear, in their predictions of the great tribulations and deliverance of the last days, to teach us plainly that Jerusalem, and at least the immediately surrounding territory, will be occupied by a Hebrew population. If this be granted, one or two important conclusions will follow.

It may, perhaps, be doubted if even the first of the vials will be poured out before the re-establishment of the literal descendants of Abraham in Jerusalem. We may, however, feel almost certain that the effusion of the seventh vial cannot occur until the Holy City shall again belong to the Hebrew race. Such a state of things, so far as we can at present see, cannot be brought about merely by the exertions of the Jews themselves; they will require that some of the great European Powers should mediate between them and the Turkish Sultan, should the latter still continue to be the lord of Palestine. It is, indeed, thoroughly possible that such a political arrangement may have been made, and carried into execution before the year 1864—the year in which a recently deceased writer on prophecy supposed that, ‘almost beyond reasonable doubt, *The Time of the End*, synchronising with the Seventh Apocalyptic Vial, is to commence.’ Yet, when we look at the present state of Europe, and of the Asiatic dominions of the Turkish Sultan, it does not seem probable that the important political arrangement of which we are speaking, will be fully accomplished, even so early as 1866 A. D. And the more unlikely this appears to us, the more shall we be disinclined to agree with the theory, that the (supposed) 1260 years of the apocalyptic visions commenced either in 604 or 606 A. D. They who shall be living in the years 1864, and 1866, will, in the investigation of prophecy, stand upon a vantage-ground which we do not yet possess, but towards which we are fast approaching. And, perhaps, even so

early as 1860, facts may be of such a nature, as to constrain students of the prophetic Scriptures to renounce either 604 or 606 A. D., as the commencement of any apocalyptic period; and the literal interpretation of the 42 months and 1260 days may then be generally, if not universally, received.

It must be confessed that there may be danger in endeavouring to conjecture, from the actual state of the Russo-Turkish contest, what will be its final issue; yet the writer hopes to be forgiven for calling the reader's attention to this point. In the preface to the learned Mr. Faber's tract 'on the predicted downfall of the Turkish power,' the lamented author thus writes—'With our best commentators, I consider the downfall of the Ottoman power to be clearly predicted in Scripture. Hence, whenever the destined time shall arrive, all the complications of modern political diplomacy will be found totally unable to prevent the ruin of that once formidable empire.' It would seem, from this passage, that Mr. F. considered it to be highly probable that the combined fleets and armies of Britain and France would not succeed in preventing Russia from crushing Turkey in the present conflict. Yet, there appears to be very great probability that the Turkish empire is destined, in the divine purpose, to continue a little longer. And while it is, therefore, not unlikely, that Daniel's predicted king of the south may be a Sultan of Turkey, and his king of the north a sovereign of Russia, passing events are also making it apparently possible that the same prophet's wilful king may prove to be a monarch of France.*

* France has already obtained possession of Algiers, and an ambitious French sovereign may yet arise, like the first Napoleon, who may seek to make the Mediterranean 'a French lake.' And, should Turkey again become a formidable power, circumstances may arise to bring about a collision, first with Turkey, and next with Russia. Daniel's wilful king is a warrior who leads his army in person: this consideration alone renders it very improbable that, if a French sovereign is to be the wilful king, the present French emperor is that king, and therefore so far less likely that the seventh angel will sound as early as 1864. The following considerations induced the writer for some time to think that the predicted wilful king would prove to be a sovereign of Russia. If we read, without reference to Dan. xi. 43, the predictions of Ezekiel (xxxviii. 5), that 'Persia, Ethiopia, and Libya (Phut)' are to follow together under the banners of the fierce leader who is to perish on the mountains of Israel, we find it difficult to understand how the Ethiopians and Libyans of Southern and Western Africa are to serve with the Persians against Jerusalem. If, however, we suppose that Daniel and Ezekiel (contemporary prophets) are speaking of the same conqueror, the difficulty seems to be removed. For the Gentile chief may advance from the north, with Persians in his army (there is nothing very improbable in the thought that, at the time of the end, the future Russian autocrat may have become master of portions of Persia), against Palestine. He then subdues Egypt, and thus, on his return to Jerusalem, he will have under his command soldiers from Persia, Libya (Phut), and Ethiopia. The two prophets, Daniel and Ezekiel, would have been prepared, by their knowledge of the victorious career of the Scythians, who defeated Cyaxares, and were prevailed upon by the gifts and prayers of Psammiticus not to invade Egypt, to understand how a fierce chief might come from some country

Let me be permitted to allude reverently to a far more solemn and awful subject. On the supposition that those students of prophecy, who expect the premillennial advent of the Lord Jesus, have scriptural warrant for such an expectation, this great and glorious event is not, surely, to take place until the wilful king shall have returned from Egypt into Palestine, 'and planted his tents between the seas on the glorious Holy Mountain.' May it not, therefore, be considered certain that the prophetic scriptures teach us that two events, at least, are yet to intervene between us and the glorious advent of the King Messiah; viz.—the re-establishment of a Hebrew population in Jerusalem and its immediately surrounding territory, and the subsequent expedition into the glorious land and Egypt, of the wilful king, together with his hurried return into Palestine. If it be objected—how with such a conviction, can we comply with our Lord's command, 'watch, therefore, for ye know not at what hour your Lord doth come?' this objection may be met, to a certain extent, by another question. Our Lord said to Peter, 'when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee, and carry thee, whither thou wouldest not.' We cannot doubt that at the moment, Peter understood our Lord's words in the sense in which the beloved Disciple and Apostle afterwards explained them—'This spake Jesus, signifying by what death Peter should glorify God.' May we not ask, how could Peter, after having been thus taught by Jesus, watch (in the strict sense of the term) in uncertainty as to the nearness either of his Master's advent, or even of his own death? But this is not the place for the discussion of this interesting question.

In conclusion, I would once more direct the reader's serious

remote from Assyria and Media, and conquer Egypt in the last days, and then perish upon the mountains of Israel.

In Ezekiel, the words גֹּג־רֹאשׁ (rendered in our version 'Gog the chief prince') occur three times, viz. xxxviii. 2 and 3, and xxxix. 1. In the Septuagint the Hebrew word (גֹּג) for 'chief' is rendered as a proper name by Πῶς; and therefore, if this version be correct, we should read, 'Gog, prince of Ros, Meshech, and Tubal.' Gesenius, in his larger lexicon, explains (גֹּג) in these three passages as 'a proper name of a northern nation, mentioned with Meshech and Tubal; undoubtedly the Russians, who are mentioned by Byzantine writers of the tenth century under the name of οἱ Πῶς, dwelling to the north of Tamur.' Some have compared Meshech and Tubal with Moscow (Muscovy) and Tobolsk.

In Ezek. xxvii. 10 it is said of Tyre, 'They of Persia, and of Lud, and of Phut (Libya) were in thine army.' It was not difficult for the ancient Tyrians to procure Libyan mercenaries through their Carthaginian colonists.

It is plain also from Luke xxi. that, between the ascension and the second advent of Jesus, 'Jerusalem was to be encompassed by armies, and the Jews led captive into all nations, and the city be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.'

attention to the language of the oath^a of the mighty angel, viz. 'that there should be no more delay; but in the days of the voice of the seventh angel, when he should sound, the mystery of God should be finished.' The greater part of what has been advanced in this essay falls to the ground, if the following be the legitimate and correct interpretation of the angel's oath—'The time is not yet come, that the mystery of God should be finished. Almost thirteen centuries are yet to elapse before the arrival of that period. Nevertheless, long as is the delay, God is faithful. The voice of the seventh angel will assuredly sound, at the appointed, though far distant, time. Then the wicked shall be cast down, and the kingdom of God be established over the earth.' If, however, as the writer thinks, a directly opposite interpretation should be given to the oath in question; then, if we grant that the events of the 11th and following chapters are (in the chronology of the vision) subsequent to that oath, it would seem of necessity to follow that the forty-two months of the Holy City's oppression by the Gentiles, are to be understood of literal months, and the Holy City of the literal Jerusalem. The Apostle also may thus be considered as speaking literally of Gentiles, as opposed to Jews; and his words as implying, that, at the commencement of the brief period of 42 months, the Holy City (Jerusalem) is to be inhabited chiefly by a Hebrew population. In this view, it also becomes probable that forty-two literal months are the measure of the period which elapses from the entrance of the wilful king into the glorious land (Dan. xi. 41) and his fearful sack of Jerusalem (Zech. xiv. 1-2), to his return into Palestine, to be there finally crushed by the Lord.

G.

^a Bloomfield remarks on this passage—"I cannot but entirely agree with Professor Scholefield, that neither the common translation, nor another which has been proposed, gives a satisfactory sense, and that the words ought to be rendered, "that there should be no more delay;" the scope of the passage being that, without any further delay, upon the sounding of the seventh angel "the mystery of God should be finished." It may perhaps be the meaning of Dr. Bloomfield's words, that after the sounding of the seventh angel there shall be no delay. The writer, however, thinks that the language of the oath signifies that thenceforward nothing that deserves the name of delay is to occur, and that little more than forty-two months will elapse before the voice of the seventh angel shall sound.

INSPIRATION AND INFALLIBILITY.

IN one of the Nos. of the Journal for last year appeared proposals from some foreign committee for a Prize Essay on the following subjects :—

I. Have we grounds for regarding the books of the New Testament as inspired, in the sense which involves the infallibility of the writers, and does inspiration imply infallibility?

II. What does history teach both regarding the doctrine of the inspiration of the New Testament, and the modifications which have been made in that doctrine, and what inferences touching the essence and importance of that doctrine may be thence deduced?

III. Does Christian faith stand in indissoluble connection with the belief of the infallibility of the Apostles; or have we other and sufficient proofs of the authority of the New Testament on which that faith is safely grounded?

These proposals reached us too late to allow of our preparing any thing by way of competition even had we been so inclined; but we could not help thinking the proposed discussion seasonable, and that the first and last inquiries especially were among the most pressing of the age. Opinion in this country seems now to be oscillating between the rigid theory of Gaussen and others, and the lax notions of German divines; and it would doubtless be most acceptable to thousands, if some hypothesis could be struck out, which, without blinking any evidence on either side of the question, should reconcile the demands of reason and of faith.

It is from no English prejudice, or disposition to be captious, that we pause for one moment to call attention to the very loose wording of the third query. One instance of this is the writer's mention, without explanation, of the 'authority of the New Testament.' Now this might mean no more than the New Testament's *authenticity*; but the scope of the queries seems to forbid our lowering the phrase to this level. Probably the writer was thinking of the authority which attaches to an *absolutely binding rule*, and authority would be thus, in a *practical* aspect, what infallibility is in a *theoretical*. Again, we desiderate more light on the idea which the writer wished to convey of the nature of 'Christian faith,' which he distinguishes from a 'belief in the infallibility of the Apostles.' His mention of the Apostles, however, when viewed in connection with his first query, is the most glaring proof of inexactness of all. No doubt he uses the word 'Apostles' as a synonym for the writers of the books of the New Testament (1-2);

but some of these writers were not Apostles, one especially to whom we are indebted for almost all we know of the Apostles' acts.

The distinction between Apostles and Evangelists has appeared to some of much importance in the present discussion. They have thought it possible to maintain the infallibility of the former, without contending also for that of the latter. This distinction they have grounded on the prior difference between revelation and inspiration, the former of which they ascribe to the Apostles only. The difference thus pointed out is a real and important one. Revelation is the highest form of inspiration, implying the direct communication of the matter recorded, from God. It is a mode of conveying truth altogether new, and which could not be arrived at by ordinary means. As it was the privilege of the prophets under the Old Testament, so was it of the Apostles under the New. We have no reason to attribute it to mere Evangelists.—Their business was to record that which they had seen themselves, or heard from immediate witnesses. The proof of infallibility, in their case, must rest, it is evident, on different grounds from that which guarantees it to the Apostles. There is not the same blaze of self-evidence in the one case as in the other. Still, we conceive that the difference is one of evidence rather than of fact. Our position would not so much be that the higher degrees of inspiration alone ascertain infallibility, as that the lowest ones imply it, so that all above and beyond these is to be reckoned surplus.

This may not be an unsuitable place in which to state the grounds on which we accept the inspiration of any books of scripture, and allow, *e. g.*, the writings of an Evangelist to stand side by side with those of an Apostle. Few of our readers need to learn that the inspiration of the New Testament cannot be, in the first instance, argued and decided *as a whole*, but that the canonicity of separate books must be determined, and that by no means the same amount of evidence exists for the canonicity of every book.

We lay it down as a first principle, that for the reception of any book there must be a combination of external and internal evidence. Internal evidence is, we are aware, a thing difficult to appreciate, and which may strike different minds with different force; notwithstanding, it is a thing perfectly intelligible, and the presence or absence of it may be the turning point in the claims of a particular book.

We divide external evidence into two kinds—*testimony* and *title*, by the latter of which however we understand little else than what may be termed *self-testimony*. The other testimony is often known and spoken of as *tradition*, being, in fact, the recorded judgment of the ancient church on the writings in question.

Too great importance can hardly be attached to the value of this latter kind of testimony. It is that to which, in the first instance, we almost solely owe our knowledge of the writings which compose our Testaments. It is a species of evidence which, if altogether wanting, no other could well supply. Notwithstanding, it is at the same time one the adjudication of which cannot be received as final and decisive. That this is strictly true must be admitted by every one who is prepared to subscribe to the correctness of our present canon. Six of the epistles now included in that canon were set down as of doubtful origin and authority by the ancient church. These were the epistle to the Hebrews, the epistles of James and Jude, the second of Peter, the second and third of John, together with the Revelation. It was not till the fourth century that these were generally received with the others into the canon. We cannot then rely implicitly on tradition in the rejection of professed inspired writings. But can we not, it may be asked, in their reception? Let it be sufficient to say, in reply to this, that several of the Christian fathers held the canonicity of books in the Old Testament which we rank as apocryphal, of the book of Baruch, for instance, of Tobit and of Judith.

The force we assign to tradition, in settling what are our sacred books, is purely preparatory and manuductive. We accept it, when affirmative, as, so to speak, a letter of introduction in their favour. It does not, on its sole authority, induce us to receive as canonical any one of the books, but it disposes us to a favourable reception of them. It disposes us to examine their contents with unprejudiced minds, and to throw the 'onus' of disproof on their opponents. It thus becomes a pioneer to the internal evidence, or, if we may change the figure, a marshal and usher to the documents themselves. Without some credentials of this kind, we should probably throw any book claiming to be canonical aside at first introduction; but, with this recommendation, we take it in hand and allow it to make its own impression.

Now it is this sort of office which tradition performs to the works of the two Evangelists. The testimony of the ancient church is unanimous not only in assigning them to the authors whose names they bear, but in ranking them as of equal authority with the other two gospels. No doubt has ever been entertained among Christians of the inspiration of either Mark or Luke. We thus approach the examination of them with the strongest bias in their favour, and finding that they breathe the same spirit and tone as the other New Testament writings, that they teach the same truths, and exemplify the same qualities, we hesitate not to accord them an equal standing with these writings.

An able writer in the JOURNAL^a has lately considered the self-retiring excellencies of the Evangelists, their calmness and sobriety—their utter forgetfulness of themselves in their theme—as no mean proof of their inspiration. Fully appreciating the force of these characteristics, we are disposed ourselves to lay as much stress on others, apparently of an opposite kind. To us it seems that the Evangelists throughout speak as *consciously* authorised instructors. Not only do they, like other historians, relate facts and pass opinions falling fairly within the scope of their faculties;—they with equal confidence deliver judgments belonging to a far higher domain. The Apostle tells us (1 Cor. ii. 11) that ‘the things of God knoweth no one but the spirit of God;’ but these writers speak with as much familiarity of the things of God as they do of the things of man. Take, as an illustration and proof of this, some of the opening statements of the Evangelist Mark. ‘The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, *the son of God.*’ Here we have an authoritative declaration of the nature and dignity of Jesus. ‘As it is written in the prophets, Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee.’ ‘The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight,’ vs. 2, 3. Here again we have an authoritative application of two passages in the prophets to the times of our Lord and his forerunner.—‘And straightway coming up out of the water, he saw the heavens opened and *the Spirit like a dove* descending upon him,’ v. 10. We have here, once more, a confident identification of a form which could be seen, with the highest of natures which could not be seen. And so again, and finally, v. 12, ‘Immediately the Spirit driveth him into the wilderness.’ We have here the conduct of our Lord imputed to an invisible energy and influence. Now what is all this, we may ask, but the language of a consciously inspired instructor? Would it not be the highest presumption in any one thus to speak of the movements and operations of the Spirit, who was not consciously under the influence of that Spirit himself? The boldness with which the Evangelist Luke ventures on similar expositions is not less remarkable, and betokens decisively, to our minds, his consciousness of his inspiration. This is the more satisfactory on account of the apparent disclaimer in his exordium of his having received such assistance. He does not emblazon his pretensions on his title-page, but he speaks from the first as one who was in the counsels of the Divine majesty, and whose verdict on character is decisive.^b

^a Vol. vi., New Series, p. 100.

^b We think the lamented writer of this paper would probably have laid less stress on this feature of the writing of the Evangelists, had he, as he proposed, revised it. All these phenomena would have existed, we think, had they been

By the second species of evidence which we have termed *titular*, we intend that which is furnished by the superscription of an Apostle's name on a writing. We cannot assign to this, taken by itself, a higher value than to the former evidence. An inscription of an Apostle's name may be a forged inscription, just as a Prophet's assumption of the prophetic garb and title was often an unauthorised assumption. We are not to 'believe every spirit, but to try the spirits whether they are of God' (1 John iv. 1), and the most trustworthy and competent of all witnesses has acknowledged that self-testimony is insufficient in itself (John v. 31). Such testimony we can only therefore allow as presumptive evidence of canonicity. It predisposes us, like tradition, to the reception of a book, but it does not itself warrant that reception. It just shifts the burden of proof from the reception to the rejection of the book. A writing with an apostolic label upon it cannot claim immediate admission, but it may claim it, if no urgent reasons can be assigned to the contrary.

It is because, as we think, no satisfactory reasons of this sort can be brought forward, that we side with the modern church rather than with the old in receiving the whole of the catholic epistles. Three of these epistles, besides the two acknowledged ones, bear upon them well-known names; if not all, as some think, those of Apostles, yet names almost equally honoured. Our favourable regard is thus bespoken for their contents. What is there now, let us ask, in these contents inconsistent with a claim to canonicity? Is the system of theology in them different from that which pervades the other epistles? Trifling differences may be observable in the two, in the degree of prominence given to different truths, or in the point of view under which they are exhibited; but the form of doctrine is the same in both. Again, are the principles and motives appealed to in these epistles different from those which give a character to the acknowledged ones? No one will allege this. Do any of the epistles contain puerile or degrading conceptions of God, or trifling legends and similitudes, such as we meet with in other writings of the times? Nothing of all this is pretended. It will not be said that we receive a diminished impression of truthfulness, of majesty, or of purity, when we rise from their perusal. On this point much must necessarily be left to the spiritual instincts of the reader. There are some parts of revelation which instantaneously command our credence. As there are human countenances so unmistakeably impressed with the marks of sincerity and truthfulness that they instantly disarm suspicion, so are there writings which carry their own recommendation with them. We have no

mere honest recorders of their belief in the facts and doctrines of Christianity.—
Ed. J. S. L.

power to quibble or cavil in their presence, but welcome them at once to our hearts. They shine, like the sun, by their own light. We are free to confess that we should not, if appealed to, cite the epistles in question as the highest specimen of this self-evidencing power; but they have it, we think, in a competent degree. The anonymous epistle to which we have scarcely adverted, the Epistle to the Hebrews, possesses it in a degree to defy all criticism. As we proceed through this astonishing epistle, especially as we approach its close, we feel compelled to surrender our doubts at discretion. Such moral elevation and ardour, such pathetic exhortation, such sublime groupings of description, such grasp of thought, we feel at once, could proceed from no mere human pen. Our judgment is the same on the Revelation of St. John. To suppose that scenes so solemn and august, that transactions so stirring and awful, could be sketched by any uninspired hand, would be, in our opinion, to suppose no less a miracle than any of those which John has recorded.

It is satisfactory to know that the most valuable of all the New Testament epistles, those of St. Paul, are also those which are best attested. The voice of traditional and that of titular testimony concur to authenticate these. Nor does internal testimony fail to swell the confluence of these two streams. We have already spoken of this as a '*je ne sais quoi*,' to be felt rather than exhibited, and have simply marked out its track in what we have said of the imprints of majesty, purity, and sanctity it leaves on the mind. Were we to attempt to define what is strictly indefinable, we could not do it better than in Paul's own language (2 Cor. iv. 2)—'truth commending itself to the conscience.' More marvellous even than the rhetorical excellences in which these writings abound, is the insight they discover into the moral nature of man. Here, and here only, do we see conscience anatomized, the subtlest springs of action laid bare, and the most covert subtleties of hypocrisy brought to light. Nowhere, as here, do we see the maladies of our nature probed, and the self-caprices and flatteries of the patient detected. It may be said that this is nothing but skilful analysis, the result of a close and patient scrutiny of phenomena; but no, it is not the spirit of a mere scrutinizer we have here, nor is the skill less than that of one who knows what is in man. We feel, as we read these writings, that they are, almost without a metaphor, 'sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, of joints and marrow, and able to discern the thoughts and intents of the heart' (Heb. iv. 12).

But it is more than time to revert to the question from which we were led into this digression—that, namely, of the infallibility as well as inspiration of the writers. *Does their inspiration imply*

their infallibility? Here the testimony of the writers themselves must be held of the first consideration. 'If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater' (1 John v. 9); and inspired testimony is nothing less than the witness of God.

It may be more convenient to notice, in the first place, the testimony which the New Testament authors bear to the writings of the Old Testament rather than to their own. These they denominate, as a whole, The Scriptures; and it will be easy to observe the sort of character which in different places they give to these Scriptures, as well as the sort of esteem in which they hold them. Let us then go first to the evidence which we have of the sentiments of our Lord and Saviour on these points. He denies that 'the Scriptures can be broken' (John x. 35); and, speaking of the law particularly, he says, that 'one iota shall not pass from it' without fulfilment. In arguing with his countrymen, he everywhere quotes facts and sayings of these Scriptures as decisive (see Matt. xii. 3, 7; xxi. 42; xxii. 32). He characterises them as 'the word of God' (Mark vii. 13); that word which he elsewhere asserts to be truth (John xvii. 17), and of that God whose distinction it is that he cannot lie (Titus i. 2). Similarly his Apostles act. In passages too numerous to be quoted they refer to the Scriptures as the ultimate appeal in every controversy, as an unfailing source of instruction, as an armoury against every objection, as a solvent of every doubt.

Now it is highly significant to our purpose, that this term *Scriptures* is unhesitatingly applied by the New Testament penmen to their own writings. This remark may be substantiated with regard to each of the two great divisions of them—the historical and the epistolary (See 1 Tim. v. 18; 2 Peter iii. 16). They are not less free in speaking everywhere of the subject of their instruction as 'the word of God' (see Acts xii. 24; xix. 20; 1 Cor. xiv. 36; 1 Thes. ii. 13; 1 Peter i. 25). As to particular expressions, we see the Evangelist Luke (ch. i. 4) guaranteeing the 'certainty' of the things which his Gospel respected. We see another Evangelist, in his own unaffected way, reiterating his knowledge of the truth of what he narrates (John xix. 35; xxi. 24). The Apostle Paul is most explicit in claiming for his own instructions all the authority which could attach to immediate communications from God. 'Let it be known,' he says to the Corinthians, 'that the things which I write to you are the commandments of the Lord' (1 Cor. xiv. 37). Earlier in the same Epistle (ch. ii. 13) he challenges for his diction as well as his thoughts the stamp of divine authority. 'Which things,' says he, 'we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth, adapting spiritual things to spiritual.' What more decisive proof

could we desire of the infallibility of the New Testament writers than such declarations as these? The word itself, it is true, does not meet us, but others, which might almost be termed its equivalents—ἀληθεία, ἀσφάλεια—do, and the same confidence is claimed which infallibility only could warrant.

This view appears to us to harmonise with the conclusion at which we should arrive from the antecedent probabilities of the subject. The very object of inspiration, it would seem to us, involves a preservation from error. What is this object? The communication of truth to the soul—the setting the mind at rest on points whereon information is all-important to it—the laying a foundation for its faith in matters which concern its most vital and enduring interests. Now, unless the revelations thus made to it (made, we mean, through the medium of inspired writers) possess the attribute of *certainty*, it seems to us that they possess no value at all. If we cannot feel the fullest confidence in our appointed guides and instructors, almost as well, if not altogether, might we be without them. Plausible conjectures and suggestions in our perplexity we can originate ourselves, or get elsewhere, and these might suffice for ordinary occasions; but where our highest weal or woe is affected, we want principles as solid as adamant, signs which cannot mislead us, a voice which shall utter no uncertain sounds.

Against the conclusions in which reason would thus land us, what are the difficulties, it may be asked, to induce pause, and which do, in fact, produce hesitation in minds in no degree of sceptical tendency? The most serious are undoubtedly the very numerous inaccuracies which are found in the New Testament, whether as tested by comparison with the Old Testament, or of different parts with itself. Specimens of the latter class are the discrepancies between the different Evangelists which have been so ably treated in a recent Number,^c and which we therefore need not exemplify here. A few instances of the former class of errors will form a suitable supplement to the others, and be probably thought equally embarrassing.

To begin then with the writer first in order;—we find in the first chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel three generations omitted in the account of our Saviour's genealogy, and this mistake repeated almost immediately in the numerical computation with which it is summed up. The same Evangelist in a later chapter (ch. xxvii. 9) attributes to Jeremiah a prophecy which is found only in the book of Zechariah. This Zechariah again, in an earlier report of one of the discourses of our Lord, he appears to have confounded

^c Vol. vi., New Series, p. 71.

with another Zechariah the son of Jehoiada, who lived some centuries earlier (see Matt. xxiii. 35). A somewhat like confusion the Evangelist Luke has introduced into the account which he puts into the mouth of Stephen of the burying-place of the patriarch Jacob (see Acts vii. 16). This latter Evangelist has been taxed with several inaccuracies in his notices of occurrences which belong rather to the province of secular than of sacred history; but these, as unproved, we pass over. All those which we have noticed, it will be observed, are deviations from Old Testament history, and which therefore we could not vindicate without impeaching what is equally venerable. We may add that these mistakes and errors are not confined to the *historical* portions of the New Testament, but occur in the Epistles also. The Apostle Paul states the number of those who fell after the trespass at Baalpeor as being 23,000; but the original records give it at 24,000 (see 1 Cor. x. 8, as compared with Numbers xxv. 9).

The ready solution offered of these and similar difficulties will be, that the authors wrote from memory, and, with the exception of perhaps the first instance cited, we are prepared to accept this as the true solution; but then how will this consist with the infallibility of the writings; or how, admitting this, can we stand to the theory that inspiration implies infallibility? Is memory one of the faculties which inspiration does not undertake to guarantee or protect?

No secure outlet presents itself to us out of the dilemma in which we are involved, except, as in other cases, by defining and settling the principal term. We may understand infallibility in a metaphysical, or we may understand it in a popular sense. We may consider it as a schoolman would, who will have it stand for everything which analysis may find in it; or we may deal with it as with other terms of actual life. We may apply to it such scales as those of Shylock, in which more than a pound, as well as less than a pound, shall be held an invasion of the bargain; or, we may be willing to waive niceties in the presence of substantial agreement. Our belief is, that, if we are to take infallibility in the rigid, scholastic, scrupulous sense which we have noticed, no amount of argument can prove it a property of the New Testament writings. We doubt whether either Apostle or Evangelist could pass review in such a court. The infallibility in question is one which would extend itself to every letter and every syllable, and, if only such an infallibility can be admitted, we must honestly confess ourselves to be in a losing cause.

But why clog ourselves with the trammels and rules of a merely verbal controversy? In everything large and comprehensive, where a wide range has to be taken, and a multitude of interests

have to be embraced, there are certain *minutiae* which can afford to be disregarded. We are instructed by logic in the distinction between a property and an accident of a thing. What is merely accidental may be withdrawn from a thing, and yet its essence or substance shall remain. Now this distinction is as applicable to a narrative, a history, or an argument, as it is to an organisation. The general truth of a version of an historical fact shall remain unimpeachable, though in some particulars it may differ palpably from another version of the same fact. There is, so to speak, a kernel of truth in every fact, which whosoever seizes has grasped all that is important in the fact. The exact time, place, &c., of a transaction may be useful, but they may also be mere ornamental details. So too the exact number of those who suffered by a particular visitation, or the exact name of a prophet from whom a passage is cited. We fully agree with the excellent Parry, deservedly eulogized in the paper before referred to, that no circumstantialia of this kind affect the religious value or excellence of the writing in which they are found. It is not arithmetical truth, nor geographical truth, nor antiquarian truth, which we go to the Scriptures to learn, but moral and religious truth; and unless the former points are directly and ethically mixed up with the latter, their exact accuracy is a thing quite secondary. Now no error can be pointed out in the Christian Scriptures of any other than this secondary kind; no error affecting either the soundness of an argument, or the point of a precept or a conclusion. The errors moreover are for the most part such as direct to the means of their own correction. It would have been easy to exclude inaccuracies of this kind from the writings as well as more important ones; but it may be doubted whether what would be thus gained in nicety would not be lost in interest and impression. It is not a care for mathematical punctilios which carries a reader on through a narrative, but the giving a due prominence to its main events and crises.

It may be said that, by admitting error in *minutiae*, we are in fact admitting it to an indefinite extent, it being impossible to fix by any line where *minutiae* begin and where they end. What may be thought *minutiae* by one may be important particulars to another. There is doubtless something in this; but not more than attaches to all matters out of the domain of pure number and measurement. Who can determine with precision the exact limits of 'hard' and 'soft,' of 'rough' and 'smooth,' or even of 'light' and 'darkness'? Who can seize and register the exact shades by which the dawn melts into the daylight, or the spring into the summer? In ecclesiastical matters who can assign within a few years the time when miracles ceased in the church, and ordinary

gifts only were communicated? And yet every one feels that the distinction of miraculous and non-miraculous is one that must be held to. So with regard to the presence of minor errors within our Christian Scriptures. No two judgments would, probably, agree in every case as to what is *minor* and what is *not*; but each would accept the distinction, and with the benefit of this distinction it is that we should be prepared to assert the Scriptures' *infallibility*. Infallibility we would explain to be entire trustworthiness, and, thus limiting the term, we are prepared with others to speak of the Bible as having 'God for its author, salvation for its end, and truth without error for its matter.'

It may be said that this is reducing the inspiration of the Scriptures to very small dimensions, and is far indeed from the ideal perfection we should antecedently have ascribed to them. Proceeding from one who is exempt from error himself, we should have expected that they would be exempt from error also, and open to cavil and calumny in no one respect. This may be; but God's thoughts here, as in other things, are not as our thoughts, nor his ways as our ways. Two or three particulars might be mentioned, if necessary, in which the Scriptures are not framed after the model which many would have considered best.

For instance, less diversity of authorship in the composition of the Scriptures would be deemed by many an improvement. Why not have brought the contents of the Gospels under one narrative, and comprised the instructions of the Epistles in one treatise? Where is the proof of unity, it may be asked, in a collection of tracts so diverse in their dates and authors? What sufficient reason have we for speaking of such a collection as being one book? How absurd to suppose that we should subscribe our credence (these are almost the exact words of an objector) to whatsoever is included between two lids?

There is much more (we say at once) that is captious than honest in interrogations of this nature. Combination of minds to produce one work is no new thing either in literature or in art. As it regards the former, who does not know that one at least of the choicest of our classics owes its origin to a union of different minds. Provision is sometimes made for securing a general unity to such combined composition by submitting it to a superintendence. This is the only expedient which assures to us the substantial unity of the publications called *reviews*, or which, on a still larger scale, unifies the contents of a *cyclopædia*. It is strange that, in an age which is continually witnessing the issue of immense miscellanies of this nature, any one should be found childish enough to quibble at the union of six or more pens in the production of the Christian Scriptures. The cavil is the more unfair, because, as

is well known, what is called orthodox theology places all these different pens also under the superintendence of the Spirit.

Now, with the exception of the number of the *Gospels*, a satisfactory reason for which has never yet met our own minds, we think we may discover proofs of divine forethought in the plurality of inspired authors. The variety of contents which the Christian revelation had to embrace made it fitting that it should be intrusted to a variety of hands. No other unity ought properly to be demanded in a revelation than what may be termed *organic*, by which we mean such a unity as obtains in our own corporeal frame. The manifold functions to be discharged by a human body—those of seeing (*e. g.*), of hearing, tasting, and feeling—are best secured by the construction of different organs, nor would anything be gained by setting one organ, even if it were possible, to do the work of the whole. Thus it is no disadvantage, but rather the contrary, that a plurality of human gifts should be employed in giving form to Divine revelation. This variety of mental gifts is just adapted to the variety of tasks to be executed and the variety of uses to be subserved. As the supposed revelation is for human readers, neither the diversity of tastes nor of capacities in those readers ought to be forgotten. Some minds need to be reached through their intellect; others through their feelings; some by the details of narrative; others by the discussions of argument; the duties of morality are best laid before some in naked precept; before others in broad principle; for some a plain, unadorned style is most befitting; for others the dress and disguises of rhetoric. Could any plan so simple have been devised for consulting these diversities of tastes as by enlisting diversities of talents? Plurality and unity are thus combined; and the satisfaction we should have sought in vain of one author, we now derive from another.

We cannot refrain from pursuing this rejoinder in its special application to the writings of St. Paul. The epistles of Paul, with scarcely an exception, are, it is well known, not systematic treatises, but have sprung out of particular occasions, being addressed to communities or individuals who needed direction at a given emergency. Taken together, we cannot well ascribe to them the properties of a comprehensive whole. This occasional character in their composition has been thought by some a presumption against their relative worth, against their worth, especially, as parts of a canon. Is it likely, an objector might ask, that what was written for temporary purposes should be of permanent use, or that any collection thus incidental should have its importance as a rule of faith and practice?

In reply to this we would observe that it is rather God's wont than otherwise to educe noble results and discoveries from trifling

occasions. Science will tell the inquirer that some of the most splendid of her achievements have owed their origin to what most would term fortunate incident. Shall we refer, in proof of this, to the marvels of astronomy and the telescope, or to the equal marvels of galvanism? In the medical kingdom some of the most potent and useful remedies have owed their discovery to accident, *i. e.* to what philosophers would term such. Dr. Vanderkemp, in South Africa, had nearly lost the sight of an eye while pursuing some botanical researches; in this state a drop from the juice of a plant he was examining fell by chance on the organ, and occasioned him for some time exquisite pain; but the ultimate effect was that his vision was restored. The conversion of what thus seem accidental occurrences into permanently useful results, constitutes no mean part of the overruling providence of God. While man proposes, God disposes.

‘There’s a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough hew them how we will.’

That passing disorders in the church at Corinth should occasion the composition of two letters of use in all future time, is thus rather in accordance than contrariety with the analogies of God’s procedure.

Besides, it is no new thing for principles of the widest bearing to grow out of the narrowest premisses. What is the whole system of our civil and criminal jurisprudence but the result of successive accretions of this nature? Our national code was not framed by one great effort on a foresight of the occasions which might arise from it, but has arisen step by step, and inch by inch, out of the register of actual decisions. The suit instituted to day by A. B., has led to the promulgation of judicial truths which will coexist with the fortunes of the country. So in religion and morals, while a case itself may be of *partial*, the principles which must determine it may be of *universal* application. A master mind, while deciding on a comparative trifle, will lay down rules and principles which shall guide in interests of the greatest magnitude. Yes, and these rules and principles will both be more easily and more clearly read by the light of this trifle. It may be doubted whether a systematic exposition of truth and duty, even were we now to have a new revelation, would be so eligible or effective as the plan which has been adopted. Naked doctrines and precepts neither excite the imagination nor take hold of the memory. By their dryness and dulness they rather repel than attract, and stand thus so far in the way of their own observance. Let any one who would understand how much there is in this, just compare the apophthegms of Isocrates with the moral teachings of Christ and his Apostles.

What impression do the former make on the mind? Who reads them a second time? Who can retain them in the memory? Detached from appropriate cases and examples, the best conceived scheme of doctrines and precepts is but a skeleton of bone. We want the flesh and sinews of living interests to clothe them. We want to see them as they appear in the working of actual life. We want the stimulus supplied by the emergencies which gave birth to them. It is therefore rather an advantage than a detriment to the Christian Scriptures that they do not inculcate truth in this abstract way. They exhibit to us actions in connection with the actors, belief in their influence on those who believe, and, before we are aware, place us with themselves in the midst of the family and the forum.

The most serious inconvenience, we think, arising from the number of the New Testament writings is the greater labour and difficulty created to an inquirer in scrutinizing their respective claims. We wish we had leisure to go into this difficulty, which we conceive may be both felt and urged in really good faith. How can it be possible, it may be asked, for any one with only ordinary leisure and opportunities to decide respecting the pretensions of so many claimants to canonicity? What alternative is left to the ordinary reader, but either to remain in suspense, or to receive the claims on the testimony of others, *i. e.* on implicit faith?

It might be sufficient to ask, in reply to this, if implicit faith does not enter, as a condition, into most of our transactions in life? We are members one of another, dependent on each other's co-operation for our ease, our comfort, and our success in a hundred different ways. Let any one obstinately refuse to act till he has thoroughly tested for himself the safety of each step he is taking, and he will become all but as motionless as if chained to a pillar. Society is an intricate and delicate network, in which the interests of one are inextricably interlaced with those of another. Who is there but daily takes on trust the main articles of his nutrition? What patient in a thousand knows for himself the quality of the medicine he is taking? We do not however stay to analyse our flour or our bark before we take them, but rely with confidence on the honesty of the vendors of these articles. Let us not wonder if the same law of dependence should extend to our spiritual relations. It is not the child only who in the order of things must look up to his parent for guidance. The difference between the faith of the more, and that of the less instructed, is almost that of the parent and the child; and both in temporal and spiritual matters the dictate of prudence will be, not to disbelieve till we have proved, but to believe till we have ground for suspicion.

These considerations we urge to meet the acknowledged difficulty attending the mastery of the *external* evidence of the canon ; but it would be wrong not to set off as a counterpoise to this the comparative simplicity of the internal. This, under God, is the great and effectual resource of those who cannot enter into the intricacies of historical argument.^d

J. T. G.

ON THE MISSION OF THE BAPTIST'S DISCIPLES TO JESUS.

It is rather a singular circumstance in the history of John the Baptist, that after he had startled his countrymen by proclaiming that he had been commissioned of Heaven to announce the near approach of the Messiah ; that after he had baptized hundreds and thousands of them on their profession of readiness to receive Him when he should be revealed ; and after he had on numberless occasions pointed to Jesus of Nazareth as He, he should have sent two of his disciples to Jesus, to inquire, 'Art thou he that should come, or look we for another?' How shall we account for it? Was he really in doubt on the point? or had he some other object to serve? Several explanations have been offered.

I. The first is, that John was beginning to waver in his convictions on the point, and wished for decisive information to set his mind completely at rest. Those who proffer this explanation readily admit that while at large John never entertained a doubt on the subject. Indeed, how could they do otherwise? For the Baptist himself expressly declares that he knew Jesus to be the Messiah, and how he came to know it. 'I knew not at the first,' says he, 'that he was the expected One ; but he that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending and remaining on him, that same is he who baptizeth with the Holy Ghost. And I saw it descending on him, and therefore am sure that he is the Anointed of God.' And so confident was he of this, that he took every opportunity of pointing him out as the Messiah to his disciples and the people ; and on one occasion, when complaints were

^d We feel a melancholy interest in presenting the above interesting paper to our readers, arising from the fact that the writer is no more. Dr. J. T. Gray died, in the prime of life, a very few weeks after the MS. came into our hands. It was his intention to revise it and add some notes, but a rapid illness defeated this worthy purpose, although it gave occasion to the learned and pious writer to bear a clear testimony to the sufficiency of his faith in the trying hour. Dr. Gray had often contributed to the *Journal*, and his learning and fine taste were only excelled by his enlightened piety.—ED. J. S. L.

brought him that Jesus was becoming more popular than himself, returned for answer that this was just what he wished ; that he had all along declared that he himself was not the Messiah, but only the Messiah's forerunner ; and that therefore he rejoiced to see himself falling out of notice, and his great Superior rising into fame. But while they readily admit this, they lay hold of the fact that he was in prison at the time he sent this deputation, and argue that the confinement produced such an impression on him, by lowering his spirits, that thoughts began to rise in his mind which would never have presented themselves had he been actively employed as before, or been instantly dismissed if they had. In this way they think that doubts began to spring up within him whether Jesus was really the Messiah ; and his mind being in a somewhat morbid state, through the inaction to which he was reduced, and which was so contrary to his former habits, that nothing would satisfy but an explicit declaration on the subject from Jesus' own lips.

It cannot be denied that the confinement of a prison is calculated to reduce even a strong-minded man to such a state, that the strangest notions are apt to come into his head, and suspicions to be entertained of the truth of his most rooted convictions. Still it is not possible to accept this as an explanation of John's conduct. His mind may have been not a little weakened and fretted by imprisonment, but his convictions of Jesus' Messiahship were founded on evidence too decisive to be so easily shaken. He must have doubted the truth of his own appointment as Jehovah's messenger, before he could doubt the truth of Jesus' Messiahship. He must have been prepared to admit that his ministry, instead of being an appointment of Heaven, had originated wholly with himself, and that the announcements he had made in the name of God, instead of being dictated by Him, had sprung from the distempered fancies of his own mind ; that he had never been told that he should know the Messiah by seeing the heavens open, and the Holy Ghost descend on him ; that he had never seen that sight ; that he had never heard the voice, 'This is my beloved Son ;' that it was all a mere delusion, and not a reality. But was it possible he could believe himself so far deceived ? The thing is inconceivable.

Farther, he was accustomed to hear in prison an account of all that Jesus did, from his disciples, and everything he heard concerning him was calculated to strengthen his conviction that he was the Messiah. Did he hear, for instance, that he was giving sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, nimbleness to the lame, speech to the dumb, and, in fact, 'healing all manner of sickness and disease among the people' ? What were these acts of power and mercy, but just the very miracles specified in Holy Writ, as

indicative of the Messiah, when he should come? but just a fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecy, 'Then shall the eyes of the blind be opened,' &c. ? (Isaiah xxxv. 5, 6.) Stronger evidence then of Jesus' Messiahship he could not have desired: stronger evidence it was not possible to obtain. Jesus' own declaration on the point would not have been so decisive a proof—indeed would have been no proof at all. For though he had not been the Messiah, he might have said that he was; but if not the Messiah, he could not have done such miracles as these. Hence the Saviour invariably represented his miracles as more decisive proofs of his Messiahship than his mere affirmation. Thus, when the Jews came round him in Solomon's porch (John x. 23), and asked him 'How long dost thou make us to doubt? If thou be the Christ, tell us plainly,' he replied, 'I told you already that my works are the best evidence of that;' but added a declaration to the effect that he was; and when they took up stones to stone him for saying so, he said, 'Well, I do not ask you to take my word for it; I appeal to my works. You cannot object to them as inadmissible evidence, nor can you deny that they are conclusive; then, though you believe not *me*, believe *them*.' Can we then suppose that the Baptist was more difficult to convince than multitudes of his countrymen, and demanded stronger evidence than was deemed sufficient by the Saviour for his bitterest enemies? Or can we suppose that a declaration from the Saviour's lips would have had any weight in convincing him, if his works did not suffice? Or can we suppose that he had not heard his disciples often declare that the Saviour was accustomed, if not to avow himself the Messiah in express terms, to claim powers and honours which could belong to none but him?

For these reasons then we cannot believe that John doubted the fact of Jesus' Messiahship, or needed confirmation of his faith in order to full satisfaction of mind. And all the less can we believe that he needed this confirmation *at the time* he sent this mission, when we read that he had just been hearing at that very moment that Jesus had been performing miracles more stupendous and Godlike than ever he had performed before—viz. recalling the centurion's servant from the very gates of death, and raising the son of the widow of Nain from the dead. *If there was any one time he could have doubted less than another that Jesus was the Messiah, it was the very time he selected for this mission.* This explanation, then, of the Baptist's conduct, is inadmissible.

II. Another explanation is, that he sent these disciples to inquire if Jesus was the Messiah, in order to dissipate any doubt on the subject that might still be in the minds of any of his disciples. Those who proffer this explanation admit that the Baptist had no

doubts on the point himself, but think that his disciples were not yet fully convinced of the fact, and that this deputation was projected for the very purpose of dispelling every remnant of doubt from their minds, by giving them an opportunity of seeing with their own eyes and hearing with their own ears the evidences of his Messiahship. But this explanation, though frequently embraced, is, if possible, still more inadmissible than the other. For (1) we have no evidence that his disciples had any doubts on the subject, and (2), if they had, this device of his was not calculated to remove, but only to increase them.

It was not calculated to remove them, for what were they to see or hear on this occasion that was to work such a change on their minds? Perhaps the Saviour might neither be working miracles, nor preaching, when they went. But suppose he were; what were they to see or hear which they had not often seen and heard before? It is not, surely, supposed that they had never yet been to witness his miracles, or hear his discourses; for there was scarcely an individual in the land, capable of going, who had not been. The very Pharisees and doctors of the law had crowded to him, out of every town of Galilee and Judea, and from Jerusalem. Had they alone then kept back? Who can believe it? What could have induced them to do so? Had their master forbidden them to go? His very prohibition would scarcely have sufficed in such a case. But he had not. On the contrary, he had used all his influence to induce them to attend him. From the first, and all along, he had made it his business to proclaim Jesus' infinite superiority, and to encourage them to leave himself and attach themselves to Him; and already several of them were among the Saviour's constant attendants and principal officials, as Peter, and Andrew, and Philip. The very section of the Gospel which gives an account of this mission seems to bear evidence that, so far from John's disciples having never been to the Saviour before, they had just come direct from witnessing him raise the widow's son from the dead, to give an account of his mighty doings to their master; for it was expressly stated that it was they who gave this account to John; and doubtless they spoke from personal observation, and not merely from hearsay. Indeed there is every probability they had been frequent attenders of the Saviour's ministry while their master was still at freedom, and regular attenders of it ever since his imprisonment. If then they had not been persuaded by what they had already witnessed, they were not likely to be so by their visit on this occasion.

Is it said that it would at least be an *introduction to them to the Saviour's personal acquaintance*, and might thus prove the commencement of a closer intimacy between Him and them? I reply

that there is no reason to suppose that they needed any such introduction, or, if they did, this was certainly a very singular way of furnishing them with one.

Is it said further, by this means they would at all events have the benefit of an express declaration from His lips that He was the Messiah, and that was more than he had ever yet *explicitly* stated to the people? I reply, that a declaration from their master to this effect would have likely weighed far more with them than a similar declaration from Jesus; for they were surely more likely to believe their master than to believe any one else. Nay, that an affirmative answer from the Saviour's lips would have been of exceedingly little weight with them, inasmuch as it would so visibly tend to his honour to have it believed that he was the Messiah. Besides, how did John know that Jesus would give an explicit answer? How did he know that he would not send them back simply with an appeal to his works, as we find he actually did?

But not only was this device not calculated to remove the doubts of John's disciples, if they had any; *it was calculated to increase them*. For it was a receding from the high ground he had occupied before; a lowering of the testimony he had formerly given. It was something like an indication that, though he had once been convinced of Jesus' Messiahship, and had publicly expressed his persuasion of it, he now began to entertain doubts of its truth; and that he did not regard those miracles of his, of which he had just been hearing, and which could scarcely be surpassed, as decisive on the point.

Thus the tendency of this expedient was to awaken doubts if they did not exist, and to increase them if they did; and not to put an end to them for ever. Had his object been to confirm the faith of his disciples in the Messiahship of Jesus, he would have taken a very different method. He would have addressed them in some such terms as these:—'You know I always maintained and publicly declared that Jesus was the promised Deliverer: that I had a special revelation from heaven of the fact, and a signal attestation of it in the sight I saw and the voice I heard at the time of his baptism; and that I was expressly commissioned to proclaim this fact to the world; and that I did so as long as I was at large. And now you see striking demonstrations of the truth of my words, in the wonderful miracles you have been reporting to me: for who could have performed these but the Son of God? who could have recalled the centurion's servant from the brink of the grave with a word, or raised from the dead the young man of Nain, or performed the other cures of which you have told me, but the Anointed of the Lord? See then, as you

value your acceptance with Heaven, that you listen to his voice and believe in his name.'

III. Another explanation is, that, hearing of Jesus doing so great things for others, John wished, in the gentlest possible way, to hint that surely he had forgotten him, since he was doing so much for the relief of others and nothing for him. This, in the present writer's opinion, is decidedly the true explanation. For it will be observed it was just on hearing the great things Jesus was doing that John sent this deputation to him; and nothing was more natural than for John to feel chagrined that the Messiah should be doing so much for everybody else but him—should be curing hosts of persons whom he had never seen before, and who perhaps cared nothing for him, and even extending his benefactions to the oppressors of his country, and healing a Roman's servant—and yet leaving his own old and faithful servant to rot in a dungeon, and that when he could easily set him free; for he who could do the works that Jesus had been doing could have no difficulty in opening his prison doors. And was not this a work worthy of him—nay, one of the very works the Messiah was to perform according to the word of prophecy, 'He hath sent me to proclaim the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound'? Under the pressure of feelings like these John resolved to remind the Saviour that there was such a person as he. He did not, however, like to do this directly, as it might have too much the appearance of upbraiding him. He therefore fell on the expedient of sending a deputation to him, professedly for a different object. For he saw that this would effectually secure the end he had in view, viz. the drawing of the Saviour's attention to him. Accordingly he despatched two of his disciples to inquire, 'Art thou he that should come, or look we for another?' The Saviour at once saw through his design; and being engaged in performing cures at the time the messengers arrived, he listened to their message, and then continued to cure a great multitude more; and then calling the messengers, he said, 'Go now and tell your master what ye have seen and heard, how that the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, to the poor the Gospel is preached—that will be a sufficient answer to his inquiry;' then add, 'blessed is he who is not stumbled at me.' This last clause would at once let the Baptist know that Jesus perfectly comprehended his design in this mission, and would sound to him quite as if the Saviour had said, 'And tell him I am not ignorant of his situation, nor unconcerned about his welfare; but I have reasons for doing nothing for him while I am doing so much for others—for allowing him to lie and pine in prison, while I am delivering others from the fetters

of affliction, the bands of death, the chains of the devil : and happy will it be for him if he is not stumbled at my way of treating him.

It is objected to this explanation that it would be a great injustice to the Baptist's holy character to suppose him to have given way to such peevish, fretful feelings. We are not ignorant of the noble qualities of the Baptist's character ; but still we do not believe him to have been above the indulgence of such feelings : and wherefore should we ? Was not Job a man of transcendent fortitude, patience, and piety ? and did not he give way to them in similar circumstances, and complain that God was unkind to him ? (Job xxxiii. 10, 11.) Was not the writer of Ps lxxiii. an eminently pious man, and did not he give way to them in similar circumstances, and complain, ' Behold these ungodly ; they prosper in the world, but I am plagued all the day long ' ? And is it not a frequent complaint of the people of God, ' My way is hid from the Lord, and my judgment passed over from my God ' ? Is it not a common complaint of Zion, ' The Lord hath forsaken me, and my Lord hath forgotten me ' ? Was the Baptist infallible ? If not, if he might give way to unworthy feelings, to what sort was he so likely to give way as to feelings of mortification and peevishness at the Saviour's apparent neglect of him ? Further, if to attribute such feelings to him would be an injustice to his character, how much less injustice, we would ask, is done to it by the other explanations of his conduct ? They save him indeed from the guilt of counting himself overlooked by the Saviour ; but what do they represent him as guilty of instead ? Why, of questioning or seeming to question the veracity of his Maker ; for he heard God expressly declaring ' This is my beloved Son ; ' and is it then a greater dishonour to him to have counted the Saviour unkind, than to have counted or appeared to count God a liar ?

Our conviction then is, that John sent this deputation to Jesus to inquire if he were the Messiah, not because he had doubts on the point—not in order to dispel doubts from his disciples' minds ; but because he felt chagrined to hear of him exerting his power for the benefit of such numbers, no way specially related to him, while he left him, who had laboured and now was suffering in his cause, to languish neglected in prison ; and because he wished to remind him of his case, in the hope that measures would instantly be taken for his release.

U,

ON THE SCENE OF THE MIRACLE OF THE FIVE LOAVES AND FIVE THOUSAND,

AND THE SITES OF CAPERNAUM, BETHSAIDA OF GALILEE, AND OTHER PLACES
ON THE LAKE OF TIBERIAS.

THERE are transactions recorded and places mentioned in the sacred narrative, respecting the scenes and localities of which a mistake may be committed without any serious consequence; but there are also cases in which it might give an appearance of inconsistency to the Scriptures; and everything that may have this effect should be carefully avoided; or, if unhappily committed, corrected as soon as it is discovered. Dr. Robinson is undoubtedly mistaken in placing the scene of the miracle in question on the east side of the lake of Tiberias, and his mistake has betrayed him into several others worse than itself, and they have all been copied by other writers, who relied upon his accuracy.

Tradition seems to be right in this instance, and the reputed scene of the miracle to be the true one. It is near the road from Nazareth to Tiberias, and not far from the latter place, which agrees with John vi. 23, which the Doctor and his followers have all overlooked. There were two places near the lake called Bethsaida—one near Tiberias, called Bethsaida of Galilee (John xii. 21), and the birthplace or residence of three of the Apostles (i. 44), and the other, which was afterward called Julias (Josephus, Ant. xviii. 11, 1), at the head of the lake on the east of the Jordan. Dr. R., misled by another mistake about the use of *πέραν* in the New Testament, which is commonly rendered ‘the other side,’ or ‘beyond,’ and partly also by other circumstances, places the scene of the miracle near the latter place, which is irreconcilable with John vi. 23, already referred to. He says that *πέραν*, or rather ‘the other side,’ which occurs in all the three accounts of the miracle, ‘is in the New Testament almost exclusively applied to the country east of the lake and the Jordan’ (*Researches*, iii. 278), which is not the case. It occurs twenty-three times in the New Testament, and in ten of these it certainly refers to places on the west of the lake and the Jordan, and is at least doubtful in eight more, so that there are only four passages in regard to which the Doctor is right. In the Septuagint *πέραν* is often used both for ‘this side’ and ‘the other side,’ and sometimes for both in the same passage (Num. xxxii. 19; 1 Sam. xiv. 4). In John vi. 22 it evidently refers to Tiberias or its vicinity, and

should be rendered 'this side;' and again, in ver. 25, it as evidently refers to Capernaum or its vicinity, and should have been rendered 'the other side;' but both places were on the west side of the lake. It also refers to opposite sides in Mark v. 1, 21. The shore of the lake is neither a straight line nor a regular curve, but, according to Lamartine, is indented with a number of bays, or inlets, running in between projecting headlands or promontories, and *πέραν* occurs in different passages where it refers to 'the other side' of one of these bays or headlands, and that even when a cursory view would induce us to think that it referred to 'the other side' of the lake. Of this we have an instance in John vi. 1: 'Jesus went *over*, or to, *the other side* of the sea of Galilee.'

It appears to have been at, or near, Tiberias, that our Lord, on returning from Jerusalem to the lake, met with his disciples, and received their reports of their mission, and heard of the death of John the Baptist. He was followed by a crowd to the scene of the miracle, and, as many who were there belonged to Tiberias, and followed him to Capernaum next day, it can hardly be doubted that they formed at least a part of the crowd who went to the scene of the miracle along with him. But he did not go over to the other side of the lake, but only crossed a bay, and again came to land on the same side. Many of those whom he had left on the land, observing to what place he directed his course, ran thither on foot, and arrived before him (Matt. xiv. 13; Mark vi. 33). This, however, they could not have done had he gone over to the other side of the lake; and more especially at the time of the passover, when the Jordan was in flood, and not fordable at either end of the lake.

It appears, from a comparison of the particulars given, that our Lord must have landed near to the place where Tiberias now stands, which is fully a mile further up the lake than its ancient site, as its ruins show. Between the two places there is a recess in the land, and a narrow strip of low ground runs round the bay along the foot of the mountain from the one place to the other, so that the crowd were able, through this communication, to meet him when he came to land. Here the mountain rises abruptly, and the reputed scene of the miracle lies a little beyond its brow, which so far agrees with John vi. 3, which says, that he went up into the mountain, and there sat down with the disciples. Though the place is said to have been 'nigh to Tiberias,' it was within the territory or district of land belonging to Bethsaida, and consequently near to it likewise. Luke ix. 10.

Not far from the reputed scene of the miracle, and in the direction between it and the plain of Gennesareth, are the ruins

called Irbid, which Pococke identifies with Bethsaida, having heard it called by that name, but slightly altered, by the inhabitants of the district, a fact which Dr. Robinson disputes, or tries to explain away, while he himself identifies it with the Arbela of Josephus and the Betharbel of Hos. x. 14. Both may be right—Beth Tsida is the Syriac, and was probably the Hebrew form of the name. El, in Betharbel, may be an addition to the name Betharbel, as it is in Jephthah-el and Megdal-el, the names of places in the same quarter (Josh. xix. 27, 38), and Beth Arb and Beth Tsaid admit the same signification—namely, the home, or place of frequent resort, for the liar in wait for prey, such as the hunter, the fisher, or the robber. Lying on the principal line of communication between the plain of Esdraelon and the country to the south of it, and the upper Jordan with the country beyond it, the cave of Arbela, in the face of the mountain, is admirably fitted for a den of robbers, and was, according to Josephus, for a long time the haunt of banditti, who kept the country in trouble, and defied every attempt to suppress them, till they were rooted out by the energy of Herod (*Wars*, i. 16, 2-4). This, at least, is clear from the Scriptures, that the scene of the miracle was ‘nigh to Tiberias,’ at some distance up from the lake, and in ‘a place belonging to Bethsaida;’ and these particulars, taken in connection, show decidedly that Bethsaida could not have been far from Irbid.

After the miracle our Lord directed the disciples to go *before him* by water to the other side, while he dismissed the multitudes, not *unto*, but *πρός*, towards Bethsaida, or as near to it as they could go by water (Mark vi. 45). This shows that he meant, as it were, to meet them by land, and that Bethsaida was on his way. The disciples must have understood him in this light. They required to be *constrained* to comply with his directions; which shows that they wished to accompany their Master, and leave the owners of the boat to take it round.* It has been already stated that the land recedes between the sites of the ancient and the modern Tiberias, near the latter of which the boat must have been lying, where there is another headland, beyond which the mountain recedes again, leaving the beautiful plain of Gennesareth between its foot and the shore. Now, as the disciples landed in the plain of Gennesareth (Mark vi. 53), ‘the other side’ can only mean that of the promontory. The shortest and most direct way from the

* These appear from their mode of speaking, Matt. xiv. 33, ‘Thou art certainly the son of a God,’ to have been Gentiles or heathens, probably Gadarenes from the other side, who Josephus says were Greeks; and who seem, from the device on their civil medals, namely, a Trireme fully equipped, to have been much engaged in the traffic on the lake.

reputed scene of the miracle passes by Irbid, and comes down to the lake at Mejdol, at the foot of the plain; and it can hardly be doubted that the disciples expected their Master to take it, and that they wished to accompany him rather than to go round by water.

Bethsaida is again mentioned (Mark vii. 22), and that in a connection which points us to the very same place. Our Lord had come from the north to the lake, 'through the midst of the coasts of Decapolis,' which were chiefly on the east of the lake and the Jordan, and he must therefore have arrived on its eastern shore, from which he came over by water from Magdala, in the plain of Gennesareth (Matt. xvi. 39), and from Magdala he came to Bethsaida in its neighbourhood. Dr. Robinson thinks that this must have been Bethsaida of Gaulonitis, because he went from it to Cæsarea Philippi. But that is no reason at all, especially as the main road from the plain of Esdraelon, &c., toward Cæsarea Philippi passed by Bethsaida of Galilee, and he might have gone from the latter as readily as from the former. Mark represents our Lord as *coming* to Bethsaida, and as going from it to Cæsarea Philippi, from which it may be inferred that the courses were opposite, which was the case provided Bethsaida of Galilee be meant, but not otherwise.

The disciples had scarcely set sail when they were met by a strong head wind, which retarded their progress so much that they had only made about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles by six o'clock in the morning, when they came to the land in the plain of Gennesareth, whither they went (John vi. 19, 21; Mark vi. 48, 53). This corresponds exactly with the distance between the modern Tiberias and the lower end of the plain of Gennesareth, and their course was towards Capernaum, which lay nearer to the head of the lake (John vi. 17).

Though the scene of the miracle is spoken of as a desert place, it appears to have been near to a pretty densely inhabited neighbourhood, as the disciples recommended the people to be sent to the towns and villages round about for the purpose of getting such refreshments as they required, which 5000 people could not have got on a short notice from a few thinly scattered houses. Josephus tells us that in this very place he had on a certain occasion 10,000 armed men concealed among the villages, for the purpose of suppressing a disturbance which he expected to take place in Tiberias when he had the command in it, and such a force could not have been concealed in a few houses.

Taking all these particulars together, they show decidedly that the scene of the miracle was near Bethsaida of Galilee, and that it was at or near Irbid, as Dr. Pococke believed.

This point determined will assist us in identifying the site of Capernaum, with respect to which Dr. Robinson is also mistaken. Assuming the scene of the miracle to have been at Bethsaida of Gaulonitis, and reasoning from that groundless assumption in connection with the fact that the disciples landed in the plain of Gennesareth, he concludes that Capernaum must have been there. 'After the miraculous feeding of the 5000,' says he, 'on the eastern shore of the lake, three of the Evangelists relate that the disciples took ship to return to *the other side*; according to Matthew and Mark, when they were thus *gone over* they came into the land of Gennesareth. But John relates more definitely that the disciples, on setting off from the *eastern shore*, went *over the sea* towards Capernaum.' From what has been already shown the attentive reader will see at once that this is a false gloss upon the text. None of the disciples relate that the scene of the miracle was on the eastern shore, and John does not say, either, that they set off from the *eastern shore*, or went *over the sea*, but only towards Capernaum, which they did, calling at the plain of Gennesareth in passing it. As the Doctor appears to lay some stress on *διὰ πέραντες*, being gone over, in Matt. xiv. 34, Mark vi. 53, it is proper to observe that it may mean no more than they passed along coastwise. It is used in this way Acts xxi. 2; for a voyage from Miletus in Asia Minor to Phenicia in Syria, on the same continent, must be coastwise; and Josephus used it in speaking of one from Tiberias to Tarichea, on the same side of the lake, and only about three miles distant. (*Life*, 58.)

The disciples would have preferred accompanying their Master, whom they evidently expected to go by land, as his orders to go *before* him towards Bethsaida, on the other side, intimated his intention to meet them there; which shows that they anticipated no serious difficulty by the way. Yet the Tiberians, on finding our Lord at Capernaum, and knowing that he did not go with the disciples, and that no other boat had passed along, were at a loss to know how he had got along, and asked him by what conveyance he had come, which warrants the supposition that there must have been difficulties on the way which did not exist between the scene of the miracle and the plain of Gennesareth, and consequently that Capernaum must have been beyond Gennesareth, leaving space between them for these difficulties (John vi. 22, 25). Tell Hum, which is nearer to the head of the lake, is believed by many to be the remains of Capernaum, and there are difficulties between the plain of Gennesareth and it which will account for the curiosity of the Tiberians on the occasion. There are two roads from the plain to the Jordan—one being a rough and

narrow path cut round the face of the promontory at the head of the plain a little above the water, and the other running over the steep mountain at a considerable distance above the lake, and coming down to it again at the other side. Dr. R. and his party preferred the latter on account of its safety, but he found the labour of climbing so great that it threw him into a fever, which confined him the whole of next day, and prevented him from visiting some places near the entrance of the Jordan into the lake, which he wished to have seen. And besides this, both roads are intersected by some ravines which run down the face of the mountain to the lake, and which, though dry at the time when the Doctor passed them, are the beds of raging mountain torrents during the spring rains, or before the passover, when the miracle was wrought (John vi. 4). Some of these torrents are not fordable by a traveller on foot, and hardly so for one mounted. Mr. Elliott and his companion had a narrow escape in passing one of them, having been both in the water for some time, while one of their horses was carried down into the lake. It was probably on that very account that our Lord, who travelled so much on foot, engaged a boat on this occasion, the whole distance by land being under ten miles.

Josephus speaks of a copious fountain in the plain of Gennesareth, which he calls Capharnaum, and the Doctor supposes that it must either have received its name from Capernaum, or *vice versâ*, and therefore concludes that the town and the fountain must have been adjoining one another. There is a remarkable fountain now, called the Round Fountain, corresponding well with the descriptions of Josephus, but there are no ruins of a town near it, and though it is generally believed to be the very fountain of which the historian speaks, the Doctor sets himself to find another that will accord with his hypothesis, and finds one at Khân Minyeh, at the head of the plain, where he persuaded himself he also discovered a pile of ruins, which he takes for Capernaum as a matter of course.

Josephus also speaks of a town which he calls Repharnome, which is generally supposed to be but a different form of the name Capernaum, and Dr. R. regards it as a more completely Grecized form of Capharnaum, and consequently identifies them. That Capharnaum and Repharnome are but different Greek forms of the same Hebrew name is readily admitted, but it does not necessarily follow that they were the names of the same place. The one is given as the name of a fountain, and the other as that of a town; and if they were the same in Hebrew, there must have been some reason why the same writer gave the word differently in the Greek. The Doctor thinks that Repharnome was preferred when the his-

torian had become better acquainted with the Greek ; but this is a mere conjecture, destitute of any authority.

The fountain was in the plain of Gennesareth, which it watered and fertilized, and, from what is said respecting the town, it seems to have been nearer to the entrance of the Jordan into the lake. Josephus was carried to it after his mishap in the battle of Julias. Tell Hum was in the immediate rear of his position, and must of course have been in his possession at the time, for no man would have taken up a position and accepted a battle with such a place immediately behind him in the possession of his enemy. And if it was in his possession, it must have been his head-quarters, having been evidently very much superior to every other place in that quarter. He would, therefore, be carried in the first instance to it, and not over the rugged and mountainous tract between it and Khân Minyeh ; the more especially as he might have been removed by water in case of necessity, on the shortest notice. There were hundreds of boats on the lake at the time, and such a place as Tell Hum must have then been could not have been without them.

Capernaum was still standing in the time of Arculfus, and seen by him ; and his account of its situation accords much better with that of Tell Hum than with that of Khân Minyeh. The latter is at the head of the plain of Gennesareth and the north-west angle of the lake, where the shore takes an easterly course, which it follows to the entrance of the Jordan into the lake, and it therefore has the plain on the south side, the lake on the east, and the mountain on the north ; whereas Arculfus represents Capernaum as occupying a long and narrow strip of land, which stretched along the shore from east to west, having the lake on the south, and the mountain on the north, and being confined between them. Dr. R. understands the expression '*coartata*,' which occurs in the description, in the sense of *shut in*, and says that there can be no other spot on the lake that can be said to be shut in by the mountain than Khân, and on this very precise interpretation of a word which admits of some latitude he concludes that Khân Minyeh must have been the place intended. But the expression may mean no more than that the narrow tract of land was confined or straitened by the pressure of the mountain behind, and of the lake before it, which is in perfect accordance with the Doctor's own account of the site of Tell Hum. He says, 'It is situated on a small *projecting* point, or rather curve of the shore, slightly elevated above the water, and covers a tract of at least half a mile along the shore, and about half that breadth inland.' It therefore agrees exactly with Arculfus's description, while Khân Minyeh differs from it in some principal points.

Besides, though the Doctor persuaded himself that he had discovered the ruins of an ancient town adjoining Khân Minyeh, Lynch and his party examined the place carefully, with the *Researches* in their hand, and could find no vestige of a town near it. A few small shreds of pottery cannot be safely taken as the main or only proof of the existence, in ancient times, of a populous city on the spot where they are found.

Tell Hum is regarded, and not without an appearance of probability, as preserving some vestige of the name Capernaum. Caper Nahum was no doubt the Hebrew name of the place, and if so, Nahum must have been the proper name. Caper means a town or village, and forms no more part of the name than the term city forms an integral part of the name when used in connection with the specific name of any place, as in the city of London, or of Edinburgh, &c. Josephus prefixes it to the names of several places, such as Caphar Eccho, Caphar Emmaus, &c. Nahum means comfort or pleasure, and the town may have received the name, at first, from the pleasantness of its situation and natural advantages. The *w* not being aspirated in the Greek, the name becomes Naum in that language. The ancient names are generally very much contracted at the present day in Palestine, and in this way Nahum may have become Hum. Tell means a hill, mound, or pile of ruins, and Tell Hum may signify the ruins of Nahum.

Dr. R. ridicules this criticism on the name, but he himself has given us contractions as unlikely, and is perfectly satisfied with them; such as Riha for Jericho, Jib for Gibeon, Jis for Gischalle, &c. &c.

Again, Tell Hum accords much better than Khân Minyeh with such references as are contained in the Scripture to the locality of Capernaum. It would appear from Matt. iv. 13, to have been situated near the line of demarcation between Zebulon and Naphthali, which seem to have terminated near the entrance of the Jordan into the lake, and consequently not far from Tell Hum.

Dr. R. was sensible that this passage, if literally interpreted, would be unfavourable to his views, and he therefore cautions us against understanding it so. But we find also that Tiberias and Capernaum are represented as being opposite to one another, which is true if Capernaum stood at Tell Hum, but not so if it stood at Khân Minyeh (John vi. 22, 25). From Tiberias upward, the lake widens out toward the west, as far as Khân Minyeh, where the shore takes an easterly course, and a line drawn from Tiberias to Khân Minyeh would run along the shore, the whole so that the one place could not with any propriety be

represented as being 'on this side,' and the other 'on that side,' as *πέραν* means in these two verses: whereas a line drawn from Tiberias to Tell Hum divides the lake into two large though unequal portions, and the two places are literally over against one another, the one being at the head and looking downwards, and the other (namely the ancient town) on the north side of a promontory near the foot, and looking upwards towards the former.

Though Dr. R. may be right about ruins at Khân Minyeh, and Lynch and his officers all wrong, their inability to discern the ruins may be regarded as evidence at least that the place represented by them, supposing it to have existed, was of very small importance, whereas Capernaum was apparently one of the most important towns on the west side of the lake. It had its different public institutions, its public officers, and other accompaniments of wealth and importance, so that we may expect to find among its ruins vestiges of its former condition. The Doctor's account of Tell Hum shows it to have been one of the most important places on the lake. He tells us that the ruins of one of the edifices, 'for expense of labour and ornament, surpassed anything he had seen in Palestine.' He could not ascertain its dimensions, but measured 100 feet in length of one of its walls, and 80 of another, and mentions its 'beautiful Corinthian capitals, sculptured entablatures, ornamented friezes, and the like.' It could have been no mean or obscure place. It must have been visited by our Lord, and its name would in all probability have been preserved, but, unless it be Capernaum, its name is lost. Denying it to be Capernaum, the Doctor admits that 'no historical or traditional account of it has come down to this time.'

According to Lynch and others, Tell Hum is delightfully situated, and commands a fine view of the lake, and the steep and high mountains around it. Behind it the land is fertile and adapted to husbandry, and the lake before it abounds with fine and delicious fish, and has its surface covered with wild ducks, which were easily snared. And on these, as well as on other accounts, it may have been said to be 'exalted to heaven.'

According to Jerome, Chorazin was two miles distant from Capernaum; and at the same distance from Tell Hum, in the direction of Khân Minyeh, Mr. Elliott observed the ruins of a town, which he took for Bethsaida, but which cannot have been either the one Bethsaida or the other. The place is commonly called et-Tabighah. Admitting it to have been Chorazin, and Tell Hum to have been Capernaum, the eastern Bethsaida must be intended in Matt. xi. 21, and in no other passage of the New Testament is it mentioned. When our Lord uttered the denunciation there recorded, he was probably standing on the slope of

the mountain above Capernaum, with Chorazin on his right hand, Bethsaida on his left, and Capernaum before him, and, addressing each in their turn, he uttered the denunciation which has been so completely accomplished.

T.

ON 1 KINGS xvii. 4-6.

WHAT, and who, were Elijah's providers, during his retirement by the brook Cherith? They are called Orebim in the Hebrew Scriptures; and, as that name is given alike to a species of birds and a race of men, it cannot be an unfair question to inquire which of the two is meant. Provided tradition and authority are to be consulted, the decision must be in favour of the birds; but supposing the Scriptures to leave the question undecided, as they certainly do, reason and common sense would dissent from it. Had anything been attributed to the Orebim engaged in the service that is peculiar to birds, such as the possession of wings or feathers, the question would have been decided for the birds, however intrinsically improbable it might have been; or could it be clearly shown that the particular race of men called Orebim could not have been in the place at the time, it would have amounted nearly to the same thing. But if, instead of either, there be nothing in the Scriptures to assist in deciding the point but the bare name, and if it can be shown that the name is fully as often used for a race of men as for ravens, and also made probable, if not absolutely certain, that the race of men to whom it is given either occupied or frequented the place, and were likely to have sympathized with the prophet, it would indicate a diseased state of mind even to hesitate about which side of the question to prefer.

The passage shows that the Cherith emptied its waters into the Jordan, and it is generally understood to have flowed through the wild and rugged district to the north of Jericho, where our Lord was tried with the temptations of the devil (Matt. iv. 1), and to which Zedekiah and his army fled as a place where they might either try to hide or defend themselves, after Jerusalem had become untenable. (1 Kings xxv. 2.)

Whether this place was much frequented by ravens or not has never been shown, so far as I know; but there is reason to believe that it was either occupied or much frequented by the people who are called the Orebim in the Scriptures; and this being the case, they are far more likely than the ravens to have been the agents whom Providence employed in providing for the prophet during the time of his concealment. They are mentioned in 2 Chron.

xvii. 11, xxi. 16, xxii. 1, xxvi. 7, Neh. iv. 7, and probably also in Isa. xv. 7, in all which passages they are either in the text or on the margin called *Arabians* in our common translation, and in nearly all they are represented to have had some understanding with the *Philistines* respecting the *Israelites*. Like the remnant of the *Philistines*, they had become tributary to the *Jews* in the time of *Jehoshaphat*; and probably, regarding this as oppression, the two races acted in concert in attacking *Jerusalem* in the time of *Jehoram*, while the latter was absent endeavouring to suppress a revolt of the *Edomites*: and hence it may be inferred, that they could not have been very far from *Jerusalem*.

They are said to have dwelt in *Gur-baal*; but till that can be identified it gives no idea of their locality. It may be of more use to us for this purpose to know that they were neighbours to the *Ethiopians* or *Cushites*; for, if we can discover nearly where they resided, we cannot be so much in the dark respecting the residence of their neighbours.

Whether they had a common origin or otherwise, there appear to have been three separate bodies of men who bore the common name of *Cushites*, and it is therefore a question which of the three is intended in 2 Chron. xxi. 16. By far the largest of them were settled in *Ethiopia* on the south of *Egypt*, but for various reasons they cannot be the *Cushites* referred to in the passage. Another and smaller body of them was settled in *Arabia* near to *Mount Sinai*, and better known to us as the *Midianites* and *Kenites*. *Moses* was connected with them by marriage, which occasioned a lasting friendship between some of them and the *Israelites* (*Exodus* ii. 15-22). They are repeatedly called *Kenites* or descendants of *Ken* (*Judg.* i. 16), and bore also the name of *Cushites*, however they came by it (*Numb.* xii. 1). At the invitation of *Moses* many of them accompanied the *Israelites* into *Canaan*, where their descendants remained to the time of the captivity. They were for a long time treated with kindness, though they never became properly incorporated with the *Israelites* (*1 Sam.* xv. 6). They were in possession of several cities in *Judah* anterior to *David's* accession to the throne, and were of sufficient importance to be courted by him, as well as the others (*chap.* xxx. 29). Probably about this time a number of their subdivisions were congregated under *Jabez*, one of their chiefs, who was more respected than any of the rest, and, finding the lot of land which he had acquired too limited for their numbers, he sought and obtained an enlargement, but not without some apprehension that it would bring him or them into trouble (*1 Chron.* ii. 55, iv. 9, 10). These apprehensions appear to have been realized in the course of time, for, in order to

avoid expulsion from the country, they thought it proper to abandon a settled and return to a nomade life, and refrain entirely from the use of wine. Their possession of land had exposed them to jealousy on the part of the Israelites, and deep potations may have engendered quarrels, and increased the bad feeling that existed; and Jonadab ben Rechab, a chief of great respectability and influence in the time of Elijah, persuaded them to adopt the rule above mentioned as the best means of saving them from trouble and securing a continued residence in the country (Jer. xxxv. 2-7). If the descendants of Hobab were compelled to adopt such a course as a means to avoid the jealousy of the Israelites, it shows that aliens settled among the latter were in a ticklish condition, and that they had very probably injuries to resent.

Another and a different body of Kenites, who were also called Midianites, appear to have been settled on the east of the Jordan, not far from its entrance into the Dead Sea. Abraham found them in the country when he came to it, and their possessions were promised to his posterity (Gen. xv. 19). They were subject to Sihon, King of the Amorites, and settled in his country, and Balaam foretold their fate along with other enemies of the Israelites (Josh. xiii. 21, Numb. xxiv. 21, 22). When the Amorites were cut off they were spared, and might have been permitted like other races to retain their possessions (Josh. xiii. 13), had they acted properly. But they joined with Balak in soliciting Balaam to come and impose his ban on the Israelites, and at the instigation of the disappointed and chagrined soothsayer they took an active part in seducing the Israelites into idolatry and licentiousness (Numb. xxii. 4, 7, xxv. 16-18). They again became troublesome in the days of the judges and were severely chastised by the valour of Gideon (Judges vi., vii.).

Like the other branch of the Kenites, they seem also to have been called Cushites (Hab. iii. 7): 'I saw the tents of Cushan in affliction, the curtains of the land of Midian did tremble.' The tents of Cushan, and curtains of the land of Midian, are but different expressions for the same thing. The passage refers to the passing of the Jordan and the earthquake which accompanied it (Ps. cxiv.); and the Cushites, or Midianites, who witnessed the striking interposition of Providence on that occasion with emotions of terror could have been no other than the remnant of those Midianites who had involved themselves in so much trouble by their spite against the Israelites. Moreover it appears from the recently deciphered records of Egypt that, when Rameses the Great led an expedition against the Shetta or people of Shittim over against Jericho, the Kesh or Cushites were their neighbours and made common cause with them. There were Cushites on the

east of the Jordan, opposite the district through which the Cherith runs; and these must have been the Cushites to whom the Orebim were neighbours. No tribes on the borders of Ethiopia were ever tributaries to the King of Judah; and as Jehoram and his army were in Idumea, between Sinai and Palestine, the Cushites who resided near the former place could hardly have passed him without his knowledge. Besides, they were too distant to undertake a *coup de main* against Jerusalem in concert with the Philistines, as they could hardly have calculated on the arrival of both at the very same time, and had one party arrived before the other an alarm would have been given and they might have been destroyed in detail. Supposing, however, that they came from the Arabah, which was not twenty miles from Jerusalem, everything is accounted for and becomes clear and consistent. There they would be tributaries to Judah of course, and might concert measures of retaliation with the Philistines, who were in the same condition, and seize the opportunity of the revolt of the Edomites and of the city of Libna to strike a blow in their own behalf. They were again troublesome in the reign of Uzziah (2 Chron. xxvi. 7), and equally so in the time of Nehemiah, which shows that they were at hand to take advantage of every turn of affairs that suited them, and exchanged with the Philistines reciprocal intimations of their respective intentions.

The brook of the Orebim is mentioned in Isa. xv. 7, in a way that shows that it continued to flow after many other streams were dry. The waters of Nimrim mentioned in the foregoing verse were on the east of the Jordan, nearly opposite to the Wady Kelt, which Dr. Robinson identifies with the Cherith, and it may be inferred from the passage that the people living near the one were in very dry seasons compelled to remove to the other.

The Orebim were probably descended from the 'mixed multitude' who left Egypt along with the Israelites and accompanied them in the wilderness (Exod. xii. 38, Numb. xi. 4). These were undoubtedly Arabs, and must have been as much disliked by the Egyptians as the Israelites, as they followed the same pastoral habits. But whatever was their origin, or whatever attachment they may have had for the Israelites when both were placed in the same circumstances, that attachment would wear out and be succeeded by a different feeling when they had become tributaries to the objects of their former sympathy, and they would naturally sympathize with Elijah under his persecutions. As they paid their tribute in kind, while the Philistines paid theirs in specie, they must have been altogether a pastoral people, and this made the use of animal food more frequent and common among them than it would otherwise have been. The term rendered bread may mean fruit

or any other vegetable substitute for bread (Jer. xi. 19); and it was customary with all the Arabs, as with many others of that age, to eat only twice in the day, namely, in the morning and evening. When the Cherith became dry the Orebim would of course leave it and go somewhere else, and the prophet had to leave also, which he need not have done had he been miraculously provided for.

Concealment had become necessary for a time, God directed him to go to the Cherith and that the Orebim would provide for him. These might have been ravens, but there was also a race of men so called; they frequented that district, were not friendly to the Israelites, and likely to sympathize with the prophet, and subsisted much on animal food, and were therefore much more likely to be meant than the ravens.

T. T.

ON THE MEANING OF HEB. i. 7.

THIS is one of those passages in which the arrangement of certain words appears to be inconsistent with the general scope or train of reasoning. The main design is unquestionably to show the immeasurable superiority of the Son of God over every created being. Among the latter the angels occupy the highest place, and he is as much above them as his name is more excellent than theirs. His name or title is exclusively his own, and peculiar to himself; whereas they have theirs in common with many beings, some of which are not even endued with life and intelligence. They are messengers and agents of God; but so are the winds and lightning and other elements of nature; and as far as their name and office go, they are on a footing of equality with one another. The passage is a quotation from Ps. civ. 4, which relates to the phenomena of the material world; and it must be a digression without any apparent object if it relates to the angels. It readily admits the following interpretation, and is brought by it into perfect consistency both with the preceding and following contexts: 'Who maketh winds his messengers and flaming fire his ministers.'

But the position of the article, which is not prefixed to *πνεύματα* and *φλόγα*, but to *ἀγγέλους* and *λειτουργούς*, is rather unfavourable to this interpretation. In a simple affirmation it is a general rule for the article to be prefixed to the subject, and omitted before the predicate; and unless it can be shown that a departure from this rule is admissible, we are bound to take *ἀγγέλους* and *λειτουργούς* for the subjects spoken of, and *πνεύματα* and *φλόγα* as the predicates or terms which express what is said of them. But there is no rule invariably followed respecting the position of the

article in affirmations. It is most frequently prefixed to the subject, and omitted before the predicate, as—*Πνεῦμα ὁ Θεός*, God is a spirit, John iv. 24; *Ὁ Θεός φῶς ἐστὶ*, God is light, 1 John i. 5. But deviations from this rule are so frequent, that it cannot be relied on when the general scope of a passage is against it. The article is sometimes prefixed to both the subject and the predicate alike, as in Acts viii. 37, 'I believe—*τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν*—Jesus Christ to be the Son of God.' At other times it is omitted before both, as in Rom. xv. 8, 'Now I say—*Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν διάκονον*—that Jesus Christ was a minister of the circumcision.' And there are also instances in which it is omitted before the subject and prefixed to the predicate, as in John xvii. 17, 'Sanctify them through thy truth, *ὁ λόγος ὁ σὸς ἀλήθεια ἐστὶ*, the truth is thy word.' Whatever arrangement of the words may be preferred, the truth being mentioned in the former part of the sentence must be the subject in the latter. It is mentioned again for the purpose of being explained, and *λόγος*, being exegetical, is the predicate. It has however the article, while *ἀλήθεια* wants it. We have another example of this arrangement in 1 Tim vi. 5, 'Supposing—*πορισμὸν εἶναι τὴν εὐσέβειαν*—gain to be godliness.' Some sticklers for the invariable observance of the rule render this 'supposing godliness to be gain,' with which the apostle could not have found fault consistently with what he adds, that godliness with contentment is great gain. Besides, the particle *δε* cannot be used connectively here, but in its adversative signification; and if so, it places the two verses in antithesis to one another. And if the apostle means in verse 6 to represent godliness as gain, he undoubtedly means in verse 5 to represent those against whose example he is warning his readers as reversing the matter and substituting gain for godliness.

The article is more frequently omitted before the subject, and prefixed to the predicate, when the latter is in regimen or governs the genitive, as *ἀγγέλους* and *λειτουργούς* are in the passage in question.

The position of the article will not then compel us to prefer a less for a more suitable sense of the passage. It would not be easy to determine what the expression means, 'He maketh his angels spirits;' nor, if a meaning could be assigned to it, would it support or strengthen the apostle's argument, or serve the purpose for which the quotation seems to be made; whereas the other interpretation not only gives a clear sense, but one that is well adapted to the apostle's purpose, and which falls completely in with his train of reasoning, and hence there can be very little doubt that it is the true one.

* *

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Greek Testament, with a critically revised Text, a Digest of various Readings, Marginal References to verbal and idiomatic usage, Prolegomena, and a Critical and Exegetical Commentary. For the use of Theological Students and Ministers. BY HENRY ALFORD, B.D. In three volumes. Vol. I. containing the Four Gospels. Second Edition. London: Rivingtons, 1854. 8vo., Pp. 936.

THIS valuable contribution to Sacred Literature has been twice noticed in the JOURNAL, on the appearance of the first and second volumes. To those reviews we may refer our readers,* as containing many valuable remarks, although they do not all commend themselves to our judgment. The publication of a second edition of the first volume, gives us an opportunity of introducing the work again to those who consult our pages, and we do so with the most cordial good will. We are thankful that Mr. Alford has so far been rewarded for his very arduous labours, by the sale of an entire edition of an expensive volume. We also rejoice that there should be so large a demand, on the part of the theological and literary world, for a new edition of the Greek Testament. We should have felt all this, had the work before us been less excellent than it is; but, with a very high opinion of its intrinsic merits, we have no deductions to make from the warmth of our congratulations.

We are not about to predicate perfection of this work, either in its arrangement of Text, or in its Commentary. It is the nature of all moral questions to admit of great differences of opinion, and to no literary labours does this apply more fully, than to theology and biblical science. If *opinion* were more settled in relation to the substantial matters of revelation, it would be far more easy to agree on matters of criticism; but as widely discrepant views are entertained on the higher topics which demand our attention, the lower are necessarily more or less affected by this variation of sentiment. It might seem, at first sight, as though some uniformity of thought might be attainable on such matters of fact as the relative values of ancient manuscripts, and yet even in this department our conceptions are moulded by our theological bias. Those who believe in *verbal* inspiration, cannot approach the question of text with the same freedom as those who admit of discrepancy and incorrectness in things which, being unimportant in themselves, do not appear to them to demand infallibility in the sacred writers. Taking this into account, we are more disposed to praise than to blame, whenever laborious exertions are put forth, like those which

* Vol. ii., p. 91, and Vol. iii., p. 496, N. S.

so honourably distinguish Mr. Alford. There is too much that is valuable to allow of a nibbling criticism. Great principles indeed may be brought prominently forward by such productions as this, and we must not shrink from discussing and defending what we conceive to be right. But it ought to be some very glaring departure from general orthodoxy, which should induce us to prejudice others against such a noble monument of learned and pious industry as Mr. Alford has reared.

Mr. Alford says, in the Advertisement prefixed to this volume,—‘This second edition will be found to differ from the first, in being conformed to my second volume, as regards the revision of the text and the digest of various readings. This latter has been entirely rewritten, and the text, being now revised on the critical principles announced in the Prolegomena to Vol. II., differs considerably from that in the first edition.’ This subject has been fully treated in the former notices in the JOURNAL, and we do not now mean to enter upon it. We may, however, express our conviction, that we at present feel but little confidence in any new text of the Greek Testament, and much prefer the Textus Receptus to be retained as the common ground on which critical questions may be discussed, and a common centre of reference. This feeling does not arise from any idea of the perfection of the received text—far from it. There are many of its readings which it would be folly to defend; and many others which are most doubtful. But until more certainty can be arrived at, as to *what is the genuine text*, would it not be better to retain one, although faulty, than to set up many, which further light may compel us to alter? But this is a matter of taste, and not of principle.

With Mr. Alford’s Commentary we have been much pleased. He is particularly excellent in his mode of bringing out the logical coherence of the different parts of the inspired documents, not by any imagination of his own, but by a strictly grammatical process. We have compared some passages with the comments of Wetstein and Bloomfield, and any one who will do this will at once see the great superiority of Mr. Alford in this respect. The more hidden turns of thought of the writer, as dependent on the particles of the language, are often finely elucidated; and the mass of information furnished from all accessible sources, is very great, considering the size of the volumes. Here indeed we must express our regret that so much compression should have been necessary. The use of Tischendorf’s edition of the Greek Testament must have tried the patience of many, on account of the abbreviations of its almost endless references; but we have here a somewhat similar curtness introduced into the Commentary. This is nothing to the dispraise of Mr. Alford, but the contrary; for both himself and his publishers have laboured hard to produce volumes which shall be generally accessible. Had the work been printed more fully, it would indeed have been far more interesting and easy to the reader, but the size, or rather the price, must have been greatly increased. Still we cannot but lament that pecuniary considerations should compel the publication of so valuable a work in such a concen-

trated and terse form. We should have preferred a small quarto to these thick octavos, which can never display their pages easily to the eye of the student. Perhaps we may hope that when Mr. Alford has completed his undertaking, and improved it by the years of revision which we hope he will live to give it, it may appear in a form more worthy of its intrinsic value. We know that ponderous tomes are now decried, but there is a happy medium between them and thick Dutchman-like octavos. The small folio of Wetstein, approaching very near to the size of the 'Penny Cyclopædia,' appears to us to be the *beau idéal* of a book of reference. *Sed hæc hæcenus.*

We now proceed to our principal object in again introducing this work to our readers—we mean the defence of Mr. Alford, from what we consider the unjust attacks of the advocates of a theory of inspiration which ignores phenomena and exalts *à priori* conclusions; or, in other words, excludes the Baconian method of induction from the domain of theology. If the sacred writers *claim* this special inspiration, then indeed we admit that a sound believer must receive it, for inspired men must best know the nature of the gift with which they are endowed. But they do not make any such claim, or give any such definition, as excludes the inquiry of what inspiration is—what are its characteristics, its extent, and its limits. An external and subjective theory is first set up, and then, by an injustice unfortunately yet too common in literature, although exploded in politics, a Procrustean system is applied, to compel uniformity of belief in relation to it. Against this method of treating inquirers after truth, we enter our indignant and decided protest.

‘Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis
Tempus eget.’

We have observed this spirit, in reference to Mr. Alford's work, in many quarters, but justice demands that we should especially refer to it as manifested in too great a degree in the former review of the first volume in our own pages.^b We think Mr. Alford had there dealt to him but hard measure, and certainly the tone of the whole article is far removed from the views of inspiration which have generally been advocated in this JOURNAL. At page 95, the writer (who he is we are profoundly ignorant) says, in reference to Mr. Alford's question—*In what sense are these Gospels to be regarded as inspired by the Holy Spirit of God?*—‘We should have been glad if Mr. Alford had given us at first a plain definition of what he considers inspiration to mean; is there more than one sense in which a writing can be inspired by the Holy Ghost?’ This sounds very pious, but is the question very rational? In the margin of our copy we wrote at the time this reply to the query:—‘Yes, decidedly. 1. The writer may be a mere passive instrument, the pen of the Spirit, as has been said. 2. He may be the vehicle of new revelations, as in the case of the prophets. 3. He may be simply guided and kept from error while bearing a testimony.’ More cases of exception could easily be given, but these are enough to

^b Vol. ii., New Series, p. 91.

show the poverty of the question put by the reviewer, and how easy it is to throw a mist of pious and ostentatious orthodoxy before the eyes of plain readers. Surely Mr. Alford's inquiry is demanded by every just and correct feeling in relation to the claims of the word of God. We concede that *all Scripture is given by inspiration of God*, because an inspired apostle tells us so; but as the *Theopneustia*, the inspiration is not defined, and the word does not possess the self-evidence of an axiom, we are bound to give it a definition.

We may further notice a similar captiousness in a notice of Mr. Alford's volumes in the 'London Quarterly Review,' a work of which we have several times given a high character in our pages; but which, in this instance, does not rise above a timid and unreflective criticism. We will quote one passage, and then make an observation or two of our own:—

'In the last apology of Stephen,' says Mr. Alford, 'while he spoke being full of the Holy Ghost, and with divine influence beaming on his countenance, we have at least *two demonstrable historical mistakes*.' Now what were the facts of the case? The protomartyr of the Christian church, as he stood before the council at Jerusalem, was precisely in the circumstances to which our Lord referred when he said to his disciples, 'They shall deliver you up to councils, and in the synagogues ye shall be beaten; and ye shall be brought before rulers and kings for my sake. But when they shall lead you and deliver you up, take no thought beforehand what ye shall speak, neither do ye premeditate, but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye, for it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Ghost.' In this case surely, if ever, there was a clear and unquestionable case of plenary inspiration; and it was the Holy Ghost, and not Stephen, that was really responsible for all that was spoken. Does Mr. Alford mean to say that 'He, the Spirit of truth,' committed '*two demonstrable historical mistakes*?' His theory of inspiration, taken in connection with the construction of the narrative, requires us to admit this. But we say, 'Let God be true though every man be found a liar.' And we repudiate the theory which would lead us to an opposite conclusion, as being, on scriptural authority, exploded by a practical *reductio ad absurdum*.

This kind of argumentation may be pleasing to a morbidly orthodox ear, and pass current with the facile disciples of a certain theological school, but how will it affect a calm and thoughtful inquirer into the truth of our holy religion, or a mind really anxious to *prove all things* as the proper preliminary to *holding fast that which is good*? The paragraph is full of inconsistencies, only some of which we can stay to point out. First, it takes for granted that a promise made to the Apostles, is to be extended to others, to the Deacons, of whom Stephen was one, so that, according to this writer, every Christian is bound to place himself in an easy state of indifference when called to plead his cause before an adverse tribunal. Certainly if others than the Apostles are included in this promise, we defy any man to exclude any one, in similar circumstances, in any age of the Church. Secondly, it is presumed, not proved, that Stephen being full of the Holy Ghost must necessarily mean his being inspired to utter nothing but what was geographically, and historically, and numerically, as well as *religiously* true. Thirdly, it is forgotten that the argument is about the inspiration

of the writers of the New Testament, and therefore concerns the exactness of Luke's narration, more than of Stephen's speech. Even if Stephen does come under the operation of a promise of perfect infallibility in all matters whatever, it does not follow that Luke is in the same category. Fourthly, this writer utters a proposition which to us appears little less than monstrous, and most destructive in its consequences, namely, that taking for granted a theory of Inspiration, we are to receive all that the Sacred writers have uttered, however opposed it may be to facts, or to any other sources of knowledge! If we had found Stephen had attributed to Joshua what he refers to Moses, according to this reasoning we must believe him; or if he had said that black is white, or that two and two make five and not four! We put the case strongly, but we think quite logically, as a deduction from this writer's premisses. Mr. Alford would try the theory of Inspiration by the phenomena or facts, and finding in the case of Stephen that some little particulars are not correctly stated, concludes that the theory does not demand rigid truthfulness in all branches of knowledge. No, says the reviewer, we claim an entire and full inspiration, and therefore the facts are not to be questioned or inquired into. Surely this is not a proper case to which to apply that solemn but much abused passage, *Let God be true, but every man a liar!*

What we complain of is, that a wrong *method* is too often used in reasoning on these subjects, and that a fair induction is undervalued or shunned. We will yield to no man in our unwavering repose in the truth of God's Word, but it is in the truth of its great and saving statements, its revealed facts and doctrines, and not in the infallibility of its minute references to matters which in no way concern the competency of the writers to instruct us in divine things. We think Mr. Alford has been unjustly used in many quarters, besides those we have indicated; we sympathize with the manliness with which he has worked out and stated his convictions, and we are also willing to maintain the general soundness of his views. The JOURNAL is open to discussion on both sides of most questions, nor will it ever be made the organ of a party; but it will do little good in the sphere it is honoured to occupy, if it does not aid in bringing the doctrine of Inspiration, like all other doctrines, to the test of a fair and critical examination.

First Lines of Christian Theology, in the form of a Syllabus, prepared for the Use of the Students in the Old College, Homerton; with subsequent Additions and Elucidations. By JOHN PYE SMITH, D.D., LL.D., &c., late Divinity Tutor in that Institution. Edited from the Author's Manuscripts, with additional Notes and References, and copious Indexes, by WILLIAM FARRER, LL.B., Secretary and Librarian of New College, London. London: Jackson and Walford, 1854. 8vo. Pp. xx, 744.

'This work,' says the editor in his preface, 'in its original form, appears to have been drawn up in the year 1805, about the time of the author's provisional appointment to the Theological Chair in the Old

College, Homerton. It was, as its title imports, a mere Syllabus, or outline-system of Theology, intended not to be lectured upon, but to be copied by the students under the author's care, as the groundwork of a series of written exercises extending over the whole period of theological study in the College. A short preface, *On the Method of Using the Syllabus*, afforded such hints as were necessary for the guidance of the student, who was further assisted by suggestions towards the solution of the more important propositions, and by the numerous literary references scattered throughout the volume. About the year 1818, however, as we are informed by a marginal note of the author, "necessity compelled to the method of oral lecturing," and from this time the *Syllabus* received constant accessions (the substance of one or more of the separate courses of lectures mentioned by Dr. Raffles having been apparently incorporated with it) until it assumed the shape in which it is here presented.'—*Preface*, p. 8.

The theological course of a man with so full and well-furnished a mind as Dr. Pye Smith must be an object of great interest, not only to his immediate friends, but also to the religious world at large. He was as conscientious as a Christian man ought to be, but he was not bigoted, and although he was sincerely attached to one form of Church polity, he called no man Master. Then his mind was a fruitful soil, genially receiving into it all kinds of knowledge, so that to him might be applied with great propriety the dictum of the wise man, 'Through desire a man, having separated himself, seeketh and intermeddleth with all wisdom.' As the result of this mental preparation and training, Dr. Smith adorned whatever subject he handled, and his theological lectures must have been replete with information of all kinds, brought to confirm and enforce the claims of Divine truth. It is true we have in this volume but the skeleton or framework, around which the fillings up must be clustered, to make a figure of beauty and harmony; yet the outline of what is contemplated is so full, that he need not be an artist of more than moderate skill who shall endeavour to complete the design. As a text-book for private students, whether clergymen or laymen, the work is invaluable, for no page of it can be read without the acquisition of highly suggestive matter.

We think we shall do more justice both to the volume and to our readers by giving a pretty full extract from its contents, than by any further remarks of our own:—

' ON THE GROUNDS OF AUTHORITY IN TRUE THEOLOGY.

' Section I. *The Perfection of the Scriptures as the Rule of Theological Truth.*

' AXIOM I. *The nature of the adorable God, and of his accountable creation forms the primary rule of moral truth.*

' AXIOM II. *The will of God is the primary ground of moral authority.*

' COR. *The impossibility of true religion without a Divine Revelation.*

' PROP. I. *To inquire what deductions follow from the truths established in the preceding Chapter, relative to a sufficient and perfect ground of authority in theological science.*

' SOL. 1. *That Scripture is complete and perfect for all the purposes for which Divine Wisdom designed it.*

' 2. *That its value lies in its true sense.*

'3. That in order to obtain that true sense, sound *philology* and *criticism* must be employed.

'That those alone will not suffice. A *moral aptitude* in relation to the great designs of Revelation is absolutely necessary. Enmity to holy excellence, the universal disease of fallen man, will certainly lead to perversion of "the truth κατ' εὐσέβειαν."

'5. That the *mode* in which religious truth is presented in the Scriptures is not that of philosophical system, but that which is best adapted for universal use—historical—fragmentary or occasional—anthropopathical.

'6. That, to a pious and ordinary intellect, the most essential truths of religion shine forth in Scripture with perspicuity; but for the further enucleation of the facts, truths, and implications of Scripture, there is scope for and need of an ever-increasing employment of learning and diligence. (This principle stands opposed to the Popish error on the one hand, and the fanatical on the other.)

'7. That such employment is a universal *duty*, according to the measure of our talents (ever remembering the fourth observation under this head).

'PROP. II. To state the true meaning and extent of that *perfection* and *sufficiency* which we attribute to the Scriptures as the rule of faith and duty in matters of religion.

'SOL. 1. The perfection and sufficiency of Scripture are not to be regarded as comprehending matters of physical science. It would have been preposterous, if the phraseology, including all allusions to natural phenomena and their causes, had not been that of the age and country. It is sufficient that they be susceptible of a fair explication, which is indeed but a species of translating from a foreign and ancient mode of speech to a native and modern one. Examples: Gen. xxii. 17; xlix. 12; 1 Sam. xvi. 14.

'2. Nor as implying that the meaning of Scripture should be self-evident to ignorant, careless, irreligious, superficial readers.

'3. Nor that differences of interpretation should not occur among the conscientious, learned, and pious.

'4. But that, in any honest though even very imperfect translation, a plain, upright devout mind will, by serious perusal, learn the essential truths that lead to holiness and eternal salvation (Horsley's Sermons, Doddridge's Sermons on Evidences.)

'5. That the more attentively the Bible is studied, with a holy state of mind and the requisite aids of literature, the more will difficulties be diminished or entirely surmounted, obscurities be dispelled, and satisfaction increased.

'6. That it is the most complete disclosure of the will and counsels of God, that will ever be made in the present state. The records of Christianity have sealed up the sum of revelation.

'I question whether there are any direct passages of Scripture to prove this. Those often adduced seem to me not to bear this application (John v. 39; xx. 30, 31; xxi. 35; referring only to the history. 2 Thess. ii. 2; 2 Tim. iii. 15-17; it is next to certain that some parts of the New Testament were written after that time. Rev. xxii. 18, 19, refers only to the Apocalypse).

'But our argument proceeds upon the *manifest* completeness of Revelation as implied in these particulars:—

'1. Christ *finished* his work on earth; and the work of his exaltation consists in his applying it to purposes fully disclosed in Scripture as to their nature and character.

'2. The mission and labours of the Apostles imply that their work referred to the *final* dispensation (Matt. xxviii. 18, 10).

'3. The former dispensations of Revelation were clearly and avowedly incomplete, and expressly predicted a *new* and *perfect* dispensation to come. But the New Testament constantly goes on the ground that Christianity is a perfect form of divine knowledge, and announces a further revelation of doctrine or duty.

'4. The Apostles in the strongest terms denounce as false any sentiments opposed to the doctrines and precepts they had delivered; and declare that the attempt to introduce them was highly criminal, *e. g.*, Gal. i. 6-9; v. i.

'Vid. Mastricht, *Theol.*, p. 19, § 5, p. 22, § 6; Chillingworth, *Rel. of Prot.*, ch.

ii.; *Baxter's Works*, i. 717; *Paley's Moral Phil.*, b. i. ch. iv.; *Howe's Posthumous Sermons on Family Worship*, p. 16-20; *Rule of Faith*, by the Rev. Nath. Morren, M.A., Greenock, 1835, 8vo. (A book of very great value.)

"When we say *the Scripture is a complete rule*, we do not mean as severed and cut off from the law of nature, or in opposition to that, or as excluding that; but as including it, and as excluding only the unnecessary and arbitrary inventions of men, and the additions that they think fit to subjoin to it. Take the Scripture *in conjunction* with the frame of most unquestionably natural dictates and sentiments, and here we have an entire discovery of all that is requisite to our acceptable walking with God." (Howe, in the reference given above.)—Pp. 72-74.

Divine Revelation; its Evidences, External, Internal, and Collateral. Together with its Canonical Authority and Plenary Inspiration.

By DANIEL DEWAR, D.D., LL.D., Principal of Marischal College and University, Aberdeen. Second Edition, enlarged. London: Houlston and Stoneman. 1854. 12mo. Pp. 734.

THIS is a volume which we could with confidence place in the hands of a young person whom we wished to instruct in what we may call the external literature of the Holy Scriptures. Without affirming that we agree in every particular with the learned author, we can say that we have read his pages with pleasure, and have been refreshed by the good sound English style (as to substance, we mean) in which its important topics are treated. It is our lot to have to follow the doubter, and to observe the way in which refined and subtle intellects treat the difficult questions of our faith; and sad and unsatisfactory is often the path we have to pursue. Here there is nothing transcendental, nothing which can be considered the growth of a fastidious and morbid fancy, operating upon high and holy themes. An objective Revelation is firmly laid as the basis of all Dr. Dewar's reasonings, and the objections which have been brought forward in ancient and modern times are calmly and satisfactorily met. The scope of the author will be best brought before our readers in his own words:—

'The design of this work being to furnish a text-book, on the Evidences of Divine Revelation, to students in the literary and philosophical classes in this University, it has been composed by the author with a special view to this important object. He felt it necessary to combine comprehensiveness with brevity; to give a complete view of the evidences of the truth and divine authority of the Old Testament and the New, in as narrow a compass as is consistent with the elucidation of the numerous topics to which reference must necessarily be made in such a work.

'The most effectual, indeed the only effectual method of conducting the studies of young men who have not yet completed the *curriculum* of arts, in the evidences of Divine Revelation, is, to combine regular examination on a text-book with such additional and familiar illustrations as the teacher may deem it necessary to give. By devoting a very moderate portion of time weekly to this exercise, during the currency of two sessions, considerable knowledge may be acquired in this important branch of a Christian and liberal education.

'I would also suggest to parents the propriety and the great advantage of devoting a portion of time weekly—perhaps on the evening of the Sabbath—to the instruction of their children in the evidences of the truth and Divine authority of Christianity. Is it not an error in the general system of education in this country that, while the truths of the Christian religion are taught with commendable diligence, the reasons why these truths should be believed are so seldom taught? Though we should not rest satisfied with the mere knowledge of the *grounds* of our

faith, it is, on every account, proper that we should be so well acquainted with these grounds as to be able to give an answer to every man that asketh us a reason of the hope that is in us with meekness and fear.

'As to the propriety and importance of giving instruction in the Evidences of Christianity to the students attending the literary and philosophical classes in the Universities, there are few, it is presumed, who entertain any doubt. No man can be liberally educated who is unacquainted with this important branch of knowledge. Irrespectively of the divine authority, the grounds on which Christianity claims to be a miraculous interposition of the Deity form a class of phenomena of which no man should be ignorant, and ignorance of which in any person who professes a knowledge of letters and of science, is disreputable.'—*Preface.*

With these observations we agree in the main, but we are seriously of opinion that, as far as possible, the family should be the nursery of Christian feelings and convictions, more by the natural authority of parents, and the example of their holy lives. As long as possible doubts should be kept away from youthful minds, and a vast deal of harm may be done by suggesting difficulties which perhaps would not otherwise have been thought of. The longer this kind of defence of Christianity can be deferred, the stronger will be the habit of belief in it, the unsophisticated growth of childlike confidence and simplicity. When the evidences must be taught, it should be done more dogmatically than apologetically; as a source of information and comfort to a believing heart, rather than as a defence against enemies. Probably Dr. Dewar would agree with us in this, but we cannot let the opportunity pass without dwelling upon a matter too much neglected.

Philippi Melanthonis Loci Theologici. Brunsvigae: Schwetschke et Filius. 1854. 4to. Pp. 550.

THIS forms the twenty-first volume of the works of Melancthon, in the *Corpus Reformatorum*, edited by Bindseil. In relation to all time, and to the Church at large, this is perhaps the best work of the great reformer; a body of divinity in a moderate compass, written in excellent Latin, and pervaded by a fine Christian spirit. The minute comparison of various editions, and the reverential care displayed by the editor that not one word of Melancthon shall be lost, give us an idea of the way in which his countrymen almost worship him, and remind us of a similar refined criticism as applied to our own Shakspere. The following short passage is all that our space will allow us to quote; it leads us back to the times of the Reformation, when its chief actors so greatly needed the faith in God which it so beautifully describes. It occurs under the head, *De Invocatione Dei, seu de Precatione* :—

'Ignorantes igitur modum et tempus, Deum intueamur, et ab ipso petamus eventus placidos, sicut 2 Paral. xx. 12, dicitur: "Cum ignoramus quid agendum sit, hoc solum nobis restat ut oculos nostros ad te dirigamus." Quæ sententia cum dulcissimam consolationem contineat, semper in conspectu sit in omnibus rebus ambiguis, quæ humanis consiliis extricari non possunt, cujusmodi valde multa homini accidunt. Adscribam igitur Joachimi Camerarii versiculos, quibus hoc dictum regis Josaphat expressit, ut admoneant de hoc præcepto studiosos :—

"In tenebris nostræ et densa caligine mentis
Cum nihil est toto pectore consilii,

Turbati erigimus, Deus, ad te lumina cordia,
 Nostra tuumque fides solius orat spem.
 Tu rege consiliis actus, Pater optime, nostros,
 Nostrum opus ut laudi serviat omne tue."

Idem docet Ps. xxxvi. 5: "Commenda Deo viam tuam, et spera in eum, et ipse faciet." Et illustre exemplum est Exod. xiv. Cum Pharaô regium exercitum ducens accessit ad Israëlitas et oppressurus eos videretur, quia Israëlitarum multitudo erat inermis et partim mari, partim montibus inclusa, ne effugere posset, et periculum nullis humanis consiliis discuti posset, clamat Moyses (v. 13), "Nolite timere, state et videte magnifica opera Dei, quæ facturus est hodie." Jubet stare, id est, non præscribere modum Deo, non discurrere ad humana præsidia querenda, sed huc progressos, ut Deo obedirent, in hac obedientiæ placide expectare defensionem a Deo, sicut sententiæ supra citatæ docent. Isa. xxx. 15: "In silentio et spe fortitudo vestra." Item Ps. xlv. 11: "Vacate et videte quod ego sim Deus." Col. 965.

Les Visions D'Esaië, et La Nouvelle Terre. Par ELIAKIM. Rotterdam: Otto Petri. London: Williams and Norgate. 1854. 8vo. Pp. 290.

IN other countries besides our own, intellect is misspent, and time and paper wasted, by a crude misapplication of the Bible to Popery. This writer, who hides himself under the nickname of Eliakim, turns the prophecies of Isaiah into French rhyme, altering *ad libitum* as he goes along, for the purpose of castigating the Popes and their doings. An introduction of sixty pages discusses the *Origine des Papes*, and one hundred and eighty more contain *Notes Justificatives de l'Interprétation donnée aux Paroles d'Isaïe*; the remainder of the volume is the metrical version of the prophet. The book is a curiosity, as may be gathered from the following version of chaps. lxiv. and lxv. :—

- Ch. lxiv. v. 4. 'Tes merveilles, mon Dieu, pour qui s'attend à toi,
 Qui t'aime, qui te sert en observant ta loi,
 Sont l'œuvre du seul Dieu, que doit l'adorer l'homme;
 Celui des premiers temps, et non celui de Rome.'
- Ch. lxv. v. 1. 'Ceux que l'Eglise a dit ne point connaître Dieu,
 Qu'elle avait condamnés au canonique feu,
 L'esprit fort, l'incrédule, et tous les hérétiques,
 Anathématisés par les apostoliques;
 Ce sont ceux dont l'esprit a trouvé l'Eternel.
2. Mais le corps orgueilleux par qui s'ouvre le ciel,
 A que l'Eternel dit: "Me voici qui t'appelle;
 Rentrez dans mes sentiers, peuple aveugle et rebelle;
 En écoutant l'Eglise et son esprit malin,
 Vous suivez pour votre âme un funeste chemin."
3. Ce peuple-là revêche, et toujours hypocrite,
 11. Oubliant l'Eternel, incessamment l'irrite;
 Et, maintenant sa foi dans un culte d'idoles,
 Il épuise ses jours en des œuvres frivoles,
 Perpétuels tourmens d'un esprit garroté,
 Qui ne profitent point à son éternité.
 Tout ce que Dieu défend, leur code apostolique,
 Sous peine de péchés, en prescrit la pratique.'—P. 98.

Journal of a Deputation sent to the East by the Committee of the Malta Protestant College, in 1849; containing an Account of the Present State of the Oriental Nations, including their Religion, Learning, Education, Customs, and Occupations; with Outlines of their Ecclesiastical and Political History; of the Rise and Decay of Knowledge among them; and of the Doctrines and Discipline of the Ancient Christian Churches. By a LAY MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE. London: Nisbet, 1854. 2 vols. 8vo. Pp. 886.

The Lord's Prayer in Twenty-two Languages. By Oriental and European STUDENTS of the Malta Protestant College. Nisbet. 4to.

THESE volumes are intended, primarily, to plead the cause of a religious and scholastic institution, and, by their sale, to assist its funds. This will be an additional claim to notice in the estimation of our readers, but this is a department into the consideration of which we shall not enter, except to express a hope that such a society may proceed cautiously, orderly, and rationally in its important plans. We lay stress on this, from some passages which seem to us to savour too much of mere enthusiasm. Surely such an opinion as the following, introduced for the purpose of showing the value of the college, cannot seriously be thought to be any commendation. It is an extract from a letter by a clergyman, not named, and we doubt which predominates in it, the simple or the ludicrous:—

‘I wish you had been with me yesterday, and heard the extemporaneous prayer offered up after dinner by one of the students; for it is a part of the system that, every day, after dinner, one of the young men should offer up a prayer on behalf of all to God; and for this purpose, as soon as the meal is ended and grace said, the masters and pupils adjourn to another room, and one of the latter commences at once. They take it in turn, and yesterday it fell to the lot of a converted Jew, named * * *, and I assure you it was wonderful to hear the beautiful, simple, yet eloquent effusion, *proceeding as it did from his heart.* You may rest assured that, *if ever there was a body of men imbued with the Spirit of Christ* in these modern times, the Malta Protestant College contains such a body in the students and masters. This is my firm conviction. It is indeed a delightful thing to see how glad the young men are to talk about Christ, and express their hopes of future usefulness in his service. *Their whole expression of action and feature of the face is that of hunger; it is an eager, ardent look they have, as though they would be at the work at once.*’

An extraordinary passage this, and containing some pretty strong conclusions for a mortal to arrive at. The trait of physiognomy is altogether new, and we question whether anything of the kind ever came under the notice of Lavater. Uncharitable folks will be likely to attribute the *hungry look* to a less spiritual cause.—But to the volumes, which deserve a better introduction. They are as interesting and readable books as ever came into our hands. They make no pretensions to deep learning and research, but for popular use they do more: they present in a condensed form a vast amount of information on the topics indicated in the title-page, and few persons will be found to begin to read them, without continuing to the end. An air of scriptural piety pervades the whole, and the impression left upon the mind is that of deep interest and sympathy on behalf of the fair eastern climes, so rich in natural beauty and historical associations, yet now so poor in religious

and moral wealth. Thanks are due to the anonymous compiler of these volumes, and as they are published at a very low price, and subserve a charitable object, we hope they will be largely patronized by our readers. A good specimen of the style of the author, and the way in which he mingles ethical observations, and somewhat *ex cathedrâ* opinions, with his narration of facts, is furnished by the following extract, which accompanies a quotation from St. Augustine, in itself highly interesting:—

‘The strictures of St. Augustine on church music apply only to such scientific and intricate music as that used in our cathedral services, which can only be performed by professional singers. These musical services are evidently (?) remnants of the sensual ceremonial of Popery, and wholly at variance with the spirit of our Protestant Reformation. Scientific sacred music is listened to by a large majority of the congregation as a sensual musical treat, rather than a devotional exercise, the attention being withdrawn from the sense of the inspired words by the melody of the music. This style of elaborate church music has consequently never been found to promote vital godliness, either in our cathedrals or college chapels. These objections do not however afford any just reason for the total rejection of music in public worship; while avoiding the Popish error of treating man as ALL SENSE, we must guard against the opposite extreme of treating him as ALL SPIRIT. The medium, in this respect, has been admirably observed, in the scriptural forms of worship adopted in our parish churches, where the simple and easy congregational singing, with the accompaniment of the organ, when well executed, is deeply devotional and edifying. The danger of material helps to devotion is perhaps less in the case of abstract thinkers, fond of metaphysical subtleties, and not apt to materialise; but with the mass of mankind the reverse is the case, whilst even subtle minds are too prone to mistake the sentimental emotions of the imagination for the gifts of the Holy Spirit.’—Vol. i. p. 341.

Horæ Sabbaticæ; or, The Sabbath Cycle the Divine Chronometer: a Dissertation to prove the Original Sabbatic Ordinance to be Perpetual, but not Legal. By RICHARD BALL, Author of ‘Holy Scripture the Test of Truth,’ ‘The Hand-Book of China,’ &c. &c. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co, 1853.

THIS is an able, interesting, and highly-seasonable treatise on the whole subject of the Sabbatic institute. The author refers in the preface to the character of the times in which we live, when inquiring minds are unwilling to take anything upon trust; and great names will not give currency to unproved opinions. Hence, says he, the high importance that the long-debated question of the Sabbatic institute should ‘be gravely and carefully argued from the one only authoritative source of knowledge, and that, not from the mode or period of its observance in any one of the successive dispensations, but from a comprehensive view of the entire circle of the Divine testimony.’

The train of argument pursued in this essay, which is thoroughly logical and consecutive, is as follows:—In the first place, the question is asked, ‘On what authority does the observance of one day in seven rest?’ In order to reply to this, Mr. Ball goes back to the Creation, and thus establishes its Divine Origin. ‘On the *seventh* day God ended his work which he had made; and he rested on the *seventh* day; and God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it.’ That the Most High

here claims the seventh day as his own, and requires it to be specially devoted to his service, Mr. Ball argues from the intimations which occur of the observance of the Sabbath in the antediluvian world (Gen. iv. 3, and probably vii. 4), but more especially from the fact that it was evidently known to the Israelites, previous to the giving of the law. (See Num. xvi. 23.) Hence God, when enjoining its observance in the decalogue, speaks of it as an institution already in existence—‘Remember the sabbath day,’ &c. In the second place, Mr. Ball handles the *vexata questio* of the change from the seventh to the first day of the week, and here we can honestly say, we know of no work in which the point is more triumphantly proved. We give the following luminous summary of the argument under this head, taken from the close of the book:—

‘That the sanctions and solemnities of the original Edenic ordinance (unconnected with legal penalties) passed over to the “eighth day,” on “the first day of the week,” seems proved by the fact of its immediate and subsequent observance, and is confirmed by the exact analogy between the divinely ordained memorial of the passover deliverance (Exod. xii. 2); by the change in the order of the months of the year, and the like change in the order of the days of the week, as commemorative of the greater deliverance from death, hell, and the grave, by the death and resurrection of Christ our passover—the one, being a *yearly* observance, was signalised by a transference of months; the other, being a *weekly* commemoration, by a transfer of days; confirmed by the acknowledged fact, that each of the appearances of the Lord to his disciples, after his resurrection, was on the Lord’s day—by the descent of the Holy Ghost, likewise, on the same day—and by the thenceforward and continuous observance of the day by all Christians, everywhere, and always, down to the time present; and further, by the notices in the New Testament of its being the day on which the saints assembled for worship, and to partake of the Lord’s Supper; and by the apostle’s directing the collections to be made on that day.’—P. 64.

In the third place, the inquiry is instituted—On what ground are the restrictions and penalties of the Levitical law, in connection with the sabbath, relaxed under the present dispensation? To this the answer is plain. The authority on which the Sabbatic Institution rests is not legal, but original. Hence, whilst it pleased the Most High to ‘incorporate the Edenic institution with the Sinai law, so of necessity it carried along with it the inflexibility and penalties of that code; but now, under a dispensation of grace, we are divorced from the law, and are “married to another, even to Him *who is raised from the dead*, that we should bring forth fruit unto God.”’

Some additional and correlative evidences of the Sabbatic institute follow in the next chapter. On the whole we regard Mr. Ball’s production as a valuable boon conferred upon theological, as well as general readers. The style of the work is at once chaste and elegant, and at times rises into the poetical. The price at which it is published, and the beauty of the typography, are additional recommendations of the ‘*Horæ Sabbaticæ*.’

1. *The Great Adversary*. By the Rev. A. W. SNAPE, M.A., Curate of St. John's, Waterloo Road, Lambeth. London: Arthur Hall and Co., 1854. 18mo. Pp. 232.
2. *Scenes in the Life of St. Peter, some time a Fisherman of Galilee, afterwards an Apostle of Christ*. A Course of Lectures by the Rev. DANIEL WEST. London: Alex. Heylin, 1854. 18mo. Pp. 390.
3. *Notes and Reflections on the Epistle to the Ephesians*. By ARTHUR PRIDHAM. London: Binns and Goodwin, 1854. 12mo. Pp. 344.
4. *Sabbath Evening Readings on the New Testament—St. Luke*. By the Rev. JOHN CUMMING, D.D. London: Arthur Hall and Co., 1854.

WE have put these works together because, with some variety as to their pretensions and worth, they come under the same denomination. They are all books of a practical character, intended for plain Christians, and calculated rather to instruct the masses than the more educated portions of the reading public. The press abounds with such productions; and it is a good sign of the times. We could wish that the very highest attainments, both in general learning and theology, should be consecrated to the service of the people, but if we cannot get the best, we must be satisfied with comparative excellence. Any one of these volumes will do good if read in a proper spirit: the themes are important, and they are handled in a popular manner. We are therefore bound to give them a welcome, and to thank their authors for their labours in so good a cause.

The Great Adversary of Mr. Snape is a commentary on all the Bible says about the Devil, taken in the popular sense, and intended to keep alive the orthodox view of the personality of this formidable enemy of mankind. Fourteen lectures exhaust the subject, and give occasion for some powerful appeals to the conscience of the hearers.—Mr. West's volume consists of thirteen lectures, which treat the principal events in the life of Peter in a very graphic and impressive manner. A great deal of really original thinking is displayed, and an amount of information brought forward from all available sources. The great fault is a want of finish, which seems rather to be designed; but if so, we can assure the writer it is not a recommendation to his useful volume.—Mr. Pridham applies the Epistle to the Ephesians to the circumstances of Christians generally; his work is one on what is called experimental religion, and will please in proportion as his reader is plain and pious.—Dr. Cumming's Readings are a continuation of a series we have before noticed, and we are disposed to think this volume is more carefully written than the former ones. A good deal of important matter is brought together, and grouped in an attractive form.

We should have added nothing to this brief notice of Dr. Cumming's Readings, had we not found in the Preface an unfortunate, and, we think, very unfair attack on a writer in the 'Baptist Magazine,' who, it appears, has rather sharply reviewed Dr. Cumming's former volumes.

We call the attack unfortunate, because it seeks to defend what is perfectly indefensible, and endeavours to make pass current what ought to have been acknowledged as a blunder;—one of a class with which we are sorry to say the Doctor's exegetical works abound. It seems that on Matthew xxi. 19 the following comment was given:—‘The expression “Let no fruit grow on thee henceforth for ever,” is perhaps over strong; “for ever” is not the Greek word translated “for ever” in the sense of everlasting, but, Let no fruit grow on thee *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*, that is, till the age. What age? Why, the age when the fulness of the Gentiles shall come, and the Jew shall be grafted in.’ Now, certainly we never read a criticism so puerile, so below the smallest character for scholarship, as this is; it is below contempt, and we should really have thought that, instead of defending it, Dr. Cumming would have been glad to ascribe it to one of those *lapsus* which his very rapid manufacture of books makes inevitable. But no; he attacks the ‘Baptist Magazine’ because the reviewer in it shows by parallel passages that *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* does mean for ever, and adds, ‘Dr. C.’s statement is rash, unqualified, and incorrect,’ to which decision we entirely subscribe. Surely Dr. Cumming must see that his idea of the fig-tree representing the Jewish nation, and of the consequent necessity for some future fruitfulness to be predicated of it, as he asserts, can have nothing to do with the meaning of the Greek words employed by St. Matthew. They convey an idea plain and precise,—*let no fruit grow on thee for ever*—that is, of course, as long as thou art a tree; a prediction which was verified by the tree withering away. According to Dr. Cumming’s principle of interpretation, he ought to say that *συκῆ* should not be rendered fig-tree, because it represented the Jewish people! The confusion brought into theological questions by this want of good sense and sound scholarship is an intolerable evil, and we cannot, as bound to watch the interests of Biblical truth, allow this attempt of Dr. Cumming to defend his own errors, to pass unnoticed. Of the ‘Baptist Magazine’ we know nothing but that it is the organ of a body certainly not to be treated with contempt on the score of learning, and we think the writer referred to has done good service in exposing so gross an abuse of the office of an expositor. But we must give the choice piece of special pleading by which Dr. Cumming endeavours to make the ignorant reader think he has been ill-used by a dunce:—

‘But the reader asks, why hesitate to give *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* the usual meaning for *ever* in this passage? The reviewer is clearly unaccustomed to delicate exegesis (!), and may be pardoned his ignorance. The question of the ordinary (ignorant?) reader, for whom these Readings are intended, I at once proceed to reply to. The fig-tree was confessedly (?) the type of the Jewish people, and its blasting the symbol of their decay and dispersion. If *for ever* be the textual meaning here, how can I reconcile it with the prediction of our Lord, repeated in three of the Gospels, that the fig-tree is to put forth her buds [what, *this* fig-tree? where?], as well as the prediction of St. Paul that the Jews shall again be grafted in? [not to a fig-tree, but a wild olive-tree—confusion worse confused!]. It is the symbolical nature of the fig-tree, and its withering at the words of Jesus, that made me suggest, rather than dogmatically assert, the modified sense of *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*, &c. &c.’

We have never met with a passage in ancient or modern exposition more full of errors than this. The whole statement is built on an assumption, namely, that the cursing the fig-tree *did* refer to the coming ruin of the Jewish nation. What our Lord and his disciples might think on the subject we dare not speculate upon, but the record does not lead us to this idea, but merely that the miracle was wrought as an encouragement to the disciples to exercise faith. The making the event symbolical is only the *gratis dictum* of a school of divinity, and while Dr. Cumming, and Mr. Trench, on whom he relies as authority, are at liberty to believe it,—we demand some better proof than their subjective convictions. Then, further, supposing the doctrine granted, the Greek criticism is altogether unwarrantable. Will Dr. Cumming follow out his own rule in this instance:—The eucharistic bread represents the body of Christ; the translation *bread* therefore requires modification, and *flesh* would probably be a better term!

The Spirit of the Bible; or the Nature and Value of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures discriminated, in an Analysis of their several Books. By EDWARD HIGGINSON. London: Edward T. Whitfield, 1853. Small 8vo. Pp. 536.

THE object of this interesting volume is indicated by the author in the following language:—

‘I only aim at showing the spirit in which the Scriptures require to be read and interpreted, received and defended. I wish to give utterance to a thoroughly free-minded and rational belief in them as the records of divine revelation. Between the perplexing *letter-worship* of too many scripturists, and the sweeping *rationalism* which presumes to deny the possibility of a supernatural revelation, I desire to indicate the ground on which rational Christianity may firmly take its stand, implying the divine origin of Judaism. The state of theology in this country, both popular and ecclesiastical, is quite deplorable. Jealous of the advance of natural science, if not openly resisting some of its divine truths, the current faith of Christians is easily tripped up by a scepticism as shallow as itself. Yet the reflecting and rational Christian feels that his faith is not really affected by the conflict between these extreme views. He may blush for the extravagant expositions and defences of Christianity, but never for Christianity itself. There may be nothing new in my ideas, indeed I believe there is not. The only novelty is in their publication. They are parts of the unwritten faith of common sense. They may be looked upon by some as old-fashioned, if not obsolete; and I do believe they are, most of them, as old as the Gospel. Very commonplace, too, they may appear to those who delight in what is brilliant or ingenious. But others, I trust, may welcome in them the expression of their own decided, though somewhat undefined, views as thoughtful Christians, who, in the true spirit of general knowledge and science, rejoice to honour the Gospel in its recovered harmony with the other works and ways of God. Surely there is an intermediate position between rejecting the supernatural in revelation, and suppressing natural reason and conscience in ourselves. That position I endeavour to indicate.’

With these views Dr. Higginson has produced a very thoughtful book, which cannot be read without profit. We are sorry we cannot see his opinions, expressed above, combined with what we conceive to be true in relation to inspiration. But, as a member of the Unitarian body, we cannot but rejoice to find the writer much in advance of his school. We would recommend his volume as containing a vast amount

of correct reasoning, and still more of the expression of pious feeling. The Scriptures are treated with a reverence which can scarcely be exceeded, and we only regret that in certain articles of his creed we cannot sympathize with the learned writer. Only half the design is accomplished in this volume, which is to be followed by another.

The Preparation for Holy Orders. The substance of an Address read to the Students of the Diocesan Theological College, Chester, at the commencement of the Easter Term, 1854. By the Rev. C. A. SWAINSON, M.A. Principal (late Fellow and Tutor of Christ's College, Cambridge). London: Parker, 1854. 8vo. Pp. 36.

MR. Swainson is at the head of one of those institutions which the exigencies of the Church of England have called forth in modern times—schools of theological learning, where candidates for holy orders may gain a more direct preparation for their work than the universities afford. It will at once be seen that the position is one of incalculable importance, and the exposition of his views must be received with great interest.

‘We are met together,’ says Mr. Swainson, ‘for the purpose of pursuing the object for which you and we have taken up our abode under the walls of this venerable house of prayer; that object on our side is to impart, on your side to receive, such assistance as we can give in your preparation for the ministry of God’s word; it is that we may grow together in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and, growing in this knowledge ourselves, may become better able, as his ministering servants, to save not only ourselves, but those that may hear us.’ This is a good introduction, and we are happy to find that it promises no more than it performs. Such an exordium might be given by men of very doubtful or erroneous views of what the Gospel is, or what the holy ministry should contemplate in relation to it; but this is not the case in this instance, and the following extract will, we are sure, gain for Mr. Swainson the hearty good wishes of all our readers for his comfort and success in his interesting and important office.

‘When therefore you are thus satisfied that the truths which the Church calls upon you to teach are in direct accordance with the word of God, and may be thus “proved thereby;” and again, that her discipline and ceremonies are not opposed in any degree to that word, but rather “agreeing therewith;” when you thus feel the blessing of belonging to a body against which not even its opponents object that it “expounds one passage of Scripture so as to be repugnant to another:” the question arises, “How shall I best lay the truth before my flock? Shall I lay stress upon the authority of the Church, or shall I teach what I have to teach on the authority of the Word?”

‘Most urgently would I urge, you to remember that the Church of England delivers to you nothing on her own authority: the very creeds she asks us to receive because they have the most sure warrant of Holy Scripture. Whatever comfort, therefore, and satisfaction you possess in the knowledge that in what you hold as Divine truth you are supported by Christian men of all ages and all climes; that in what you teach as necessary to salvation the Church universal agrees—however thankful you may be in the remembrance that our reformers did not cast aside reference to the past, but used the results of the learning and piety

of former ages: I would advise you most earnestly to deliver what you have to say on the authority of Scripture, and not on the authority of the Church. If the Church rests on Scripture, why should you rest on the Church? Your object is to spread the Redeemer's kingdom; to gain souls to Christ that they may be saved; and those that are already Christ's to build up towards perfection. It is not to exhibit any system of doctrine, nor any theory of Church order. Of course you must adapt your means to your end, but do not magnify the means above the end. Your office will be that of a minister of Christ, a steward of the mysteries of God; and the more you keep before you that, its distinctive character, the more likely will you be to feel His blessing upon you, the less likely to dispute with others.'—P. 24.

May the writer of this go on and prosper! No question is of greater interest in the Church of England at this moment than how to maintain a learned clergy, consistently with the demands of our increasing population, especially in large manufacturing towns and districts, and we much fear that opinion, on this point, is going in a wrong direction. There should not be, neither do we think there really is, anything in the pastoral duties of an English clergyman to prevent his keeping up and improving whatever mental cultivation he may have at the commencement of his professional career. Yet it is now becoming customary to discourage learning by imagining that studious men are not fit for pastoral work. Our own decided opinion is—1. That no man *ought* to be a clergyman who has not studious habits—they are a *sine qua non* for anything like a respectable and useful status, and the proper discharge of ministerial duty; 2. That studious men will always make the best pastors; and, 3. That a doctrine inconsistent with this can only have the effect of lowering the standard of mental attainment in the Church, by holding out a premium to dunceness, and discouraging the conscientious pursuit of knowledge. There are many men who would much prefer devoting half their time to domiciliary visits to *giving attention to reading*, and it surely cannot be desirable, or ultimately useful, to increase the number of such mere *ex officio* and spiritless ministers. We understand that the Bishop of Manchester recently *plucked*, at one time, seven candidates for ordination, on the ground of insufficient attainments. We are glad of this, and yet it is probable every one of these rejected men would have been quite willing to go from house to house, and perhaps have thought such employment far more desirable than the study of the Greek Testament.

1. *The Life of Mrs. Sherwood (chiefly autobiographical), with Extracts from Mr. Sherwood's Journal during his Imprisonment in France and Residence in India.* Edited by her daughter, SOPHIA KELLY, authoress of the 'De Cliffords,' 'Robert and Frederic,' &c. &c. London: Darton and Co., 1854. 8vo. Pp. 612.
2. *Memoir of David Maitland Makgill Crichton, of Nether Rankielour.* By Rev. J. W. TAYLOR, Free Church, Flisk and Crieck. Second Edition. Edinburgh: Coustable and Co., 1853. 12mo. Pp. 346.

THE services rendered by Mrs. Sherwood to the cause of popular Christian literature would alone dispose us to receive a volume like this

with reverence; but we are conscious of the existence of a deeper motive—a remembrance of the influence exerted upon us in early life by ‘Little Henry and his Bearer,’ and similar tales by this very amiable and accomplished lady. Then, in addition to these reasons for being favourably disposed towards the volume, we remember it is an offering of filial piety, sacred to the purest and best feelings which can fill the heart.

But this memoir needs none of these considerations to create for it an artificial or extraneous interest. It is an attractive narration, full of events, related in a simple, pious manner. Some might expect to find the production of a Blue-stocking merely, occupied with matters of a literary interest; but it is rather the record of the life of a Christian wife and mother, tried often in the furnace of affliction, but always resigned to the will of God, or at least striving to be so. It is seldom we find a work so thoroughly natural, and so affectingly pourtraying the joys and sorrows of life. This is the case both in the autobiography and in the portions supplied by Mrs. Kelly, who appears to have caught the spirit of her revered parent in an eminent degree.

In turning to the other volume we are reminded of the text—‘There are diversities of operations, but the same Spirit,’ for no two characters could be more strikingly contrasted, while giving equal evidence of a heart dedicated to God. Makgill Crichton was a lawyer, a fervent Christian, and an actor in the stirring scenes of the Free Church movement in Scotland. He died in the prime of life, in the faith and hope of the Gospel, after a life well spent in the activities of what he conceived to be Christian duty. His memory has found in Mr. Taylor a worthy chronicler, and he must be a *hard man* indeed who can rise from the perusal of the biography without feeling a warm respect for both.

Final Discourses at Argyle Chapel, Bath. By the late Rev. WILLIAM JAY. London: Arthur Hall and Co., 1854. Crown 8vo. Pp. 470.

Mr. Jay was a man who in life attracted to himself the sympathies of a very large circle of friends and admirers, and these mementos of what he was, and what he did, in the midst of them, are naturally cherished with a lively regard. But the sermons have intrinsic value, and will be found eminently instructive to plain Christians. They have, in perfection, the more endearing qualities which for so many years made Mr. Jay the most popular preacher in England.

The Marvels of Science, and their Testimony to Holy Writ. By S. W. FULLON. Eighth Edition, revised, with Illustrations. London: Longmans, 1854. 12mo. Pp. 344.

It seems superfluous to say much respecting a book which has gone through eight editions, but we are happy to be able to affirm that this is deserving of the extensive patronage it has received. The style is

pleasing, the illustrations well chosen, and the sentiments promotive of a rational piety. The volume is particularly adapted for the use of young persons.

The History of French Literature in the Eighteenth Century. By ALEXANDER VINET, Professor of Theology at Lausanne. Translated from the French by the Rev. James Bryce. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1854. 8vo. Pp. 496.

It is a source of pleasure to us to find a portion of literary history so important in its bearings as that here indicated, treated by so good a Christian as Professor Vinet. The French writers of the eighteenth century convulsed the civilized world, and their characteristics need to be distinguished by a pious as well as a philosophic hand. This is done in the present volume, and justice is afforded both to the crimes and the virtues of the epoch more evenly than has before been the case. Among many less-known names, twenty-seven in all, those of St. Simon, Rollin, Racine, Le Sage, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Buffon, and Rousseau appear conspicuous, and at once bring before us the importance of the task here performed. The translation is ably executed, and a debt of gratitude is due to the Messrs. Clark for supplying so valuable a work at so low a price.

The Poetical Works of William Cowper, with Life, Critical Dissertation, and Explanatory Notes. By the Rev. GEORGE GILFILLAN. Edinburgh: James Nichol, 1854. 2 vols. 8vo. Pp. 900.

THIS is probably the most elegant edition of our truly evangelical poet which has yet been published, and the size of the type and the excellence of the general execution will make it to be highly prized by many. It is a natural result of the cessation of copyright in standard authors that they get printed in small cheap volumes, unfit for any but persons of first-rate eyesight. But Mr. Nichol is providing a series of the British poets both elegant and cheap. Six volumes, like these before us, are given to subscribers for a guinea a year! The binding and paper, like the typography, are of a very superior character.

Mr. Gilfillan has given a Life and critical estimate, extending together to about fifty pages. The promised notes are too few; for many things require explication in an author like Cowper; but scarcely anything is done in this way. We notice the same omission in other volumes of the series, and think that, unless more notes are given, the promise had better be left out of the title-page. One thing struck us in the Life as needing a passing remark. At page xxv. Mr. Gilfillan says, in reference to Cowper's last years, 'Shame, horror, and deep, deep commiseration, induce us to hurry over the remaining part of Cowper's life.' We think this language much too strong. We have recently read very carefully the whole of the poet's life and correspondence, by Southey, and no impression like this was left upon our mind. Deep commiseration we experienced, but we can scarcely say *horror*,

and certainly *shame* was the last emotion we were conscious of. Shame implies guilt, or, at least, a blameable weakness and folly, but of this there was nothing in the case of the sad sufferer.

1. *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.* Vol. XVI., Part I. 1854. London : Parker and Son.
2. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Historical Manuscripts in the Arabic and Persian Languages, preserved in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.* By WILLIAM H. MORLEY, M.R.A.S. London : Parker and Son, 1854. 8vo. Pp. 166.
3. *Essay on the Architecture of the Hindús.* By RAM RAZ, Native Judge and Magistrate at Bangalore ; Corresponding Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, &c. London : Parker, 1834. 4to. Pp. 64, and 48 Plates.

WE bring these publications before our readers principally to refresh their memories as to the existence and claims of an admirable society. The papers of the Journal are always highly interesting, and very often relate expressly to Biblical subjects ; so that the work approaches nearer to our own than any other of the learned periodicals. The present number has a very full and satisfactory article *On the Lake Phiala—the Jordan and its sources*, by the late Captain Newbold, F.R.S., &c. ; another, by the same, *On the site of Caranus* and the island Ar-Ruád, the Arvad or Arpad of Scripture. Others also are indirectly illustrative of Sacred Literature. The work on Hindú architecture has been published some years, but the Society have determined to sell it at a low price, as it has been hitherto but little known. The plates are admirably executed, and they are adapted to give a very high idea of the buildings of India.

The Sunday at Home ; a Family Magazine for Sabbath Reading.

Published in weekly numbers and monthly parts. London : The Religious Tract Society.

AFTER doing good service with the 'Leisure Hour,' the Tract Society has given its attention to a department of literature, the importance of which can scarcely be too highly rated. Some years ago the Bible and Prayer-book, Watts's Hymns, the Catechism, and Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, sufficed for the Sabbath demands of a serious family, and the stock bore some proper proportion to the available literature of the week. But now the case is altered, for every day furnishes a vast deal more to reading people ; and unless the Sunday supply is increased equally, there is danger either of its becoming a dull day, or of secular knowledge being called in to meet the demand. The *Sunday at Home* appears to be a judicious attempt to meet this difficulty, and we can give to the work our cordial approbation. We know it greatly interests the younger branches of families, and its contents are very instructive in the best sense. We hope the Society and its friends will do all they can to carry this publication to the homes of the poorer classes.

Russia and its People. By Count A. DE GUROWSKI. London: T. Nelson and Sons, 1854. 18mo. Pp. 348.

A sensible manual, adapted to gratify the curiosity which is now felt on the subject of Russia. It is written moderately, and gives a great body of facts, from which the reader can draw his own inferences. One passage alone can now be quoted; it alludes to the sad state of one great class of the community, and also falls into a curious error:—

‘Like everything else in Russia, the Church is oppressed by despotic power, and the clergy by the social strata overlaying it. Peter the Great annulled the independence of the clergy, and, since this first stroke, the all-absorbing action of despotism has pressed down and crushed the Church more completely. It must be said, however, that the influence of the sovereign exclusively concerns temporal matters, and therefore the Emperor is in nowise the spiritual chief of the Church, nor can he in any way decide or interfere with spiritual, dogmatic, or strictly ecclesiastical disciplinary affairs. In this respect a sovereign of England is more a chief of his Church than a Russian autocrat of his. For instance, the Gorham case, lately decided in England by the sovereign or her council, in Russia could never come officially before the Emperor. With his power, notwithstanding its intensity, he cannot touch spiritual or theological questions. But in all other matters the clergy and the hierarchy are wholly reduced to nothingness, and are totally subject to the will of the Czar. The common disciplinary decisions of the synod must be submitted to the sovereign.’—P. 141.

Here the mistake is committed of supposing that the monarch of England has any arbitrary power in ecclesiastical matters. The Queen in Council in the Gorham case only decided a disputed question as to the law of the Church; she could alter or originate nothing; her power as Head of the Church is merely *executive*, and it is executed for every sect and denomination in the country as much as for the Church of England.

The Encyclopædia Britannica. Eighth Edition. Vol. VI. Bur—Cli. Edinburgh: A. & C. Black. 1854.

THIS work keeps on its way with a regularity very satisfactory to its subscribers. The adaptations of the matter to the advanced state of knowledge in all departments is very conscientiously attended to, and a slight inspection will show how extensive are the improvements introduced. Such articles as BUTLER and CHALMERS evince careful inquiry, with a wise candour in the delineation of character and estimation of mental qualities.

Report of Twenty-one Years' Experience of The Dick Bequest, for elevating the Character and Position of the Parochial Schools and Schoolmasters in the counties of Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray; embracing an Exposition of the Design and Operation of the Parish School. Presented to the Trustees by ALLAN MENZIES, Writer to the Signet, Clerk to the Trustees. Edinburgh: Blackwood. 1854. 8vo. Pp. 496.

THIS is by far the most suggestive work on general education which has appeared for many years, and we introduce it to our readers in the hope that it will be procured by those who are interested in its subject. The careful and conscientious working out of the will of a munificent benefactor, has given occasion to most important educational experiments, the results of which are here carefully stated.

CORRESPONDENCE.

DR. MAITLAND ON ROMANS xi. 25; and GENESIS xlviii. 19.

SIR,—Has the 25th verse of the 11th chapter of Paul's Epistle to the Romans, a reference to the 19th verse of the 48th chapter of Genesis? To those who have read Dr. Maitland's 'Essays on Various Subjects' this question will not appear altogether unworthy of consideration, for in his Fifth Essay (The Fulness of the Gentiles) he has given arguments which he considers sufficient to justify an affirmative answer.

We, however, are of opinion that he has not succeeded in doing this, and that, consequently, the question should be answered in the negative; believing this, our present intention is, impartially and without any previous bias to the commonly received opinion, to consider Dr. Maitland's original view of the above mentioned passages of Holy Writ, and to give our reasons for believing it to be untenable. If Dr. Maitland should for a moment imagine that we have misunderstood, misrepresented, or unfairly stated his arguments, then, of course, the Editor of this Journal will insert any remarks which he should think proper to communicate.

Dr. Maitland in the Essay referred to, begins his observations by giving to the term Gentile a meaning which we believe it has never yet received, and which it cannot bear. He understands it as applicable only to those descended from Abraham; his reasoning is as follows;—If one should understand 'the word "Gentile" as equivalent to "Heathen," and applicable only to people and nations not descended from, or at all connected with, the patriarch Abraham,' he 'would scarcely be prepared for the Apostle's conclusion. He would probably have been under the impression that the Apostle was making a statement to this effect,—"the seed of Abraham or a part of it, is in a state of blindness; and that blindness will continue until the conversion of the Heathen shall have taken place; that conversion of the Heathen, however, will in due time take place; and so"—what? such a reader would expect the Apostle to proceed "so both those who are, and those who are not, the seed of Abraham will be saved."—Now it is our opinion that such a reader could not imagine, let alone expect, this conclusion; for St. Paul's reasoning is very clear and explicit:—When all the Gentiles or Heathen are saved; then part also of the children of Israel will be saved; but some of the children of Israel are already saved (v. 25. 'Blindness in part'^b is happened to Israel, *until* the fulness of the

^a Eight Essays on Various Subjects, by S. R. Maitland, D.D., F.R.S., and F.S.A., &c. 1852. Rivington.

^b 'It means,' says Dr. A. Clarke, in his Commentary, 'partial blindness, or blindness to a part of them; for they were not all unbelievers, several thousands of them had been converted to the Christian faith.'

Gentiles be come in'); therefore, all the children of Israel will be saved (v. 26. 'And all Israel shall be saved'). Of course the word 'saved' is understood here as equivalent to the word 'believed.' How, therefore, any one who understands 'the word Gentile as equivalent to Heathen,' can be prepared for a different conclusion is beyond comprehension. 'It does therefore seem,' proceeds Dr. Maitland, 'though some readers might not be prepared to expect it, as if the "fulness of the Gentiles" was an integral part required to make up the whole number of "Israel"—as if that number must be imperfect without it.'—In other words; because those (as in the case imagined by Dr. Maitland) who understand 'the word Gentile' as it is generally understood are likely to suppose the Apostle's conclusion different from what it is, we must consider the term Gentile just another word for Israel!—But we have already seen that no one who carefully reads the Apostle's words, can possibly suppose that his conclusion is 'Those who are, and those who are not the seed of Abraham, will be saved.' The words as they are given, cannot, reason as we will, be made to mean this, and, therefore, there is no necessity to suppose 'the fulness of the Gentiles' an integral part 'required to make up the whole number of Israel.' The very signification of the term *Goyim*, is strongly against the supposition that it is at all applicable to those descended from Abraham. גוֹיִם is the plural of גוֹי ('a people, or nation') and means 'foreign, heathen nations'; in Gen. xlviii. 19, it is plural, and St. Paul translates it in the plural (ἐθνῶν) and in the Sept. it is plural (ἔθνοι); now if the Apostle meant the Jews he surely would have used the singular, for גוֹי is applied to Israel in Is. i. 4; Gen. xii. 2; but never in the plural. It is evident then that the word was used by the Jews to denote all who were uncircumcised, and had not acknowledged or professed the Jewish faith; how then can such a term be made to apply to the very opposite of what was meant, viz.—to Jews or Abraham's seed? If Dr. Maitland or any one else is able to explain this, we shall certainly be greatly astonished, as we consider any successful attempt to do so, utterly impossible.

Having stated the meaning he thinks should be given to the word *Gentile*, Dr. Maitland proceeds to answer the question, 'What then is that "fulness" and to what does the Apostle refer?'—'We might perhaps truly say that the מְלֵאכָה גוֹיִם (fulness of nations) of the Patriarch (Gen. xlviii. 19) and the πληρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν of the Apostle (Rom. xi. 25), cannot be properly represented in English, except by the very same words. Do they mean one and the same thing? It seems highly probable that they do; and that St. Paul meant to allude to, and indeed to quote the prophecy of Jacob.' And he maintains that so far as he can see, this prophecy of Jacob's 'has not yet been fulfilled—I have looked into commentators but found no help.' Now it appears to us that the Fulness of the Gentiles simply means, their having the Gospel offered to them; and that consequently, it is to this that the Apostle refers. In maintaining this to be the Apostle's meaning we only agree with almost all the most learned Theologians who have noticed the passage under consideration. For instance Bishop Hind in his History

of Christianity (p. 143) is of opinion that in the Epistle to the Romans, Paul 'advocated the independence of the Gentiles, by speaking of them as, equally with the Jewish people, "elect" by the foreknowledge of God': Bloomfield maintains that Paul is to be understood as meaning that the 'unbelief of the Jews was not universal, but in *part*, and would only continue till the fulness of the Gentiles should come in, *i. e.* till their conversion should be completed' (New Testament): Dr. Chalmers, in his Lectures on the Romans, thus clearly expresses his opinion in the 86th Lecture; apart from the prophecies of the Bible, 'the fulness might be understood to mean, not the great number who were to come in, but the whole number who should be converted, whether that number was great or small. The blindness was to continue while the elect among the Gentiles were gathering (Mark xiii. 27), be they few or many; or till all such of them as were ordained to eternal life should believe; or, more generally still, "until the times of the Gentiles should be fulfilled." This leaves the extent of conversion among the Gentiles undetermined; &c.' Neander considers that in the Roman Church the Gentile Christian element predominated, and he, therefore, concludes that in this Epistle Paul taught, that by the doctrine of the Gospel 'they all obtained what all alike needed,—that which was essential to the salvation of men,—the means by which they might be brought from a state of estrangement from God in sin to become holy before God,' (Planting, &c., Bohn's Eng. Trans. vol. i. p. 284): and Tholuck, in Dr. Kitto's Cyclo. Art. Romans, alluding to the 11th chapter, says, 'After the mass of the Gentiles shall have entered in, the people of Israel also, in their collective capacity, shall be received into the church.'

Dr. Maitland thinks he is right in concluding that the prophecy of Jacob 'has not yet been fulfilled,' for the following reasons:—'When the tribes of Israel were numbered, about 200 years afterwards [after Jacob's blessing], that of Manasseh was the smallest of all; and of all the others (with the single exception of Benjamin) the tribe of Ephraim was the least.' At the time of the Exodus, 'the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh together were less than that of Judah (Num. i.).' 'At their entrance into Canaan, Ephraim was (with the exception of Simeon) the least of all the tribes, and contained 20,200 men *less* than Manasseh; their numbers being respectively 32,500, and 52,700 (Num. xxvi.). I meet with no other account of the numbers of the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. Indeed the only notice which I find that has anything to do with those numbers at a later period is 1 Chron. xii. 30, 31; from which it appears that Ephraim furnished 20,800 soldiers to David's army, and one half tribe of Manasseh 18,000, and the other half tribe of Manasseh a further number which is not distinguished from those furnished by Reuben and Gad; but when it is considered that, on the same occasion, Zebulon furnished 50,000, Asher 40,000, and Naphtali 37,000, this does not lead us to suppose that either Ephraim or Manasseh had become eminently numerous, and of the two it seems probable that the latter was the most so.'

Two things must be proved before it can be said that Jacob's prophecy is not fulfilled; viz. (1) that the tribe of Ephraim *never was*

greater than the tribe of Manasseh ('but truly his younger brother shall be greater than he'); and (2) that the seed of Ephraim and Manasseh *never increased* to such an extent as is implied in the phrase 'multitude of nations' ('And his seed shall become a multitude of nations; 'he also shall be great.') We have nothing to do with the number of the other tribes, for Jacob's words apply only to two tribes, Ephraim and Manasseh, and, therefore, we are not to consider the question—has the tribe of Ephraim been greater in number than any of the other tribes? It may or it may not have been; but we are to consider the question—has the tribe of Ephraim been greater than that of Manasseh? This being the case, Dr. Maitland's remarks about the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh being together less than that of Judah, has nothing whatever to do with the subject under consideration. That Dr. Maitland has failed in proving the two propositions just stated, appears evident when the following facts are considered. In the 35th verse of the first chapter of Numbers we find that the tribe of Manasseh numbered 32,200, and in the 33rd verse that the tribe of Ephraim numbered 40,500. Here then is proof that Ephraim was greater than Manasseh, exceeding it by 8300; and from verse 37 it would appear that it was also greater than that of Benjamin by 5100, and it was only 1000 less than the tribe of Asher, which numbered 41,500 (v. 41). But during the journey to Canaan the tribe of Manasseh numbered 52,700, and that of Ephraim 32,500 (Numb. xxvi. 34, 37), being 20,200 less than Manasseh; it is, therefore, evident that the prophecy regarding Ephraim was not yet fulfilled; it is certain, however, that it was in the case of Manasseh, for the prediction that he should become a people and also become great, was surely accomplished when we find that its numbers were so great, and that only five of the tribes were more numerous than it, viz. Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, Dan, and Asher. When the tribes were at last settled in Canaan, then was the prophecy regarding Ephraim fulfilled:—'When settled in Canaan,' says Dr. Kitto (Cyclo., art. Manasseh), 'Ephraim became superior in wealth, power and population, not only to Manasseh, but to all the tribes except Judah.' In the 16th and 17th chapters of Joshua is mentioned the inheritance of Ephraim and Manasseh: we find it recorded in the 14th verse of the 17th chapter that 'the children of Joseph spake unto Joshua, saying, Why hast thou given me but one lot and one portion to inherit, seeing *I am a great people*, forasmuch as the Lord hath blessed me hitherto?' this is not contradicted by Joshua, for it is said in the 17th verse that, 'Joshua spake unto the house of Joseph, even to Ephraim and to Manasseh, saying, *Thou art a great people, and hast great power*: thou shalt not have one lot only.' Moses 'blessed the children of Israel before his death;' (Deut. xxxiii.) in this benediction:—'There are,' says Bishop Sherlock (Disserta. iii.), 'many passages which correspond to the blessings pronounced by Jacob.' And none more so than when the tribe of Ephraim is mentioned as being far greater than Manasseh:—'Let the blessing come upon the head of Joseph, and upon the top of the head of him that was separated from his brethren. His glory is like the firstling of his bullock, and his horns

are like the horns of unicorns: with them he shall push the people together to the ends of the earth: and they are *the ten thousands of Ephraim*, and they are *the thousands of Manasseh*.' Compare this with the 8th verse of the 12th chapter of Hosea:—‘And Ephraim said, yet I am become rich, I have found me out substance.’ Quite in accordance with these statements are historical facts, *e. g.* ‘And there fell at that time of the Ephraimites forty and two thousand.’ (Judges xii. 6.) Such is the evidence which we consider proves that the prophecy of Jacob was fulfilled, and that in Canaan, Ephraim was certainly greater both in power and population than the tribe of Manasseh. Nowhere in the Old Testament do we find the tribe of Manasseh alluded to in the same manner, and certainly this would not have been the case if, as Dr. Maitland maintains, Jacob’s prophecy is still to be fulfilled. We admit that 1 Chron. xii. 30, 31, ‘does not lead us to suppose that either Ephraim or Manasseh had become eminently numerous,’ when compared with the other tribes then mentioned; this, however, as we before stated, has nothing to do with our present inquiry: but we differ from him when he supposes that ‘of the two it seems probable that the latter was the most so,’ because it is stated that Ephraim exceeded a half tribe of Manasseh by 2800 men: what the other half furnished is not stated, it may have been greater or it may have been less, than the other half; we think that it was a very small number, so small indeed as not to demand any notice.—When any of the tribes collected in great numbers, in nearly every case, their numbers are mentioned by the historian. If Jacob’s prophecy is not yet fulfilled, if Ephraim never became greater than Manasseh, or any of the other tribes, how do we account for the fact that the Tabernacle and the Ark remained in Shiloh (in the tribe of Ephraim), from the days of Joshua, ‘during all the time of the Judges’ (more than 300 years), down to the end of Eli’s life; among a tribe, insignificant in number and beneath the other tribes in strength and influence? One would expect that the Tabernacle would be set up in a city belonging to the strongest and the most powerful, and not the weakest, of all the tribes. Why was the seat of government, during the time of the Judges, in the district allotted to the tribe of Ephraim, as this tribe was less numerous than the rest? The Judges surely showed little wisdom in their selection, for it was to the palm-tree ‘between Ramah and Beth-el in mount Ephraim’ (situated in the tribe of that name), that ‘the children of Israel came up’ to Deborah, a prophetess who ‘judged Israel at that time’ (Judg. iv. 4, 5); Tola ‘dwelt in Shamir,’ a city on mount Ephraim, ‘and he judged Israel twenty and three years, and died, and was buried in Shamir’ (Judg. x. 1, 2.) The district in Ephraim, comprising Shiloh and Shechem was ‘probably the most populous, certainly the most important, of any in all the Holy Land during the government of the Judges; and, constantly recruited by the confluence of strangers, Ephraim seems to have become (as Jerusalem became afterwards) what Jacob again foretold, ‘a multitude of nations.’ (Rev. J. J. Blunt’s *Undesig. Coinci.* p. 177.) What made David exclaim, when recording the resources of his empire, ‘Ephraim also is the strength of mine head’ (LXX., *protector* of my life),

seeing that, according to Dr. Maitland, Ephraim was never a great tribe? (Ps. lx. 7). What right had the tribe of Ephraim, if it was small in number, and had no standing among the other tribes—for this we must believe, if we do not admit Jacob's prophecy to have been fulfilled—to assume a tone of authority, nay sometimes of menace, towards many of the tribes? 'Why hast thou served us thus,' said the men of Ephraim to Gideon, 'that thou calledst us not, when thou wentest to fight with the Midianites? And they did chide with him sharply' (Judg. viii. 1). 'And the men of Ephraim gathered themselves together, and went northward, and said unto Jephthah, Wherefore passedst thou over to fight against the children of Ammon, and didst not call us to go with thee? We will burn thine house upon thee with fire' (Judg. xii. 1). Is this the language of a weak, powerless, and insignificant people? No, it is the language and 'the unreasonable conduct of a party conscious that it has the law of the strongest on its side, and, by virtue of that law, claiming to itself the office of dictator amongst the neighbouring tribes.' (Blunt, *Unde Coin.* p. 179.) We are convinced that had Dr. Maitland read and duly considered the clear and convincing proofs, brought forward to prove Ephraim superior to most of the tribes, by the present Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, in his masterly and most original work on the 'Undesigned Coincidences in the Old and New Testament' (p. 175, 3rd edit.), he would not have published the Essay we have controverted; not at least, until he had considered the subject with greater care and more attention, than he appears to have done. We are convinced, after duly considering Dr. Maitland's arguments, that St. Paul in the 11th chapter of the Romans, did not mean to allude to, nor 'to quote the prophecy of Jacob.' That prophecy was fulfilled long before St. Paul wrote the Epistle to the Romans; this we think we have proved, and, therefore, the conclusion we arrive at is, that the 25th verse of the 11th chapter of the Romans has no reference whatever to the 19th verse of the 48th chapter of Genesis.

P. S.

THE GOSPEL PREACHED BY CHRIST.

DEAR SIR,—There are some statements in the paper of W. H. I., which appeared in the April number of the JOURNAL OF SACRED LITERATURE, of so startling a character as to demand a remark or two by way of exposure and refutation. Scarcely have we read so short a paper in which so much objectionable matter appears! We shall refer to a few of the statements which we think are without foundation in the truth of God. 'It is true,' says W. H. I. (p. 185), 'that the rejection of Jesus was required, in order to produce the atonement. But then, if He had not been rejected, men would not have needed any propitiatory sacrifice; for men must have been sinless if they had received him.' How does this agree with the statement which occurs in the first paragraph of the paper—'the benefits of which (the great transaction on Mount Calvary) were designed for every descendant of

Adam; for all who have lived, as well as for those who are yet to be born,' &c.? According to the latter statement, to which we most heartily subscribe, the atonement was made for all the world—'for all who have lived, as well as for those who are yet to be born;' consequently for countless thousands who were not implicated in the sin of rejecting Christ! Was not the atonement necessary for those who lived before Christ came, and for those who have lived after his decease? If then 'the rejection of Jesus was required to produce the atonement,' &c., does it not follow that the atonement was designed to benefit those only who *did* reject Christ? Or if the transactions of Mount Calvary were designed to benefit every descendant of Adam, as W. H. I. maintains, it is absolute trifling to say that the rejection of Jesus was required in order to produce the atonement,' &c. Say rather the universal guilt of mankind—sinners involved in the transgression of God's law (Rom. iii. 9-31; Gal. iii. 10-13), rendered the atonement necessary; that the benefits of the transaction of Mount Calvary were designed for every descendant of Adam, *inasmuch as every descendant of Adam was a sinner* (Rom. v. 12-21). To say that 'the rejection of Jesus was required,' &c., is saying much the same as, 'had not Christ appeared upon the earth, and thus given to men an opportunity for rejecting him, his atonement had been altogether unnecessary;' in fact, 'that Christ's manifestation in the world created the necessity for the atonement.' If W. H. I. had meant that, had not Christ been rejected, and consequently not put to death, no atonement would have been made, we should have seen less of objection in his statement. But he does not mean this, for he says, 'if He had not been rejected, men would not have needed any propitiatory sacrifice; for men must have been sinless if they had received him.' According to the teaching of W. H. I., as the Jews who lived in Christ's time could alone be guilty of the offence which 'was required in order to produce the atonement,' for *them only* was the atonement made; for them only could it be a benefit; for those who were not guilty of rejecting Christ needed not any propitiatory sacrifice—they were 'sinless!' Is this true? Did not Adam, as soon as he fell, need a 'propitiatory sacrifice?' If 'the benefits of the great transaction on Mount Calvary were designed for every descendant of Adam,' was it not because *every* such one 'needed a propitiatory sacrifice?' The coming of Christ did in no one way affect the grounds which rendered the atonement for man's sins necessary. If Christ had not appeared amongst men, still the atonement had been necessary, for 'without shedding of blood,' &c. Besides, if Christ had not been rejected by the Jews, the atonement would have been necessary for the Jews, as well as for the Gentiles. The Jews, prior to Christ's public manifestation, were involved in the common guilt of the race which had provoked God's displeasure, and *therefore* called for an atonement. What is to be said of them who did not reject Christ? Did *they* not enjoy the benefit of his atonement? Did *they* not need a 'propitiatory sacrifice?' W. H. I. says 'the benefits of the great transaction on Mount Calvary were designed for every descendant of Adam;' and again, that 'it was *the existence of*

human sinfulness which rendered the death of Christ necessary.' Will W. H. I. reconcile his conflicting statements? Again: suppose that the Jews had not rejected Christ, but universally received him, and on that account been accepted of God and saved; can anything more be required of us in order to our salvation, than a reception of Christ *as he appeared to the Jews, and without respect to his death?* Or, if it be replied, that the Jews *did* reject him, and *therefore* the atonement was necessary, we answer it was necessary only for those who rejected Christ; and for them who have never been guilty of that offence—the heathen to wit—no propitiatory sacrifice is needed; and if on first hearing of him they receive him, 'they must have been sinless!' This is making a small matter of the atonement indeed! And what a pity that Christ came into our world, thereby affording to men an opportunity to commit an offence for which multitudes will be sent to perdition, who but for this might have been eternally happy, inasmuch as they needed not a propitiatory sacrifice! Whatever could have induced God to send his Son into the world, when he knew that men, till they would reject Him, needed not a propitiatory sacrifice? Did Christ come into the world to produce an evil, that he may have the gratification of expiating it by the sacrifice of himself?

Take another of W. H. I.'s statements:—'Before He was rejected, that is, before human sinfulness was made palpable, the Redeemer gave no explicit declaration of an atonement by death, and was content to signify the necessity of man's spiritual conversion to God.' (P. 186.) Was not 'human sinfulness' 'made palpable' enough before the Jews rejected Christ? What was the history of the world for the four thousand years which preceded the coming of Christ, but the history of 'human sinfulness?' And as to the Jewish people, ages of misdoing had made their 'sinfulness' sufficiently palpable, and had often brought down upon them the fearful judgments of Almighty God! The moral condition of the Jews at the coming of Christ was, as every one knows, most degraded. The profligacy and hypocrisy of the Jewish leaders, often severely rebuked by our Lord, too plainly indicated how debased must have been the condition of the common people. Moreover, W. H. I. too confidently assumes that Christ for some time 'spoke reservedly of his approaching sufferings;' 'gave no explicit declaration of an atonement by death, and was content to signify the necessity of man's spiritual conversion to God.' We think that any one who will carefully read the evangelical narratives, will observe that Christ *did not* speak reservedly of his approaching sufferings, and that 'the most intimate of his disciples were confounded and offended' 'when he did openly predict his death;' not because there was any lack of information with regard to the true end of Christ's mission to our world (Matt. xx. 28), for their acquaintance with the Old Testament Scriptures should have led them to believe that Christ came 'to make an atonement by death' (Isa. liii. 5, 6; comp. with Luke xxiv. 25-27); but because they fondly cherished those theocratic notions of the worldly nature of Christ's kingdom (Luke xxiv. 21), which so generally prevailed among their countrymen. It was the hope that Christ would set up an earthly

sovereignty that led his disciples to take offence at the intimations he gave of his approaching sufferings, and overwhelmed them with disappointment when the predicted event proved a reality. Nothing but Christ's *death* could dissipate this delusion!

It were a marvellous thing if Christ himself had spoken reservedly of those sufferings, which for many ages had been so prominently kept in view in all the rites of the Mosaic economy, and of which the inspired prophets had spoken so fully and so frequently! Socinians have been wont to say, 'If the doctrine of atonement be true, is it not strange that Christ himself never taught it?' 'Before he was rejected,' says W. H. I., 'Christ gave no explicit declaration of an atonement by death, and was content to signify the necessity of man's spiritual conversion to God.' It would not be difficult to evolve a full-blown Socinianism out of W. H. I.'s theory. Let us look at a fact or two. Our Lord, in his conversation with Nicodemus, most solemnly insists upon 'the necessity of man's spiritual conversion to God;' but rather than being 'content' with doing this merely, he proceeds to declare the necessity of 'an atonement by death,' and as we understand it, to exhibit faith in himself as an atoning Saviour, as the *means by which* 'spiritual conversion to God' is to be produced. (John iii. 14, 15; comp. with chap. viii. 28, and xii. 32, 33.) 'Ye must be born again,' said Christ; that is, ye must become the subjects of a new spiritual life! How? By faith in the Son of Man, who is to be put to death for the sins of the world! Thus Christ preached the Gospel to Nicodemus! Did he preach 'another Gospel' to others? We admit that at the commencement of his ministry he signified the necessity of man's spiritual conversion to God. Will it be admitted that he neglected to exhibit the true means by which alone that great change could be wrought? In no other way has man ever been saved than by faith in the atonement of Jesus. From the hour that man fell and 'brought death into our world and all our woe,' the sinner has returned to God through the atonement alone! (Acts iv. 12; xiii. 38, 39; Rom. iv. v.; Gal. ii. 14-21.) On so momentous a subject it is not imaginable that Christ would manifest any reserve, but publish it fully, at once, and openly! It appears to us that W. H. I. has committed two mistakes, which have led him into all the confusion which we have noticed in his paper. 1st. He imagines that because the death of Christ was brought about by Jewish wickedness, *therefore* Jewish wickedness created the necessity for the atonement; whereas, as we have already shown, the atonement of Christ was necessary, because all, Jews and Gentiles, had sinned against God, and consequently by the deeds of the law could not be justified. 2ndly. He supposes that the *murder* of Christ was necessary to the atonement. Now that Christ must *die* for our sins, is plainly a Christian doctrine; but that Christ must be *murdered* for our sins, we do not see to be clearly taught in the Holy Scriptures. It is the *fact*, and not the *manner* of Christ's death, to which man is indebted for his redemption. Had Christ died as ordinary mortals die, the atonement would have been as perfect as it now is. It was the *death* of Christ that was necessary for the making of atone-

ment. That his death should be accomplished by wicked and cruel hands, does not appear to be at all necessary. Indeed, Dr. Stroud, in his work on 'The Physical Causes of Christ's Death,' attempts to show that Christ died, not by the crucifixion, but from a broken heart! What connection is there between the *murder* of Christ and the salvation of our world? The murder of Christ was a *wicked* deed, and one which brought upon the Jewish people terrible calamities; but it was not necessary, in the sense, *that atonement could not have been made without it*. This is a subject, we are aware, that requires ampler illustration and proof than we can give in this paper.

Another sentence in W. H. I.'s paper requires a passing notice:— 'It is not sufficient to be born of water to become good Christians, and merely to *know* God's will. It is necessary also to be born of the Spirit, to become good spiritual creatures, and to *have* God's will,' &c. What does all this mean? Is becoming 'good spiritual creatures' something different from becoming 'good Christians?' Is not the distinction arbitrary and fallacious? And what is the difference between *knowing* and *having* God's will? Are these terms used to perplex the reader? What is there to justify this notion, which is implied at least in the language we have quoted,—being 'good Christians' is 'merely to *know* God's will,' and that being 'good spiritual creatures' is 'to *have* the will of God?' And by what authority does W. H. I. make 'born of water' to mean '*becoming good Christians*,' and 'born of the Spirit' to be something different from 'born of water?' He must know that *kai* has often the sense of *even*, and in our translation, often when rendered *and*, has this sense. (See 1 Cor. xv. 24; Titus ii. 13, and iii. 5; James i. 27.) We think *kai* in John iii. 5 has the sense of *even*. High critical authorities favour this rendering. There is nothing in the whole discourse that would lead us to suppose that Jesus refers to baptism. Christ spoke of a *spiritual* change which required a spiritual agency to effect it; and as to the means by which the new life is to be produced, it is faith in the atonement, and not 'water baptism.'

'Such a change,' W. H. I. proceeds to say, 'our Lord declared is above human investigation. No one can say, Thus and then was I renewed,' &c. Our Lord doubtless taught Nicodemus that the operation of the Holy Spirit in regeneration was mysterious (John iii. 8); but we deny that he taught that the means by which, and the time when, a person is renewed are 'above human investigation.' Do not the Scriptures often teach us that it is *by* the belief of the Gospel, and *when* the Gospel is believed, that a sinner is regenerated? (John i. 12, 13; 1 Thess. ii. 13; 2 Thess. ii. 13.) If so, rather than that 'no one,' *every* one who is born of the Spirit 'can say, Thus and then was I renewed.' No one indeed can describe the *modus operandi* of the Spirit's work in the moral, any more than in the natural world. This Christ teaches Nicodemus. But that 'no one can say, Thus and then was I renewed,' neither Christ nor his apostles taught; it is an old popish heresy, as unphilosophical as it is unscriptural; and we had hoped that it was so far exploded in Protestant circles, that no one of enlightened piety would ever again attempt to defend it.

In conclusion, the Gospel preached by Christ was the same Gospel as had been preached from the beginning; viz. that *He was to die for the sins of the world*; as we have it, *He has tasted death for every man*! By his death Christ has made atonement for all mankind—sinners—and by faith in that atonement the sinner enjoys peace with God, and is regenerated through the operations of the Holy Spirit, who in every case employs the Gospel as the instrumentality by which he quickens the dead in trespasses and sins into newness of life—makes them new creatures. ‘It is thus’ by faith, and ‘then’ *when* he believes (and who does not know when he believes?), the sinner ‘is renewed.’ These we think are Scripture views of the way of salvation, which I have ventured to communicate to the JOURNAL OF SACRED LITERATURE, hoping that they will in some measure counteract what I must call the *pernicious* dogmas put forth in the paper of W. H. I.

J. W.

ON THE VERSION OF THE WORD *ἐπίσκοπος*,

IN THE PESCHITO SYRIAC NEW TESTAMENT.

It is remarked by learned commentators that in the words *σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις* (Phil. i. 1) ‘the Greek and Latin Fathers with one consent declare that the Apostle here calls their presbyters their bishops. Not only because there could be but one bishop, properly so called, in one city, but for another alleged by them all, viz., that *τέως κοινώνουν τοῖς ὀνόμασι*, then the names were common to both orders, the bishops being called presbyters and the presbyters bishops.’

In our Authorised Version *ἐπίσκοπος*, as a title of office, is rendered ‘bishop.’ A singular exception to this rule occurs in Acts xx. 28, where the terms *ἐν ᾧ ὑμᾶς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔθετο ἐπισκόπους* are rendered by our translators, ‘over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you OVERSEERS.’ It is generally believed that the King (James I.) recommended the employment of the word ‘overseers’ here, instead of ‘bishops,’ lest English readers should argue from the passage that there is no difference whatever between *ἐπισκόπους* and *πρεσβυτέρους*.

It is worthy of notice that only in this passage (Acts xx. 28) have the Syriac translators used the word *ܐܦܝܫܩܡܐ*—i. e. the Greek term *ἐπίσκοπος* put into a Syriacised form, and not translated into an equivalent Syriac term.

In 1 Pet. ii. 25 the word *ἐπίσκοπος* is applied to our Lord Jesus Christ, and we have in our version ‘the shepherd and *bishop* of your souls.’ But in the Syriac it is not here *ܐܦܝܫܩܡܐ*, as in Acts

xx. 28, but the equivalent Syriac word ܘܕܝܢܐ, 'visitor, inspector.'

It is again worthy of notice* that in other passages in which ἐπίσκοπος is rendered 'bishop' in the English Version, the Syriac employs the term ܡܪܝܬܐ, which may be considered as exactly equivalent to

the Greek πρεσβύτερος and the English 'elder'—strikingly confirming what has been advanced above concerning the usage in the very early times of the church, viz., that τέως ἐκοινώνουν τοῖς ὀνόμασι, 'the names were common to both orders.'

The following list is presented to the reader:

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|------------------------------|-----------|---------------|----------|
| ἐπισκόποις, Phil. i. 1 | | in the Syriac | ܡܪܝܬܐ |
| τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, 1 Tim. iii. 2 | | | the same |
| τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, Tit. i. 7 | | | the same |

Syriac version of ἐπισκοπή.

| | | |
|---|-----------|-------|
| ἐπισκοπῆς, Luke xix. 44 (visitation, E. V.) | | ܘܕܝܢܐ |
| ἐπισκοπὴν, Acts i. 20 (bishopric, E. V.) | | ܡܪܝܬܐ |
| (ܡܪܝܬܐ, 'ministry,' is the Syriac equivalent for διακονία.) | | |

| | | |
|--|-----------|--------------|
| ἐπισκοπῆς, 1 Tim. iii. 1 (office of a bishop, E. V.) | | ܡܪܝܬܐ |
| | | (eldership.) |

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|--|-----------|-------|
| ἐπισκοπῆς, 1 Pet. ii. 12 (visitation, E. V.) | | ܘܕܝܢܐ |
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On the above we may observe—(1) The Syriac version was probably made by men who possessed (so to speak) two vernacular languages, Syriac and Greek. The uniform employment of *kashisho*, as a church-officer for ἐπίσκοπος, would seem to show that the original Syriac version, however afterwards altered, was as old as the apostolic times. The letter of the 'apostles and elders (*kashishè*) and brethren' of the Council at Jerusalem was sent to the Gentiles in *Antioch* and *Syria* and *Cilicia* (Acts xv. 23); this must have been circulated in Syria in a Syriac as well as Greek form.

(2) Ignatius was the episcopal head of the Syriac church; and he may or may not have understood the Syriac. We may, however, feel certain that the Syriac churches would not use a version of the New Testament strongly opposed to the views of their chief bishop. Hence

* The writer is an Episcopalian, who cordially approves the views of the Rev. W. Goode on the episcopal office, as set forth in the second volume of his valuable work on 'The Divine Rule of Faith and Practice.'

Ignatius must have looked upon the Greek terms *ἐπίσκοπος* and *πρεσβύτερος* as well-nigh synonymous. This is to a certain extent an argument against the genuineness of the so-called longer Ignatian Epistles. It is impossible to suppose that the Syriacised form of *ἐπίσκοπος* was originally employed, and afterwards was removed for the Syriac equivalent '*kashisho*.' The reverse would rather have happened.

(3) The above employment of the term *kashisho* would seem to assist us greatly in understanding the account by Irenæus of the interview between Polycarp and Anicetus (as given by Eusebius, b. v. c. 24) in his letter to Victor,^b—'And those *presbyters* who governed the church before Soter, and over which you now preside—I mean Anicetus and Pius, Hyginus, with Telesphorus and Xystus, &c.' Here Irenæus plainly calls the bishops of Rome '*presbyters*;' and as he certainly did not intend to annoy Victor, we may take for granted that Victor could not justly take offence at the designation. And again, 'For neither could Anicetus persuade Polycarp, nor did Polycarp persuade Anicetus, who said that he was bound to maintain the practice of the "*presbyters*" before him.' The establishment of a settled distinction between *ἐπίσκοπος* and *πρεσβύτερος*, as titles of church-offices, would doubtless be gradual; and it might naturally be expected that bishops would not scruple to call each other *πρεσβύτεροι* even after the title of *ἐπίσκοποι* had ceased to be given to the *πρεσβύτεροι*.

(4) It is interesting to notice, in connection with the above remarks, the following extract from Eusebius, b. vii. c. 5. 'Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, in a letter to Xystus, bishop of Rome, who succeeded Stephen, thus speaks—'but I have also written to our beloved and fellow-presbyters, Dionysius and Philemon.' The date of this letter may have been about 250 A.D. This may remind us of the apostle Peter's use of the word *συμπρεσβύτερος* in 1 Pet. v. 1. It appears to me that the following inferences may be fairly drawn from this letter of Dionysius:—

1. That the language, '*our fellow-presbyters*,' would not be in the least degree offensive to the Roman bishop Xystus.

2. That Dionysius and Xystus felt secure (so to speak) of their episcopal position. Indeed, if there had ever been any general struggle in the previous annals of the church against the government of the *ἐπίσκοποι*, Dionysius and Xystus would have been jealous of their dignity, and would not, even in writing to each other, have employed the term '*our fellow-presbyters*,' when speaking of *πρεσβύτεροι*.

Jan. 9, 1853.

G.

^b The genuineness of Irenæus' letter to Victor has recently been called in question. Be it genuine or spurious, this application of the word *presbyters* to the bishops of Rome (and even Anicetus is represented as applying this term to his episcopal predecessors) goes far to prove that the document in question must have been almost as ancient as the time of Irenæus; and it certainly is very unfavourable to, if not wholly destructive of, the absurd claim of Papal Rome to œcumenical supremacy.

CHRIST'S ARGUMENT WITH THE SADDUCEES.

SIR,—In your Number for last April, p. 237, your correspondent Z proposes a question in Hebrew grammar, with the view of determining whether we can satisfactorily explain the apparent stress laid by our Lord in his argument with the Sadducees on the Present Tense of the proposition, 'I am the God of Abraham,' &c. Perhaps the following remarks, which I quote (with a few omissions unimportant to the present inquiry) from Fraser's work on 'The Scripture Doctrine of Sanctification,' may be as satisfactory to your correspondent as they are to me, and may show him that it is quite unnecessary to suppose that our blessed Lord condescended to rest his great argument on a very questionable and at best but trivial point of grammar. Some of the italics and capitals are mine:—

'The Lord called himself the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. This expressed the covenant; the sum of which was in these words, "I will be their God, and they shall be my people." Let us consider what this imported. It is not merely that as he was the God they acknowledged and worshipped, so they were the people he would acknowledge as his, and whose services he would accept. . . . It imported a great deal more; that, of infinite grace, he engaged himself to be theirs; that, as the Lord's portion is his people, so the Lord should, by the covenant, be *their portion*. The promise includes all the grace of the covenant, and imports—(*for all this is signified in being God*)—no less than, "I am thine, so far as is requisite for thy support, protection, and endless happiness; I am thine, to be thy shield, and exceeding great reward." There was sufficient and very evident ground for every pious soul, laying hold of God's covenant, to entertain the hope of eternal life. Sadducees might overlook it, . . . but certainly a thinking, rational soul, believing God's word, would, at departing this life, find, in this expression and promise of the covenant, a very sufficient foundation to rest on comfortably, for the hope of future life and happiness. If a pious Israelite comforted himself by the Lord's saying, "I am thy God," in going through all the stages and vicissitudes of this life, often foregoing the comforts of this life for keeping a good conscience towards God; shall we say that the Lord's being his God imported nothing at all to him in his last gloomy and solemn hour? But that all the consolation arising from the Lord's being his God was to expire with his last breath? If one's hope in *man* should thus terminate, yet God is not man. If enemies were despatching a pious person from this life with bloody hands, how would it especially be as a sword in his bones, if he had not in the promise, "I will be thy God," what would fortify his heart against the reproach and insult, "Where is now thy God?" Such a pious person, when death was on his lips . . . had from this, "I am thy God," cause to say, "When heart and strength fail, thou art the strength of my heart and *my portion for ever*."

'We have,' proceeds our author, 'the best confirmation possible of the justness of this reasoning from our Lord's using it to the same pur-

pose against the Sadducees. . . . The Lord's argument, as expressed Luke xx. 38, comes to this: He is not the God of the dead, of those who at death shall perish: for it were highly dishonourable to him to be reckoned to be, by special relation of grace and covenant, their God. He is not the God of any, but of those who, *by virtue of his being so*, are the heirs of eternal life, and who shall be introduced to it by a happy resurrection. Shall now any, who shall consider the matter itself or who regards the authority and judgment of the greatest master of reason that ever appeared in our nature, say, that an ancient Israelite, who had at heart to lay hold of and improve the grace of the covenant, had not in these words, "I am the Lord thy God," a most sure ground to rest on for the hope of a happy futurity, and the most true warrant for the hope of eternal life? The inspired writer to the Hebrews thought so, when he said, "Wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God, for he hath prepared for them a city."—Heb. xi. 16.'

Thus far Fraser. Let me simply add that the passage from the Epistle to the Hebrews, quoted in the last sentence, seems to me to be of itself conclusive as to the nature of our Lord's argument. God would be ashamed to be called the God of the Patriarchs, if he had nothing better to give them than the present life, if he had not prepared for them an eternal portion, a city of everlasting habitation. The stress is not laid on the present tense of the word *am*—a word so unemphatic that it is not expressed at all in the original Hebrew—but on the unchangeably infinite fullness of meaning contained in the expression, THE GOD OF ABRAHAM.

The complete title of the work from which I have made the foregoing quotation is, '*The Scripture Doctrine of Sanctification, being a Critical Explication and Paraphrase of the Sixth and Seventh Chapters of the Epistles to the Romans, and the four first Verses of the Eighth Chapter; with an Appendix, wherein the Apostle's Doctrine, Principles, and Reasoning are applied to the purposes of Holy Practice, and of Evangelical Preaching.*' By James Fraser, of Pitcalzian, Minister of Alness, in Ross-shire, A.D. 1769.'—I should rejoice if any of your readers were induced by a perusal of the foregoing quotation to read and study the whole work, which appears to me to be a very gem of expository Theology, presenting a rare combination of critical accuracy and exegetical acuteness with massive Scriptural Divinity, practical usefulness, and evangelical unction. Fraser's memory is still fragrant in Ross-shire; and some of his sayings are to this day reverentially quoted in the religious meetings of the people.

W. T.

ON THE 'COLLECTS.'

SIR,—Wheatly in his excellent work on the Book of Common Prayer (p. 157, Bohn's ed.) thinks 'it is very probable that the *collects* for Sundays and Holy-days bear that name, upon account that a great many of them are very evidently collected out of the Epistles and Gospels.' Allow me to suggest, however, that the Epistles and Gospels

were selected as appropriate (proper) to the occasion for which also the collects were composed. *Collecta* is, I conceive, equivalent to *oratio lecta cum precibus communis*. Looking at the collection of collects we find each *proper* to the particular object of the day's celebration, especially those for Christmas Day, Advent, Good Friday, Easter, and the Saints' days. The distinction of *commune* de tempore and *proprium* de tempore, as also *commune* Sanctorum and *proprium* Sanctorum is maintained in the Latin Church; the *propria* containing the *collectæ*. In the Anglican Church there are no collects in the services of Baptism, Matrimony, Visitation of the Sick, Burial of the Dead, Churching of Women, and Communion, where no time is fixed specially for the services. But they are found in the Prayers at Sea and Thanksgiving after a Storm, Victory, Gunpowder Treason, Charles the Martyr, Restoration of the Royal Family, and King's Accession, for which special times or occasions are fixed by the Ritual. In the daily service two collects are appropriated, after the collect for the day, for the morning service and two other collects for the evening, the remainder of the service, comprising Exhortation, Confession, Absolution, Hymns, Scripture-reading, Supplication (Litany), Prayers at Sea and Thanksgiving—applicable at all times and under all circumstances—contains no collect appropriate (proper) for a special occasion. The prayer for all conditions of men is also called a collect, because this prayer becomes one when words are introduced for a person desiring the prayers of the congregation. The Communion services and Confirmation contain collects, required, I believe, by there being special seasons appointed for them; and the same reason applies to the Holy Order Services where collects are read. In early times every day had its 'collect proper,' hence 'collectum celebrare,' with the ancient Fathers, meant 'to go to church.' The word 'collectionem' (Heb. x. 25), however, like 'collegium,' designated an assembly; according to Alcuin 'a populi collectione, collectæ appellari cœperunt,' which is a ὑπερόπρωτον.

Lichfield.

T. J. BUCKTON.

INTELLIGENCE.

BIBLICAL.

Revision of the English Scriptures.—It will be remembered that a little more than fourteen years ago the Rev. Archibald Maclay, D.D., visited this country at the request of the American and Foreign Bible Society, a society of similar character to the Bible Translation Society, in the formation of which Dr. Maclay took an active part. A few years after this a controversy arose in the United States as to the propriety of attempting the production of a new English version. After much discussion, at the annual meeting of the American and Foreign Bible Society in 1850, a resolution was passed, 'that in its issues and circulation of the English Scriptures, the society should be restricted to the commonly-received version without note or comment.' A large minority in consequence separated, and formed what is called the American Bible Union. It is in connection with this new institution that Dr. Maclay appears in England; and the following extracts from a paper which bears his name will give some idea of his present purpose:—"The society is now engaged in revising the Sacred Scriptures in the Italian, the German, the French, the Spanish, and the English languages. The Italian New Testament has undergone the first revision, and is now in print; all the others are making satisfactory progress, and some of them will soon be completed. Of the whole English Bible a revision is in progress. The book of Job will shortly be printed. In revising the New Testament the following plan has been adopted:—"To apportion it among scholars in Great Britain and America, so as to have the whole Testament primarily revised in both countries.—Not to confine the work to two sets of revisers; but if, during its progress, other scholars of equal competency should offer their services, to assign the more difficult portions again to them, so as to have a third, or even a fourth, set of revisers upon such parts.—As each revision is sent in, to subject it to the inspection of the committee on versions, and if by them judged worthy, to have copies taken and furnished to all the other revisers, and such other scholars as are willing to assist.—After these copies have been returned to the reviser, with the criticisms and suggestions of those who have examined them, and he has revised his work, to reserve it in the hands of the Union, until all the revisers have similarly completed their portions, when the whole will be subjected to the thorough examination of a committee of revisers, appointed by the Union, to continue in session in the city of New York until they have finally adjudicated upon each word and phrase, and prepared the book for press."

'Many of the revised translations of different parts of the English New Testament thus executed have been received by the board. Some of them have been submitted in a printed form to very many distinguished scholars and divines of different denominations in Europe and America. *One hundred and fifty copies* of the parts first printed were interleaved for the use of scholars, with a view to be returned with their critical remarks and suggestions. The result is most gratifying; the strongest testimonials to their merit having been received by the board from more than one hundred persons, amply qualified by their abilities and acquirements to judge of the character of the work. The last six books of the New Testament have undergone two successive revisions, and are now published for general circulation. But this second revision is not final. The translation is circulated at this stage of its revision, in expectation that it will be subjected to a thorough criticism, and in order that its imperfections, whatever they may be, may be disclosed and corrected. The work published consists of the revised version, with the Greek text and King James's version in parallel columns, and accompanied with critical notes beneath.'

As we have not seen this work we can give no opinion respecting the manner in which it is executed. There are evidently two distinct questions to be kept in

view; the first relating to the plan, the second relating to the qualifications of the gentlemen engaged in the enterprise for the very arduous and delicate work they have undertaken. Four English biblical scholars of the Baptist body have, we believe, given much time to the work of revising; but, if we are rightly informed, the decision lies not with them, but with a committee appointed by the American Bible Union: these gentlemen cannot therefore be held responsible for what has appeared or what may appear hereafter. The following critique of the portion which has been published is taken from *The Christian Review* for July, 1854; a work which has long sustained in the United States a high character. It is as follows:—‘*The Second Epistle of Peter, the Epistles of John and Judas, and the Revelation*: translated from the Greek, on the basis of the common English Version, with Notes (New York: American Bible Union, 1854; 4to., pp. 253). This, so far as we know, is the first issue of the American Bible Union’s Revision of the English Scriptures. And this we are informed is not final, but is thrown out now merely to obtain criticisms and suggestions for use before the board of final revisers. The work appears to have been done on the principle of altering the words of the received version in as many instances as possible, and in this particular it has been thoroughly done. The revised version is, in the main, a vastly nearer approach to a literal rendering of the Greek than the common version; and in some instances it is as much more obscure (not to say insipid) as it is more literal. We cannot better illustrate our meaning than by giving portions of the common and revised versions in parallel columns. We give a part of the first chapter of Second Peter:—

Common Version.

SIMON PETER, a servant and an apostle of Jesus Christ, to them that have obtained like precious faith with us through the righteousness of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ:

2 Grace and peace be multiplied unto you through the knowledge of God, and of Jesus our Lord,

3 According as his divine power hath given unto us all things that *pertain* unto life and godliness, through the knowledge of him that hath called us to glory and virtue;

4 Whereby are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises; that by these ye might be partakers of the divine nature, having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust.

5 And beside this, giving all diligence, add to your faith, virtue; and to virtue, knowledge;

6 And to knowledge, temperance; and to temperance, patience; and to patience, godliness;

7 And to godliness, brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness, charity.

8 For if these things be in you, and abound, they make *you that ye shall* neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.

9 But he that lacketh these things is blind, and cannot see afar off, and hath forgotten that he was purged from his old sins.

10 Wherefore the rather, brethren, give diligence to make your calling and election sure; for if ye do these things, ye shall never fall;

11 For so an entrance shall be ministered unto you abundantly into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Revised Version.

SYMEON PETER, a servant and an apostle of Jesus Christ, to those who have obtained like precious faith with us in the righteousness of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ.

2 Grace unto you and peace be multiplied in the knowledge of God, and of Jesus our Lord.

3 Forasmuch as his divine power hath given unto us all things that *pertain* unto life and godliness, through the knowledge of him who called us by glory and might:

4 Whereby he hath given unto us the exceeding great and precious promises, that by these ye might become partakers of the divine nature, having escaped from the corruption that is in the world through lust;

5 But for this very reason also do ye, contributing all diligence, furnish in your faith, fortitude; and in fortitude, knowledge;

6 And in knowledge, self-control; and in self-control, patience; and in patience, godliness;

7 And in godliness, brotherly kindness; and in brotherly kindness, love.

8 For these things being yours, and increasing, render you not idle nor unfruitful as to the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.

9 For he that lacketh these things is blind, being near-sighted, having forgotten the cleansing away of his old sins.

10 Wherefore the rather, brethren, be diligent, to make your calling and election sure; for, doing these things, ye shall never fall:

11 For so there shall be richly furnished unto you the entrance into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

‘Now we think that the revised version is, with two or three exceptions, a more literal rendering of the Greek text than the other; but it loses more in perspicuity and elegance than it gains in literalness. What is true of this passage is quite as true of the other portions of the revised Scriptures in this volume. Of course the alterations of the reviser will be subjected to a searching examination before they are finally adopted by the Bible Union; and we think we may confidently look for the removal of most of the crudities which here meet us. Though we should be unwilling to accept this revision in the place of the common

version, it is only justice to say that the work displays extensive and minute research, and considerable learning. As a work of reference for the study of ministers and biblical students, it possesses very great value. The critical notes are copious, and embody one of the fullest compendiums of references, relating to the books treated, with which we are acquainted. The English version, the Greek of Bagster's edition, and the revised version, are printed in parallel columns, thus affording the learned reader the means of grasping the whole subject at once. If the American Bible Union should do no more than to issue the respective portions of the Bible after the manner of that before us, the science of biblical criticism will be laid under great obligations to its labours. For this instalment of their work we can heartily thank them; for what is to come we are disposed to wait in hope.'—*Baptist Magazine*, Sept.^a

At the Asiatic Society, July 8th, J. W. Bosanquet, Esq., read a paper of much interest in an archæological and historical point of view, and of still more importance as bearing upon a point in biblical history which has been the subject of much controversy, and of some sceptical comment—viz., the going back of the shadow upon the dial of Ahaz, in the reign of Hezekiah, king of Judah. It is difficult to bring within a small space an argument which is necessarily itself only the abridgment of a much longer investigation; but as it is understood the paper will be printed, this is of less consequence at present. The following summary will give an idea of the argument to those who are cognizant of the chronological question under debate. After referring to the discovery by Colonel Rawlinson of the names of Semiramis and Belshazzar, Mr. Bosanquet proceeded to show that the dates attributed by the Colonel to the reigns of Sargon, Shalmanezar, and Sennacherib, are in his opinion wrong, because at variance with the statement contained in the Hebrew historical records, and confessedly so with some of the facts found in the cuneiform inscriptions. The chief object of Mr. Bosanquet was to draw attention to the synchronism between the third year of Sennacherib and the astronomical phenomenon above alluded to, which he believed might positively be shown, on scientific grounds, to have occurred in the beginning of 689 B.C., about ten years later than the date assigned by Colonel Rawlinson, who makes the first year of the reign of Sennacherib to be in B.C. 702. Mr. Bosanquet places Shalmanezar after Sargon, while Colonel Rawlinson, after some hesitation as to the separate identity of Shalmanezar, puts him before. He fully accepts the announcement, made by Colonel Rawlinson, that Semiramis was wife of Pul, (whose identity was ascertained beyond a doubt by the discovery of the name of the god Phulu, and the phonetic value of a character read *uħh*, making together Phulukh, the *φωλῶχ* of the Septuagint,) and believes that it corroborates the date above given; and he shows that the record in the annals, also mentioned by Colonel Rawlinson, that Menahem paid tribute to Tiglath Pileser in his eighth year, or near the end of his own reign (of ten year's duration), is correct, and that there is no necessity to suppose a mistaken substitution of Menahem for Pekah, as suggested by the Colonel. He finally accepts the year 747 B.C., or the commencement of the era of Nabonassar, as being that of the death of Pul, which is determined by Colonel Rawlinson. In fact, the chief difference, as regards the eras of the Assyrian monarchs, lies in the reign of Shalmanezar, which, in Mr. Bosanquet's scheme, throws down the dates of Sennacherib and his successors ten years. The murder of her husband by Semiramis; her marriage with her own son; the transfer of her government to Babylon; and the interval of five generations between her reign and that of Nitocris, the wife of the king who witnessed the eclipse of Thales in 585, are all mentioned by Herodotus. Menahem's tribute to Tiglath Pileser, in the latter's eighth year, necessarily makes his accession to have taken place about the end of Pul's reign, or 748 B.C. Now, adding the reigns of Menahem, 10 years, Pekiah 2, and Pekah 16,—all kings of Israel,—we produce 28 years; and to this, if we add the 16 years of the reign of Ahaz, who ascended the throne of Jerusalem in the seventeenth year of Pekah, we have 44: the invasion of Sennacherib took place in the thirteenth year of Hezekiah, which, added to 44, makes 57. Now, deducting 57

^a A paper on proposed emendations of the English Bible is preparing for our January Number.—Ed. J. S. L.

from 747, we make the invasion of Judea come at the close of the year 690, the time we are in search of, as nearly as the case admits, when successive reigns are taken, which may be, and of course usually are, incomplete in the full number of years given. Having found the probable time when the invasion of Judea by Sennacherib took place, and consequently when the shadow went ten degrees backward, Mr. Bosanquet proceeds to inquire whether any astronomical fact occurred about that time which could have produced the phenomenon in question. It is well known to Hebrew scholars, and noticed in the margin of our authorized Bible, that the exact meaning of the word translated sun-dial of Ahaz, is 'degrees' or steps of Ahaz. The paper read contained extracts from the earliest Targum, and from an early Byzantine writer, to the effect that Ahaz had built steps which would show the hour of the day. By an ingenious astronomical argument, aided by diagrams, but unintelligible without them, Mr. Bosanquet showed that upon such steps as appear to have been used for exhibiting the sun's meridional altitude, any very large partial eclipse, almost but not quite total, on the northern limb of the sun, occurring about ten or a few more days from the winter solstice, near the hour of noon, would produce the effect described by Isaiah, and in the book of Kings. He then stated that by the kindness of the astronomer royal, he was enabled to show that such an eclipse did take place at the very time deduced from the chronological argument—namely, on the 11th of January, fourteen days after the winter solstice of 690 B.C. The only difficulty was about the time of the day. Mr. Airy calculates the time of the central eclipse at Jerusalem to be soon after eleven o'clock, which is too early for the phenomenon on the steps to be produced; but a letter was read from the well-known mathematician and astronomer, Mr. Adams, showing that the received secular variation of the moon was slightly erroneous, and that the time of the eclipse in question might perhaps be advanced half-an-hour; adding, however, that in his opinion, the error was not quite so large, but that he hoped to arrive at more complete results, which he would communicate to Mr. Bosanquet. Although, therefore, there was some uncertainty yet remaining, the writer trusted that he had shown, at all events, that a high degree of probability attached to the dependence of the phenomenon, which was the subject of the paper, upon the solar eclipse which occurred in the year 689 B.C., and that this was the actual time of the 13th year of Hezekiah. The Secretary then read some extracts from a memoir, by Mr. Taylor, H.B.M. Consul at Bussorah, narrating the results of the excavations carried on by him at Mugheir, near the mouth of the Euphrates, which was communicated to the Society by the Trustees of the British Museum, and will probably appear in the Society's Journal. The portions read contained curious details of the mode in which the bodies of the dead were disposed of in those early times, which are believed by some to have preceded the establishment of the monarchy of Ninus. A paper, by Col. Rawlinson, 'On the ante-Semitic Population of Assyria,' was submitted to the meeting, preparatory to its being printed.—*Lit. Gazette, Sept. 2.*

At the Royal Society of Literature, May 10th, Mr. Hogg read an account of the Assyrian mound called Tel-E'Salahieh, in the neighbourhood of Damascus, which had been sent to him by the Rev. Mr. Porter, a missionary resident in that city. Mr. Porter states that a sculptured slab has been found there, which, he thinks, is that probably of the king or founder, and that, though in some degree injured by weather, it is at least as perfect as those still remaining at the Nahr-el-Kelb. Damascus is exactly the place where one would naturally expect to meet with Assyrian records, as it is one of the oldest inhabited sites in the world, and is mentioned in many of the earliest Assyrian inscriptions. Mr. Porter, in his letter, gives an interesting account of the Roman remains still existing at Damascus, which seem to be much more considerable than might have been anticipated from the narratives of travellers.—*Lit. Gazette, May 20.*

At the Syro-Egyptian Society, May 9th. 1. The Rev. Dr. Turnbull exhibited, on behalf of Mr. Langdon, a scarabæus with the name Rameses inscribed, as is generally the case, as an after act upon a funeral memento already prepared. The name being, although a royal one, in this case that of a private person, gave no clue to the age of the scarabæus. Also an agate seal from Assyria, without

inscription, and having a pretty deep intaglio of two lions sitting in reverse to each other, the head of one and the feet of the other. It was suggested that this device might have an astronomical meaning, and refer to the two solstices. 2. A paper was read 'On the Political State of Egypt under Seti-Meneptah II., at the period of the Exodus,' by Miss Fanny Corboux.—*Lit. Gazette, May 20.*

At a recent meeting of the Oxford Architectural Society, Mr. Parker read a paper 'On the connection between Stonehenge and Gilgal.' The Hebrew word Gilgal signifies literally a circular stone, but in the opinion of good Hebrew scholars may very well signify a circle of stones. The Gilgal was a place for the assembling of the people, not only for the purpose of religious worship, but also for other purposes, such as great courts of justice—for Samuel judged Israel in Gilgal, and went in circuit to Bethel, and Gilgal, and Mizpah: all of these were similar places, situated on high hills, and frequently called merely high places, and stone pillars or altars were set up in them. The Druidical circles are found in similar situations, adapted for the same purposes, and have stone pillars set up in them, which have continued to be objects of worship in some districts, especially Brittany, almost to the present day. The custom of assembling the people in these places on stated occasions was also continued to a late period, as in Scotland, mentioned by Mr. Logan. Crookem Tor, *alias* Parliament Arch, on Dartmoor, has been used from time immemorial as a court of justice until quite recently, and seats are cut in the rock of the Tor for the judge and the jury. At Pue Tor, near the village of Sampford Spinney, is a large square apartment hewn out of a rock, which seems to have been used for a similar purpose. Mr. Parker concluded by expressing a hope that some more competent person would take up this interesting subject, and investigate it thoroughly; he had merely thrown together a few hints to call attention to it.—*Builder.*

At the Syro-Egyptian Society, June 13th, a letter from the Chevalier de Paravey to Mr. Ainsworth was read, in which that gentleman gave some details upon the part taken by the late Dr. Young, of the Asiatic Society of Paris, M. Champollion, and himself, in the progress of decyphering hieroglyphics. M. de Paravey argued that he had discovered in the ancient Chinese writings cuneiform characters similar to those seen on the Babylonian bricks; as also Egyptian, Phœnician, and Hebrew letters. He had also discovered the constellations of the planisphere of Dendera in the same country. According to M. de Paravey, the Chinese dynasty of Kia was Elamite; that of Chang was Egyptian; and that of Teheou was Assyrian. The empire of the Tsin or Tsir (Syrians) was not founded till the fall of the Greek Bactrian empire, 256 B.C., China having previously been colonized by Egyptians, Syrians, Armenians, and Assyrians, from whom they received their books, their laws, ceremonies, and costumes. The Abbé Lamdot, twenty years Imperial Astronomer at Peking, had anticipated M. de Paravey in the discovery of Ancient Chinese characters on the Babylonian bricks. Mr. Samuel Sharpe then delivered a remarkably lucid and interesting lecture on the modes of decyphering hieroglyphics, as illustrated by the Rosetta trilingual inscription, and the comparison of various cartouches or ovals, and other inscriptions of different dates, among themselves and with one another.

The following is the address of the council, read at the annual general meeting of the Palestine Archæological Association:—

'Whilst keeping in view the general objects of the association, as detailed in the prospectus, the council deem it proper to direct especial attention to the following points:—I. The period over which the researches should extend. II. The objects to be sought for, and the localities where it may be expected they will be found. III. The agency by which the operations may be carried on.

'I. The period over which the researches should extend will naturally commence with the earliest Biblical records, and should terminate with the commencement of the fourth century of the Christian era, being the epoch after which remains, in accordance with the views of this association, will not probably be found. This period may be subdivided into—1st, the Canaanitish period; 2nd, the Israelitish period; 3rd, the Judaic period, extending to the accession of Constantine the Great.

'II. The objects to be sought for are those generally described in the prospectus. 1. Monumental stones, chiefly monoliths, with inscriptions of these particularly.

'*The stone set up by Joshua, at Shechem, to perpetuate the law of Sinai.*—It is probable that this monument lies buried on the very spot where it was erected, and that it was intended to perpetuate the knowledge of the law; that the Decalogue, at least, was engraved on it in deep and lasting characters. Could that be found and read, what important information might it afford! Michaelis, in his "*Commentaries on the Laws of Moses*" (lib. iii., chap. i., Art. 69, A.D. 1769), says, "Moses, in my opinion, commanded that his laws should be cut in the stones themselves, and coated with a thick crust of lime, that the engraving might continue for many ages, secure from all the injuries of the weather and atmosphere; and then when, by the decay of its covering, it should, after hundreds or thousands of years, first come to light, serve to show to the latest posterity whether they had suffered any change. . . . Probably, however, this discovery, highly desirable though it would be both to literature and religion . . . is reserved for some future age of the world."

'*The twelve stones set up by Joshua, at Gilgal, and in the Jordan, to commemorate the entrance of the Israelites into the promised land.*—Doubtless these stones were large and remarkable, and were probably arranged numerically, and with some significant order, that their purpose might be ever after recognised. Nor is it impossible that some name or device might have been put on them, to identify them individually with the tribes of Israel. The remote period of these stones would lead us to expect that they would, many years ago, have sunk into the earth, and would be hidden under an accumulation of mosses and herbage, but still not lost beyond the reach of diligent and skilful research. The Samaritans hold a tradition that the twelve stones placed by Joshua in the Jordan have been removed to the top of Mount Gerizim, and that they lie there under a pavement, awaiting the appearance of *el Muhdy*, or "The Guide."

'2. Ancient Sepulchres. Of these the most important and well-known are the following:—The cave at Machpelah, at Hebron. This spot is sacred to the memory of the patriarchs of Israel—Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob—there entombed with their wives; but, of them all, no remains would probably be found on research, except those of Jacob. As he was embalmed in Egypt, and the body was placed in a coffin or sarcophagus, after the custom of the Egyptians, there is every reason to conclude that it still lies undisturbed. Could research be made with success, what treasures of information might be derived from the characters inscribed or figured on such an Egypto-Hebraic remain!

'*The tomb of Joseph at Shechem.*—The same remarks are applicable to this sepulchre as to the former, only that the discovery of the Egyptian viceroy's coffin might lead to more extensive and important information, as illustrative of the Biblical narrative.

'*The tombs of the Kings of Judah, and such other tombs of the Kings of Israel as might be discovered.* In addition, all other Jewish sepulchres accessible to research should be explored, in the hope of finding in some of them ancient utensils, and perhaps even some scrolls of the law, which it is known were occasionally, and under certain circumstances, consigned to those places. Inscriptions might also be discovered, as they frequently are in more modern cemeteries and tombs in the Holy Land.

'*The sepulchres of the Maccabees*, said to have been at Madon, near Sepphoris, should also be sought for, amongst other objects, under this class of remains.

'3. Ancient sites of Jewish learning, commonly called "The Schools of the Prophets," also the sites of the ancient oratories, colleges, and synagogues. In such places it may confidently be expected that thorough researches would lead to the discovery of some ancient copy of the Hebrew Scriptures, or portions of them, and possibly of some books mentioned in the Bible which have not come to our hands. These MSS. would, consequently, date from a period preceding the labours of the Massorites. Of such sites we may mention particularly Ramah, the resort of Samuel the Prophet; and Bethel, that of Elijah and Elisha. Colleges of Jewish learning, we know, were established at Jerusalem, Tiberias, Bethur, Lydda, and other places.

'4. The numerous *Tells*, or mounds, in Palestine are places of great archaeological interest and importance, and the greatest variety of objects might confidently be expected to reward proper researches. Of these, more especially, we might hope to find coins, implements, utensils, inscriptions, and, indeed, most of the objects pertaining to the buildings of towns and villages, or fortified places, which those tells are, with great probability, supposed to comprehend. A few of these mounds may be specified as desirable to be explored, such as Tell-el-Ful, near Ramah, and which is supposed to be the site of the ancient Mizpah; Tell-Arad, between Petra and Hebron; the supposed site of the town of Arad, mentioned in Numbers xxi., and other places of Scripture; Galgala, or Gilgal, where there is, according to Rabbi Schwarz, a heap of stones on a hill; and, in this vicinity, the mounds of Kihah, the tell at Ai, deserve particular notice.

'5. Fields of battle, where remains of armour and weapons may possibly yet be discovered, such as the neighbourhood of the Waters of Merom, the mountains of Gilboa, and the plain of Jezreel.

'6. Particular objects partly known, and requiring further examination. Of these we notice the very ancient and remarkable water-cavern, three miles from Beer; also, that curious stair discovered by the Rev. Mr. Bridges on Mount Zion, of which he has excavated seventy-two steps, leading to some unknown passage; the remarkable stone-door in the tombs of the Kings; the large stones in the wall of the Great Mosque at Jerusalem; the Hebrew inscription on the pillar of Absalom; the tablets near Beyrout, at the Nahar al Kalb; supposed ruins in the vicinity of Esdum, on the Dead Sea; the Cromlech, discovered by Admiral Byam Martin, on the west of the Jordan, near Tiberias, with many similar objects of archaeological interest.

'7. Ruins of cities, towns, villages, fortresses, temples, &c., &c., where objects of archaeological interest, similar to those of the tells, may be confidently looked for. Of such ruins, we may specify those of Churbath Medmath Goi, marking unquestionably the ancient Ai, in the opinion of Rabbi Schwarz, and situated about two English miles from Bethel, near the edge of a valley. (See his "Palestine," p. 85.) Also those of Lachish and Eglon; Kirjath-Jearim (now called Abu Gosh), seven and a half miles W.N.W. of Jerusalem; Beer-Sheba, south of Hebron; Beer-Zur, fifteen miles from Jerusalem; Tekoa, five miles south of Bethlehem; Eleutheropolis, or Beth-Gobrin, seventeen miles W.N.W. of Hebron-Samaria. "The vicinity of Samaria," Mr. Bridges says, "offers a vast field for research in the ruins of the ancient city, with its colonnades and caverns." Cæsarea, Shiloh, Sidon and Tyre, and especially the ruins of the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim. Mount Ebal, too, should be explored, as ruins are said to exist upon it, and at its base are numerous ancient excavated sepulchres.

'III. The agency for commencing operations in Palestine. A representative of the association should be appointed, with adequate remuneration, and directed to proceed to Palestine, for the purpose of conducting researches under the instructions of the council, and reporting to the association from time to time the results of his operations and discoveries. Many other points of interest might have been introduced, particularly those relating to the sites of ancient places yet undetermined; the geology and mineralogy of Palestine; its lakes and rivers; its agriculture; the dress, manners, customs, habits, and character of its inhabitants, so far as these ethnological particulars are illustrative of the more ancient condition of that country. But these topics would obviously lay open too wide a field for the present operations of this association, and those already specified are more than sufficient to occupy its attention for some considerable time to come.'—*Morning Post*, Sept. 15.

At the general meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Nov. 8, 1853, the Rev. Charlton Lane having alluded to certain strictures which had appeared in some of the public prints, on the adoption of the word *lepts*, to designate 'priest,' in the Society's Romaic version of the Book of Common Prayer, the Secretaries informed the Board that their attention had been directed to the subject by the Rev. T. Hartwell Horne, who had forwarded to them some of the articles alluded to, from which it appeared that the book objected to had been mistaken for an ancient Greek, instead of a Romaic, version. The Secretaries

had, in consequence, referred to the early records of the proceedings of the Foreign Translation Committee, which they found to contain ample details respecting the preparation of the translation in question. There had already existed a Romaic version of our Prayer Book, executed in the year 1819, for Mr. Bagster's Polyglot Liturgy, by Mr. A. Kalvo, a native of Greece. But this was not a complete translation; and the Romaic language, also, had undergone so rapid a change after the Greek revolution, that the importance of a new translation was strongly urged upon the Foreign Translation Committee, so early as the year 1834. Professor Bambas and Mr. Nicolaides, of Athens, were employed by the Committee, under the superintendence of the late Rev. H. D. Leeves, upon this version. When it was completed in 1838, the Rev. Joseph Jowett was employed to edit the work. The Committee appear to have reposed confidence in Mr. Leeves and Mr. Jowett, neither of whom, it might be presumed, would have allowed the use of the word *lepeús* as the translation of 'priest,' if they had regarded it as countenancing, according to its present acceptation in Greece, such doctrines as it has been made a pretext for imputing to the Society. The Secretaries further stated that, a few days after this subject had been brought to their notice, Dr. Kalvo, who, after an absence of more than thirty years, had returned to England, had given them such information as led to the conclusion that *lepeús* had been advisedly employed in the Society's Prayer Book; and that Dr. Kalvo himself, who was then present, was ready to answer any question that might be put to him on the subject. The Chairman having said that the Board would be interested in hearing any observations that Dr. Kalvo might do them the favour to make on this matter, that gentleman observed, that *lepeús* was the word usually employed in Greece to signify a clergyman in full orders; and that, although the word *ἱερεῖς* was found in the Greek Office for the Ordination of Priests, that use of it was familiar only to the clergy, while the common people would not understand it as designating one of the orders of the priesthood: that *lepeús* was in common use all over Greece to signify an officiating minister in priests' orders, whereas *ἱερεῖς*, in many parts of the country, would not be understood to imply a person in orders at all. Dr. Kalvo remarked that there was not a syllable or letter in the word *lepeús* to convey, to a modern Greek, any idea of a sacrifice, as for instance there would be, on the contrary, *essentially* in *θύτης*, or in any word derived from it. He begged to remind the Meeting that *lepeús*, like many other words in all languages, had both an *essential* and an *accidental* meaning; that *essentially* *lepeús* implied no more than one consecrated for a holy function; that *accidentally* it came, in heathen times, to signify a sacrificer, and that, with that sense also, it was adopted by the Septuagint translators to signify the Jewish priest; but that the *accidents* having changed under the Christian dispensation, the word was still used in Greece, yet without its *accidental* signification—that, in fact, it retained its *essence*, but had lost its *accident*. He added that, when he was employed to translate the English Liturgy for Mr. Bagster, he thought that, by adopting *lepeús* as the interpretation of 'priest,' he had chosen the word in which his countrymen would best recognize the order of the priesthood intended by the English term.

At the General Meeting on Dec. 6th, 1853, the Standing Committee submitted to the meeting a statement from the Foreign Translation Committee. 'In consequence of certain communications which they have recently received, in reference to the edition of the Greek Septuagint printed by the Society for the use of the Greek Church, the Foreign Translation Committee beg to make the following statement on the subject to the Standing Committee. It was determined, in the year 1841, with the sanction of his Grace the President of the Society, and the approval of the Board, to undertake this, and certain other publications, for the benefit of the Greek Church. The proposal was gratefully received by the Royal Synod of Attica; and the Foreign Translation Committee were informed, in reply to their inquiries on that subject, that the Moscow edition of the Septuagint, which follows the Codex Alexandrinus, was the one in common use in the East, and might, consequently, be considered as exhibiting the authorized text of the Greek Church. It was therefore resolved to adopt this text, and to print the proposed edition in four volumes 8vo., at Athens. The Synod of Attica appointed

a committee of their own body to superintend the work, in conjunction with a literary gentleman long resident at Athens, whom the Foreign Translation Committee engaged to employ as their agent for this purpose. It was resolved to print an edition of 3000 copies, with an understanding that 1500 copies of each volume, as it was completed, should be placed at the disposal of the Synod, for gratuitous distribution among the Greek clergy; and that, with the exception of about 250 copies to be sent to London, the rest of the impression should be deposited with the Bishop of Gibraltar, at Malta, for sale or distribution in Greece or in other parts of the Levant, as occasions might arise. The Synod of Attica made no difficulty in acceding to the demand of the Foreign Translation Committee, that the apocryphal books, which in the Moscow edition of the Septuagint are mixed up with the canonical Scriptures, should, in this edition, be printed separately, so as to make up by themselves the whole of the proposed fourth volume. In 1844-5 circumstances unfortunately arose which prevented the agent of the Foreign Translation Committee at Athens from giving to the work that attention upon which they had relied. In consequence of these circumstances, and under difficulties which arose out of them, after many and long interruptions in the work, another gentleman undertook the labour of superintendence, and the whole edition was, at last, completed in the year 1851. In the mean time, however, some copies of the first three volumes had successively been sent to London, and had been supplied to such members of the Society as applied for them; and towards the end of the year 1850, the Rev. E. W. Grinfield drew the attention of the Foreign Translation Committee to the second and third volumes, in which he had observed, that the apocryphal portions of Esther and Daniel had been incorporated with the chapters of the canonical books; and that certain Church hymns, most of them taken from other parts of Scripture, but some apocryphal, were appended to the Psalms, and the whole book, with this appendix, called the "Psalter" (*ψαλτήριον*). Upon receiving this communication, the Committee instructed the Secretaries to examine the whole three volumes carefully, and report to them on the subject. This was accordingly done; and a careful analysis of the work, as far as it was then completed, was entered upon the minutes of the Committee, under date of December 9, 1850. From this analysis it appeared that, in this edition, the apocryphal interpolations were easily distinguished from the canonical Scriptures; as, in the case of the Psalter, the additional "hymns," as they were called, which follow the 150th Psalm, were not consecutively numbered, as if they formed a continuation of the same book; and where these interpolations occurred in the Books of Esther and Daniel, they either were not divided into verses at all, or were versed separately, and independently of the versing of the chapters into which they were inserted. The Committee, moreover, saw no reason to charge the Greek Synod with any breach of faith in this matter; as, in the Moscow edition, which, in this particular, follows exactly the Alexandrian MSS., these interpolations do not form separate and distinct books. They rather attributed the oversight to the want of proper supervision, on the part of their own agent, under the circumstances to which they have already alluded. They at first contemplated cancelling the objectionable pages; but the arrival of the fourth volume in London was daily expected, and they thought it prudent to examine that, before coming to a final decision on the subject. Unfortunately, owing to an accident which could not be foreseen or provided against, the fourth volume was detained on its way for some months, and did not come to hand till the vacation of 1851. It was found to contain all the separate and distinct books, alone, of the Apocrypha. When the Committee met to consider the subject again, it appeared to them that so large a portion of the edition had been already distributed, that no cancels could be of any avail towards the correction of the mistake, thus inadvertently made in the present edition; and they came to the resolution that the best thing to be done, under the circumstances, was to advise that the work should not be placed upon the Society's Catalogue.

On considering the above statement, the Standing Committee had recommended the Foreign Translation Committee to undertake immediately a new edition of the Septuagint, to be printed under their own superintendence in London, and to inform the Royal Synod of Attica of this undertaking, and the causes which have led to its adoption.

Surviving Witnesses of the Temple.—At the foot of the Mount of Olives we find what is considered the garden of Gethsemane. It seems to have been an olive plantation in the latter period of the Jewish commonwealth, as the name of Gethsemane signifies oil-press. It is about fifty paces square, and is enclosed by a wall of no great height, formed of rough loose stones. Eight very ancient olive trees now occupy the enclosure, some of which are very large, and all exhibit symptoms of decay, clearly denoting their great age. As a fresh olive-tree springs from the stump of an old one, there is reason to conclude that, if the old trees have been destroyed, those which now stand sprang from their roots. But it is not incredible that they should be the same trees. They are at least of the times of the Eastern empire, as is proved by the following circumstance: In Turkey every olive tree which was found standing by the Moslems when they conquered Asia pays a tax of one medina to the treasury, while each of those planted since the conquest pays half its produce: now the eight olive trees pay only eight medina. Dr. Wild describes the largest as twenty-four feet in girth above the root, though its topmost branch is not above thirty feet from the ground. Mr. Bove, who travelled as a naturalist, asserts that the largest are at least six yards in circumference, and nine or ten yards high—so large, indeed, that he calculates their age at 2000 years.—*The Israelite*, Aug. 12.

LITERARY AND EDUCATIONAL.

At the Royal Society of Literature, July 26th, Mr. Vaux read a paper communicated by Colonel Leake, V. P., 'On the Discovery of the Temple of Apollo Smintheus in the Troad,' by Capt. Spratt, R.N. In the course of the last autumn Capt. Spratt, when employed on the Admiralty survey, landed on the coast of the Troad at a spot called Hamaxitia by Strabo, a district forming a triangle at the south-western end of that country. The remains of the temple are situated at a short distance from the shore, twelve miles south of the ruins of Alexandria. It appears to have been placed on a plateau which connects the ridge on which stands the Turkish village of Kulagli with another running parallel to it. The remains consist of several large columns lying in all directions within two or three small gardens. Some appear to be *in situ*, but no more than a few feet of them appeared above ground. There were also some massive foundations of the temple near them. Near the temple are some ruins of a large building of Roman times, with walls formed in part of horizontal courses. Capt. Spratt was fortunate enough to find, near the village of Kulagli, a square slab, on which was an inscription commemorating the celebration of games called the Smintheia Pauleia, and belonging, from the character of the letters, and the names which occur upon it, to the second century of our era. Colonel Leake described also a very curious inscription, the original of which has been presented by Capt. Spratt to the University of Cambridge, recording the honours that were paid to Cassander, the son of Menestheus, by nine nations and twelve cities. This slab was found in the neighbourhood of this temple. M. le Vicomte de Rongé gave a most interesting account of the excavations made by M. Mariette on the site of the ancient Serapeum near Memphis; and stated that, after completely excavating the Alley of Sphinxes, he came at length to the portal of the Serapeum itself. Within this building he found some gigantic sarcophagi, more than twenty feet long, in which Apis had formerly been buried, and containing a series of mummied bulls from the reign of Rameses II. to the Ptolemies.

At the Royal Society of Literature, June 14th, Mr. Hogg read an interesting communication from R. Cull, Esq., the secretary of the Ethnological Society, upon two objects of antiquity,—a bronze vessel, and a figure of a warrior,—which were found in the year 1828, in the Caslyn Hill, near Cembra, in the Tyrol, and which are now preserved in the museum at Trent. Each of these monuments has upon it a well defined Etruscan inscription, which has led to some speculations on the origin of the people in whose land the antiquities were discovered.—*Literary Gazette*, July 1, 1854.

Interesting accounts have been received from Mr. Andersson, who, having accompanied Mr. Galton in his explorations of South Africa in 1851-1852, has

since remained in that country with a view of following up the path of discovery from Valfisch Bay (lat. 20 deg. south-western coast) to the far interior. This enterprising young traveller has undergone great hardships of many kinds, and the following extracts are from a letter to Mr. Galton, dated Cape Town, May 18, and communicated by that gentleman to the Royal Geographical Society:—Mr. Andersson was successful in reaching the Lake Ngami, from the western coast, which, by dead reckoning from Tunobis, corrected by latitude, he places in the 23rd meridian. From that place he ascended the Teoge River, which runs into it, for thirteen days, in which he accomplished 150 miles of distance; but, from the strangely serpentine character of its course, he only made sixty miles of nothing from the lake. He says, 'the river is very narrow, never, perhaps, exceeding forty yards in width, but generally it is very deep. It runs with a varying velocity of from two to three miles an hour, and the banks being in most instances low, and in some places altogether wanting, the country is often inundated for miles and miles, presenting to the eye an endless lake, filled up with reeds and rushes, and studded with islands covered with a rich and luxuriant vegetation.' His information places beyond a doubt the existence of the Biribi River, which, rising two or three days' journey to the west of Lake Ngami, runs to the north-west, and, almost beyond doubt, is an affluent of that great stream, which runs from east to west, forming, according to Mr. Galton's discoveries, the northern boundary of Ovampo land. From the neighbourhood of Lake Ngami it therefore appears practicable to travel by river conveyance to the Atlantic, and Dr. Livingston's late discoveries prove the same fact as regards the Indian Ocean. It therefore seems very likely that, with a small break of fifty or sixty miles, there is a water communication of large rivers *right across Africa*, near the 17th parallel of south latitude. From Valfisch Bay to Lake Ngami the *Tsetse Fly* does not exist, and the country is perfectly healthy. Damara and Namaqua land abound in copper ore, and traders from the Cape are already establishing themselves in Valfisch Bay. Mr. Andersson has, with great care, taken very many bearings and latitude observations, and his map is daily expected at the Royal Geographical Society from General Cathcart.—*Literary Gazette*, Sept. 2.

The present Jewish population of the Holy City amounts to 5000 souls of the Sephardim congregation, 2000 of the Russo-Polish, and 70 of the German Dutch congregation. All taxes are paid by the Sephardim, the others being considered as strangers, who enjoy the protection of European consuls. Heavy taxes are paid for the permission to pray in the sacred localities and ruins. This congregation has thirty-one synagogues and colleges. The chief rabbi, who must be confirmed by the Sultan, is elected by the members of the congregation. At least three-fourths of the congregation live upon charity, and the society is deeply in debt. This year everything is exceedingly dear, so that the fate of the poor is very melancholy. Everywhere one sees pale, emaciated faces. A measure of wheat, which formerly cost eight piastres, is not paid for with twenty piastres.

The soil of Palestine is still, in many places, of remarkable fertility. Quince trees are often seen, having on them as many as 400 quinces of large size, and vines with not less than 100 bunches of grapes, many of the bunches three feet long, and grapes three and a quarter inches in circumference; Indian corn eleven feet high, and water-melons of 20, 30, and 40 pounds weight.

The reported arrival of Dr. Livingston in the province of Angola, after traversing the interior of Africa from the Cape Colony, seems to mark another important step in geographical discovery. In a letter sent to Lord Ellesmere, as President of the Geographical Society, Mr. Gabriel, writing on the 15th May, at St. Paul de Loando, encloses the following extract from a Portuguese commercial agent at Cassange, dated April 18th, 1854:—'I must not omit to acquaint you that I have drawn upon you in favour of Dr. Livingston, a subject of her Britannic Majesty, for 100 milreis, in part payment of a small quantity of ivory which I have purchased from him. This gentleman has just arrived here, having traversed, with the most insignificant resources, the whole of the interior from the Cape of Good Hope, whence he set out on his journey. What he wishes to acquire is, not money, but a good name. He is a missionary, and appears to be

a man of much erudition, zealously applying himself to the attainment of a knowledge of the geography of the country. In the maps of the interior of Africa he will make very great and important disclosures.' Mr. Gabriel states that Cas-sange is about 180 miles from St. Paul de Loando, in an easterly direction, and is the seat of a busy trade between the Portuguese and the natives of the interior. He has no doubt as to the correctness of the information communicated as to Dr. Livingston, the success of whose explorations, we trust, will soon be confirmed.—*Literary Gazette*, August 12.

Under the title of 'The University for Wales,' it has been proposed to unite and incorporate the College of St. David's at Lampeter, the Llandovery Institution, the Brecon College, and the various endowed grammar-schools in the Principality, and that students from all the above shall be admissible for degrees in arts and divinity. The want of a central institution of this description has long been felt, and it has often been urged that a strong necessity existed for the establishment of a university where Welshmen could receive a large and comprehensive education and good mental training without being obliged to incur heavy expenses to obtain them. The idea has been mooted by the Anglo-Welsh clergy-men.—*Clerical Journal*, August 22nd.

The Cape Town *Mail* of March 16 contains a letter from Dr. Livingston. At one time, in lat. 19 deg. 16 min. S., all his attendants were down with the fever. They were then passing through a densely wooded country, in which the axe was in constant operation, and Dr. L., for a part of the way, had to drive and cut a path too. In some places the country was flooded for fifteen miles, and valleys appeared like large rivers, with hippopotami in them. For three days they waded through the reeds and high grass to obtain a passage into the river Cho-be, which they reached on the fourth day, embarked on a pontoon, and, after proceeding about twenty miles, reached a Makololo village, which Dr. Livingston *entered riding on the back of a hippopotamus*. They received much kind attention at this village, but the chief, a lad of eighteen, declined to learn to read, 'lest it should change his heart, and make him content with one wife.' They went up the Leamby and Londa rivers in canoes, with six paddlers, who propelled the boats at the rate of about forty miles per day. The Londa river is one of great beauty and breadth, often being over a mile broad, with islands three or four miles long in it; these are covered with sylvan vegetation, the rounded masses of which seem to recline on the bosom of the water. The fever, however, spoils all the beauty of the scene. Dr. L. says that he has not found a spot that he could pronounce salubrious, and therefore they must brave their destiny, and surely, he argues, they can if the slave-trader does. He met in the interior Arabs from Zanzibar, and Portuguese from the farthest trading stations inland on the west. He preached in many a spot where the name of Christ was never heard before, and for nine weeks was in intimate intercourse with the natives, who treated him kindly; but their conversation, anecdotes, quarrelling, roaring, dancing, singing, and murdering have, he says, imparted a greater disgust at heathenism than he ever had before, and, in comparison with the southern tribes, a firm belief that missionaries effect a great deal more than they are aware of, even when there are no conversions. The temperature in the shade in the interior was at 100 degrees, and often 90 at nine o'clock at night. Dr. Livingston states that he found there some Portuguese trading in ivory. One of them was the first of that nation who ever saw the Zambesi river in the centre of the African continent. As he travels, Dr. L. will note a copy of his observations, which will probably be published hereafter.—*Boston Traveller*.

The anniversaries of two of the chief Nonconformist colleges in the neighbourhood of London have been celebrated during the past month. That of the amalgamated colleges at St. John's Wood, known as New College, under the presidency of Dr. John Harris, was simply a business meeting for the presentation of a report and the delivery of a brief address by the chairman of the day. According to the statement of the council things seem to be in a hopeful, if not thoroughly satisfactory, condition. The annual meeting of Cheshunt College partook more of the character of a festival. Hundreds of people from the metropolis, and elsewhere,

found their way, by rail and road, to the College chapel, where discourses were delivered by the senior students, and a sermon by the Rev. B. S. Hollis of Islington. The service having terminated, the company strolled freely over the College gardens and grounds, enjoying and admiring those beauties of nature with which the locality is abundantly blessed. At two o'clock some 250 ladies and gentlemen found themselves seated round well-filled tables, under a spacious marquee in a meadow, fragrant with the new-mown hay, adjoining the garden. The Earl of Roden, who presided, delivered a neat and very suitable address to the retiring students, Messrs. Insull, Soden, and French, who were thought to be worthy of special honour, and afterwards to the general company. His Lordship was followed by Dr. Redford, Mr. E. Ball, M.P., Dr. Archer, Rev. James Sherman, Mr. Alderman Challis, the ex-Lord Mayor of London, Mr. Hollis, Dr. Stowell, the president, Dr. Stroud, and other gentlemen. The question of 'unsound theology' was alluded to by several of the speakers in the course of their remarks. Mr. Hollis, in his sermon, alleged that German heresies had crept into certain of the Dissenting colleges of England; and Dr. Redford went so far as to say that the doctrine of the atonement had become an unfashionable thing. Dr. Archer, on the contrary, questioned the truth of these representations, and contended that gentlemen who brought forward such serious charges should be clear and specific in their statements, and be prepared to point both to persons and places. He believed that there never was a time when correct doctrine was more general in the pulpits of the land than now, and that the students were sound in the faith. The proceedings concluded happily.—*Christian Journal*, August.

Excavations at Pompeii, which had been interrupted for some time, have recently been renewed; and they have already led to the discovery of a large house in wood, the walls of which are ornamented with paintings, and the roof with bas reliefs.

A valuable theological library, consisting of about 4000 volumes, the property of the late Dr. Thilo, Professor of Theology at the University of Halle, has been purchased for the college at Newhaven in Connecticut. A little while ago the College of Rochy, in the state of New York, purchased the theological library of Dr. Neander, consisting of about 22,000 volumes.

We must content ourselves with introducing to the notice of ethnological students a voluminous repertory of facts and miscellany of speculations on the types of mankind, entitled *Types of Mankind; or, Ethnological Researches based upon Ancient Monuments, Paintings, Sculptures, and Crania of Races*. Illustrated by Selections from the Inedited Papers of the late Samuel George Morton, M.D. By J. C. Nott, M.D., and Professor H. S. Patterson, M.D. Philadelphia.—The late Dr. Morton, President of the Natural History Society of Philadelphia, was a strenuous opponent of the theory of the unity of the type of the human race, and believed in the original creation of separate types for the leading classes into which mankind are divided by ethnologists. Dr. Nott, in supporting Dr. Morton's views, affirms that 'the Jew, the Teuton, Sclavonian, the Mongol, the Australian, the Coast Negro, the Hottentot, &c., are distinct species and distinct types,' not merely varieties of the human race. In the following passage the principles of the inquiry as to the unity or diversity of the original species of animals are stated, as understood by the naturalists of this Philadelphic school:—

'Another question of much interest to our present investigation is—Have all the individuals of each species of animals, plants, &c., descended from a single pair? Were it not for the supposed scientific authority of Genesis to this effect, the idea of community of origin would hardly have occurred to any reflecting mind, because it involves insuperable difficulties; and science can perceive no reason why the Creator should have adopted any such plan. Is it reasonable to suppose that the Almighty would have created one seed of grass, one acorn, one pair of locusts, of bees, of wild pigeons, of herrings, of buffaloes, as the only starting-point of these almost ubiquitous species? The instincts and habits of animals differ widely. Some are solitary, except at certain seasons; some go in pairs; others in herds or shoals. The idea of a pair of bees, locusts, herrings, buffaloes, is as contrary to the nature and habits of these creatures, as it is repug-

nant to the nature of oaks, pines, birches, &c., to grow singly, and to form forests in their isolation. In some species males—in others, females predominate; and in many it would be easy to show, that, if the present order of things were reversed, the species could not be preserved—locusts and bees, for example: the former appear in myriads, and by far the greater number of those produced are destroyed; and though they have existed for ages, a naturalist cannot see that they have increased, nor can he conceive how one pair could continue the species, considering the number of adverse chances. As regards bees, it is natural to have but one female for a whole hive, to whom many males are devoted, besides a large number of drones. Again, Agassiz gives this striking illustration:—"There are animals which are impelled by nature to feed on other animals. Was the first pair of lions to abstain from food until the gazelles and other antelopes had multiplied sufficiently to preserve their races from the persecution of these ferocious beasts?" So with other carnivorous animals, birds, fishes, and reptiles. We now behold all their various species scattered through land and water in harmonious proportions. Thus they may continue for ages to come. Hybridity has been considered a test for species; but, when we come to this theme, it shall be proven that, in many instances what have been called varieties are really distinct species: hence, that hybridity is no test. All varieties of dogs and wolves, for example, are prolific *inter se*; yet we shall prove that many of them are specifically distinct, that is, descended from different primitive stocks at distant points of the globe. Agassiz has beautifully illustrated the fact by the natural history of lions. These animals present very marked varieties, extending over immense regions of country. They occupy nearly the whole continent of Africa, a great part of Southern Asia, as, formerly, Asia Minor and Greece. Over this vast tract of country several varieties of lions are found, differing materially in their physical characters: these varieties also are placed remotely from each other, and each one is surrounded by entirely distinct Fauna and Flora: natural facts confirming the idea of totally distinct zoological provinces. It will readily be conceded by naturalists, that all the animals found in such a province, and nowhere else, must have been therein created; and although lions may possess in common that assemblage of characters which has been construed into evidence of community of species, yet it by no means necessitates community of origin. The same question here arises as in considering the varieties of mankind, with regard to the definition of the term species. We hold that a variety which is permanent, and which resists, without change, all known external causes, must be regarded as a primitive species—else no criteria exist by which science can be governed in Natural History. Monkeys afford another admirable illustration, and are doubly interesting from the fact of their near approach to the human family.'

According to Dr. Nott, 'it is now generally conceded that there exist no data by which we can approximate the date of man's first appearance upon earth; and, for aught we yet know, it may be thousands or millions of years beyond our reach.' Except in connection with some philological speculations suggested by the first discoveries of Egyptian antiquities, the errors of which have been corrected by more recent researches both in Assyrian and Egyptian archaeology, there is no question among scientific men in Europe about the very recent appearance of man in the geological history of the world. But apart from the topics open to controversy, the editors of Dr. Morton's papers have collected a large mass of miscellaneous matter of much interest to ethnologists. An article, by Professor Agassiz, on the relation of the types of mankind to particular fauna or provinces of animal life, adds to the value of the volume. A memoir of Dr. Morton, by Dr. Henry Patterson, of Pennsylvania, and a supplemental disquisition on the biblical views of the question of races, and other papers by Mr. Gliddon, form part of the contents of the work, which is copiously illustrated with woodcuts.—*Lit. Gazette*, July 8, 1854.

The following interesting letter has lately been received from the Holy City:—

Jerusalem, July 27, 1854.

'MY DEAR SIR,—I am at this moment employing your money in taking a house as a refuge for Jews persecuted by their friends on suspicion of Christianity. I propose giving a room in this house to our valuable catechist, Stern, whose fidelity I can rely on, to watch the conduct of any who make professions of Christianity,

while he diligently sows the Word of God amongst them. Such a refuge becomes more necessary since I wrote to you, from circumstances which have since taken place. There has lately come to Jerusalem a Mr. Cohen, as agent of Messrs. Rothschild and Montefiore, and other wealthy European Jews, who have been stirred up by the exertions of Protestants in England to relieve the distress of the Jewish population here, to take this matter into their own hands. About a fortnight since, I heard this Mr. Cohen (in company with Brother——) address the Jews in the Spanish synagogue, and I enclose a copy of some notes made by Brother—— and myself, immediately upon leaving the synagogue, which I think may interest you. They show plainly (in connection with other proceedings now going on in Jerusalem) that the Jews have no idea of works of disinterested love towards them on the part of Christians; they take it for granted that the hospital, Miss Cooper's industrial female school, &c., are all but so many ways of bribing the Jews to apostasy; they are consequently not aware of the complacency wherewith we regard these efforts of European Jews to assist their poor brethren here, for either they will *bonâ fide* perform all that they now promise, to make them wholly independent of Protestants, or they will not perform it; if they do not fulfil their promises, impressions favourable to our motives will be strengthened on the part of the many Jews who already resent the tone now adopted towards us (*i. e.*, last Saturday a "curse" was issued against any one who should even visit us for the purpose of saying "peace;" in the hospital it was said "the Jews were fed with carrion or torn carcasses," although great care is taken that the food there be such as Rabbinical Jews may eat lawfully, &c.); or if, on the other hand, the millionaires of Europe do henceforth take upon themselves the burden of Jewish poverty in Jerusalem, the hearts and hands of believers will be set more at liberty to think of the spiritual poverty and misery of this people, and to work and pray accordingly, so that in either case we are likely to be the gainers, that is ultimately, when the present excitement against us is passed over. Mr. Cohen is beginning his measure with spirit. Yesterday he inaugurated a Jewish hospital, having already obtained a large house for that purpose, and at present the Jews are carrying themselves very high. Miss Cooper's industrial school is nearly emptied, patients are leaving the hospital, &c., but is this by compulsion on the part of the authorities rather than their own choice? the bulk of the Jews here have learned to repose more confidence in the kindness and skill of Protestants than in their own people. The distress amongst them is enough, probably, to absorb all that can be done for them whether by their brethren or by us; and there is but little doubt that when this Mr. Cohen is gone, the women will return to their work and the patients to the hospital. I think I mentioned having begun preaching in our church on Sunday morning in Judæo-Spanish. Jews began to attend, and I began to think "the Lord is giving me the opening I have prayed for," but behold! last Sunday two Rabbis stood by the little door of the churchyard, and turned back every Jew who sought to enter; for the present this door is closed. I send you a copy of notes made by Mr.—— and myself, and Mr. Cohen's address to the Jews, spoken in the Sephardim synagogue, July 15th, 1854:—

"My brethren of the House of Israel,—I propose to speak to you, in the first place, in that holy tongue wherein God once spake to our fathers upon Mount Sinai, in which all the holy prophets have delivered their prophecies, and in which our oral traditions are delivered to us. As I proceed I propose to translate my remarks into the German, Spanish, Italian, and Arabic languages, in order that I may be understood not by the learned men only, but also by the women and children."

"Mr. Cohen then repeated the above in the four languages mentioned, and so with every subsequent clause of his address:—"Many of you may be ready to ask, Who are you? where do you come from? and what do you do here? I belong, brethren, to the family of Aaron, the high priest, 'who followed after peace,' and you are all children of Abraham, who are 'merciful, modest, and benevolent' (Talmudic); your brethren in Europe have heard of the distress which you are suffering here in Jerusalem, their hearts are moved to assist you, and I am come from them to communicate to you the joyful tidings."

"Mr. Cohen then read Zech. i. 16, 17—"God created the world and all that therein is, the light and the darkness, the trees and herbs, the beasts, and every-

thing that lives ; He is also the creator of all men, and they are all his children, but Israel is his first-born, or like as a king who has a vast army of soldiers chooses out of them the best to be his own bodyguard, so has God chosen Israel ; our wise men have said, it was a great thing that God created man in his own image, but a still greater thing that He revealed to Israel the fact that man was so created."

"*Hospital*.—1. Now man is made of a soul and a body : his soul is the image of God, but the body has a great influence upon the soul, so that when the body is sick, the soul is incapable of serving him, or of studying the law : we intend, therefore, to establish in Jerusalem an hospital, where the sick may have gratuitous medical attendance and nursing. We, I say ! your own brethren ! will do this ! that you may not be compelled to seek those things from strangers, who speak another language ! to go where the Jew hears things which no Jew ought to hear, and eats food which no Jew ought to eat ; and in cases where the physician cannot avail, and God (the Great Physician) has appointed the Israelite to die, let him at least be where he can hear in his dying moments the words, 'Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one Lord !'

'N.B.—The last words were spoken with much emotion ; it is the practice of the Jews here (and everywhere) to shout these words around the dying beds of their brethren : it is intended as a sort of protest against Christianity, and, of course, they have the liberty, and exercise it, of doing this in the case of Jews dying in the English hospital.

"*Loan Fund*.—2. Our wise men have said, 'the daily provision for mankind is as great a wonder as the division of the Red Sea ;' how so ? 'When Israel came out of Egypt, Pharaoh and his host pursued them, and by dividing the sea (through which Israel passed safely) God that day preserved the existence of the nation.' Now, when a man rises in the morning, not knowing where to find food for his wife and children, and God provides them sustenance, he preserves the existence of a family, and thus does the same for an individual which was once done for a nation. You are here in great want, such as God alone can remove, but your brethren will do something, and exercise wisdom in the mode of doing it. If a sum be sent for mere distribution, it is gone in a few weeks, and the want is as bad as ever. We want to do something permanent ; therefore Baron Rothschild, of Frankfort, has sent 100,000 piastres (1000*l.*), as a loan-fund, to be lent without interest, in sums from 100 to 800 piastres, to respectable Jews, repaying the principal by small weekly instalments.

"*Apprenticing Boys, &c.*—3. We have seen in Jerusalem a great number of boys running about without occupation ; we wish to find employment for these ; all have not gifts to become Rabbis and Talmudists, and even if they had, our wise men have said that 'study without a trade must cease.' I would remind you of the examples of R. Johannan, the shoemaker, and others : we intend to place these boys with Jewish tradesmen to learn trades, and also to provide that they have daily instructions by teachers understanding Hebrew, &c., in the Holy Scripture, the Haphtorah, in the Talmud, besides the service of the Sabbath, &c.

"*Industrial School for Girls, &c.*—4. We wish, however, also to do something for the girls as well as the boys ; that they may be taught sewing, knitting, and other things needful for the duties of wives and mothers. Proper persons will be provided to teach these, and also to make them acquainted with the history of their own people. Our mothers—Sarah, Rebecca, Rachael, Deborah, Huldah—were not women who did nothing or knew nothing, and it is a shame that the daughters of Israel should go to learn of strangers, when they hear things which they ought not, and when they are in danger of being deceived and led away, so as to multiply a race of strangers rather than of Israelites : 'For all people will walk,' &c. (Micah iv. 5.)

"*Lying-in Women*.—Madame Rothschild, of Paris, has made arrangements to provide suitable clothing, linen, &c., for these cases, and also assistance for procuring nourishment for mother (from 20 to 60 piastres).

"*Bread*.—Lastly, to provide for the extremest want of the poorest, distributions of bread will be made twice every week.

"As Jerusalem has been destroyed by the hands of men, the hands of men must rebuild it, and God grant that this may be done so effectually that 'as ye have been a curse amongst the nations ye may become a blessing.'"—*Standard*.

The Red Sea is the most remarkable estuary on the surface of the globe; it is 1280 miles in length, with a maximum breadth of nearly 200 miles, a circuit of 4020 miles, and an area of 108,154 miles; its cubic contents are probably about 800,006 miles; its greatest depth is 400 fathoms. The main depth of its axis is about 150 fathoms for about 10 miles along mid-channel. The neap-tides at Aden, Ras Mohammed, and Suez, are about 5 feet; the spring is about 7 feet; and the rise in the upper end of the sea, by a continued south wind, is about 4 feet. The temperature and saltness of the Red Sea is almost the same as that of the ocean. The evaporation over its surface amounts to about 8 feet annually, which seems to be provided for by a strong inward current from the Indian Ocean; a lower current of the water thus concentrated flowing out again through the Gulf of Aden, sweeping around by Scinde, and so southward, till diluted by deluges of rain from the western shores of India. Crossing again to Africa, it flows northward, and returns to the place whence it came to give off fresh supplies of vapour to the rainless districts around. The Red Sea is walled in by vast chains of mountains, which, from the eleventh to the sixteenth parallel, and from Aden to 200 miles into Abyssinia, are volcanic, affording a volcanic field of about 10,000 square miles in area, probably the third largest in the world, a portion of which is still active. Gilbelteer has been smoking constantly for the past century, and a violent eruption occurred in the Zebaz Islands in 1846. From lat. 16° to lat. 30° the rocks seem mostly to belong to the vasti nummultic formation, which has been traced from Burmah to the Bay of Biscay in one continuous sheet around nearly one-third of the globe. All around the shores of the Red Sea are evidences of a submergence and re-emergence of the land, and probably a recent geological period. The volcano of Aden contains an old sea-beach in its crater. The Isthmus of Suez consisted of gravel and shells, the latter being identical with those now found in the seas adjoining; and there is reason to suppose that this part of the shore has risen from six to ten feet within the last three thousand years. Mr. Robert Stephenson has proved, by survey, that the level of the waters of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea is the same, and to all appearance the bitter lakes on the isthmus have at one time formed a portion of the sea, though the surface of the waters is now fifty feet below its level. The Gulf of Akaba differs remarkably in its characteristics from that of Suez, from which it is separated by the Isthmus of Sinai. The wadi-Araba, or valley stretching from the Gulf of Akaba toward the Dead Sea, appears in part to be an old sea-beach, deeply grooved by torrents; but, however interesting to the geographer, very little is known of it. The summit-level has been placed, in the Transactions of this society for 1846, at 485 feet; but from the paper by Captain William Allen, of the Royal Navy, in the 23rd volume, it is evident that nothing certain is known either about the position or altitude of its summit. From Akaba to the Dead Sea is a distance of about 105 miles, the surface of the latter being 1,350 feet below that of the Mediterranean; and we are altogether ignorant of the extent of the boundaries of this extraordinary depression.—From Dr. G. Buist's paper on the *Physical Geography of the Red Sea*.

Cuneiform Inscriptions in the British Museum.—During a recent visit to London, Dr. E. Hincks examined many of the terra cotta tablets with cuneiform inscriptions. His report (*Literary Gazette*, August 3rd) is as follows:—

‘I examined about 150 tablets, which have been numbered for reference, and of which photograph copies have been made. A few of these—I did not count how many, but suppose about a tenth—are in the Babylonian character, similar to that on the Contracts published by Grotefend in the first four volumes of the “*Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*.” The remainder are in the ordinary Assyrian character, which differs from the Babylonian something more than our italic character differs from the Roman, but not as much as it differs from the German. The Babylonian tablets mostly belong to a class of which there may be from 20 to 30 in the 150 that have been photographed. At the head of each of these there is an introductory formula, containing the name of some private individual, which varies in the different tablets, who invokes blessings on “the king my lord” from different deities, as Nabyu and Marduk, or Assur, Shamas and Marduk. The former are named on Babylonian, the latter on Assyrian

tablets. Not finding, on a cursory inspection of these tablets, that they contain either king's name or date, and believing them to relate to the affairs of private individuals, I put them aside as of less interest than others. I do not doubt, however, that they contain matter which would repay the person who should have leisure and opportunity to study them.

Of the remaining inscriptions almost all are more or less mutilated. This is deeply to be regretted. We may hope, however, that an examination of the remaining tablets in the Museum collection (of which I understand there are above 800) will bring out fragments which can be connected with those that have been numbered and photographed. Among these I found a fragment of an historical document, relating to the war of Assur-yuchura-bal against the Elymeans (K. 30). It contains the same text, or at any rate refers to the same events, as the fragments of cylinders which I mentioned in my Report to the Trustees. Another fragment relates to the marches of Tuklat-bal-itsri (Tiglath Pileser) the Second, the commencement of whose reign, which probably lasted above forty years, was about 770 B.C., and also, it would seem, to those of some of his predecessors. It contains the conclusions of about ninety consecutive lines, the beginning and ending of the inscription being altogether wanting, and the beginnings of all the lines that remain. In its present state it affords some geographical information, but if the remaining portions could be recovered it would be of immense value as an historical document.

Several tablets relate to the calendar, and from these I have ascertained what has surprised me not a little. Notwithstanding the reference made by Ptolemy of the eclipses observed at Babylon to the months of a wandering year, resembling that of the Egyptians; (the correctness of which reference I had supposed to be established by my observing, that in more than one instance there were thirty days assigned to consecutive Assyrian months;) I have now obtained positive proof that the Assyrians used a lunar year, consisting of twelve or thirteen months, each of which contained nominally thirty days. Of course, every sixty-third or sixty-fourth day in the calendar was omitted, in the same manner as it was in the Grecian calendars of Meton and Calippus. I found in a sort of calendar that the first day of the month was called the *arakh*, or "new moon," as well as the month itself; I found that the thirteenth month, which I had supposed to consist of the five *epagomenæ*, had as many days as that which preceded it; and, lastly, I found a tablet (K. 90) which contained an estimate of the magnitude of the illuminated portion of the lunar disk on each of the thirty days of the month. This is not very creditable to the mathematical knowledge of the Assyrians; but it is a sufficiently close approximation to leave no doubt as to what was intended. On the first day they estimated that five parts were visible out of the 240 into which they divided the disk. On the second day they doubled this, counting ten parts. In like manner they counted twenty on the third day, forty on the fourth, and eighty on the fifth. They then substituted an arithmetical for a geometrical series, adding sixteen parts each day till the fifteenth, when the whole 240 were visible. They took sixteen parts away on each of the next ten days, so that they had eighty parts, or one-third of the disk, visible on the 25th day. The latter part of the inscription is injured, so that I cannot be very positive. I believe, however, that they halved what was visible on each of the next four days, so as to have five on the 29th as well as on the first, the thirtieth day being altogether dark.

I have very little doubt that the Assyrian year began with the new moon which followed, or which was nearest to, the vernal equinox. This appears from the second month being that which corresponded to the Persian *Thuravuhara*, a name which, as Benfey has pointed out, signifies "the heat of spring;" while the ninth month was that which corresponded to the Persian *Atriyadiya*, a name which seems to signify "the commencement of fire," indicating the first month of the winter. In confirmation of this, I observe that the character for this ninth month is phonetically *kan*, and that the Syrian *Kanun* is the third month from the autumnal equinox; also that *Ab* is the fifth month from the vernal equinox in Hebrew and Syrian, and that one phonetic value of the Assyrian character for the fifth month is *ab*. The dates of the commencements of the different campaigns, which are given in the Nimrud annals, appear to me also to agree with this date of the commencement of the year better than with any other.

'With respect to the position of the intercalary month, it is curious that while more than one tablet places it at the end of the year, that is, before the vernal equinox, which was its place in the Syrian and Hebrew year, it is distinctly placed in K. 160, at the end of the sixth month. It is probable that a change took place in the calendar between the making of the earlier and the later chronological tablets. It is not easy, however, to say which was the earlier. The law of the intercalation, and the precise rule for omitting days in the alternate months, remain to be ascertained.

'I mentioned in my Report that the Syllabarium, Mr. Layard's copy of which first indicated the nature of such a document, had not been found. I am happy to say that it has been met with since, and that it appears in this series as K. 62. Another Syllabarium which I had not seen before is also numbered as K. 110. Both of these are inscribed on both sides. The other Syllabarium, which I met with in the spring of 1853, is K. 144. It is inscribed on one side only. These three fragments belong to three different Syllabariums, so that it is more than ever desirable to obtain the deficient portions. A very large number of values is, however, determined from the fragments which we already possess.

'There are other inscriptions of a philological or lexicographical character which possess much interest for me, but with which I will not trouble the public. Some inscriptions are in praise of different deities, and some appear to be poetical. I will only notice the conclusions of some of the inscriptions, as bearing on the royal succession after Esarhaddon. Many of the tablets, of which the conclusion is preserved, after the hymns, or whatever they may be, that they contain, present to us a formula, which consists of a sort of title, indicating the contents of the main part of the inscription; some connecting words, which vary in different tablets, and which appear to me to indicate the compartment in the royal library where the tablet was to be placed; and then "the palace of Assur-bani-bal, the great king, the powerful king, the king of the provinces, the king of Assyria;" with the addition of a number of fanciful titles, varying on different tablets, such as "who looks for help to Assur and Nina," "whose ears Nabyu and Urmitu have opened wide." By the multiplying of titles of this sort, and by leaving wide intervals between the words, the writer of the tablet contrived to fill up even a very large space, should such remain vacant at the close of the regular inscription. There are other tablets in which a similar large space remains after the regular inscription, but it appears for the most part blank, the following words being alone legible: "The property of Assur-yuchura-bal, the king of the provinces, the king of Assyria." These words are incised after the tablet was burned, and, as it appears to me, on a surface which had been smoothed to receive them. Comparing what I observed in this instance with what I have observed on several well-known Egyptian monuments, I have no doubt that where this name now occurs there were formerly the name and titles of Assur-bani-bal, as they now appear on K. 131 or K. 155. These were inscribed before the tablet was baked. Afterwards, Assur-yuchura-bal, having made himself master of the palace, caused the name and titles of his predecessor to be scraped away, and had his own name incised on the surface so left smooth.

'The name of Assur-bani-bal does not appear in Mr. Layard's list of kings of Assyria; nor am I aware that Colonel Rawlinson has noticed him as distinct from his successor in any of his publications. We know that this successor (whom I formerly called Assur-akh-bal, but now Assur-yuchura-bal)* was the son of Esarhaddon, and it becomes a question of some interest who his predecessor was. He does not give his genealogy on any of these tablets, nor elsewhere, so far as I know; but I think there can be no doubt that he was a son of Esarhaddon, and that he and Assur-yuchura-bal reigned at the same time in different portions of the empire, the former possessing Nineveh in the first instance, and being succeeded there by the latter. If it were not for the defacement of the

* The monogram which represents the second element in the name, as it is written on the sculptures in the British Museum representing the conquest of Elymais; and on these tablets is one which is used in no other proper name that I am aware of, except that of the father of Nebuchadnezzar, where it represents the last syllable *Yuchur*. In the present name it ought perhaps to be read as a participle rather than as an aorist, judging from the analogy of Assur-bani-bal, of which the second element is written phonetically in K. 131.

one name, and the substitution of the other, and that in a manner which is evidently disrespectful, I should have not questioned the identity of the two kings; and some may think it unreasonable for me to do so even now, inasmuch as it is certain that both kings claimed the glory of the conquest of Elymais, which must have happened, according to my view of the matter, while Assur-bani-bal was reigning at Nineveh, and Assur-yuchura-bal in some other part of the empire. It is possible that the latter may have carried on the war in person; but it seems to me more likely, that having dethroned his brother, and wishing himself to be considered as the immediate successor of his father, he caused himself to be represented as gaining victories, which were in reality those of his brother, or of his brother's generals. I incline to think that the king who is commemorated on the very remarkable stone in the possession of Lord Aberdeen, and who there calls himself ruler of Babylon (which neither Assur-bani-bal nor Assur-yuchura-bal ever does), was a third son of Esarhaddon, and that Babylon was separated from Assyria on the death of Esarhaddon, in 667 B.C. The Saosdukkin of Ptolemy's Canon seems a possible corruption of Shamas-akh-iddan; but it is not easy to derive it from any name beginning with Assur. The order of succession, however, and the length of the different reigns between 667 B.C. and 625 B.C., when Nineveh was taken by the Medes and Babylonians, is now, and is likely to remain, very obscure. The most likely way of clearing it up would be, I think, the collection of tablets with dates in regnal years, similar to those of which I gave a list in my Report (*Literary Gazette*, 22nd April, p. 375). The date of the capture of Nineveh appears to me quite certain; and of course I hold that Herodotus committed a gross blunder, either in placing the Lydian war before the capture of Nineveh, or in identifying the eclipse which terminated that war with the eclipse which Thales foretold. As to the Scythian conquest, it must have occurred about the middle of the interval of forty-two years that I have mentioned; but no allusion to it has been met with on the monuments, nor do I think that any is to be expected. The Assyrian kings carefully recorded their successes; but as to their reverses, they were as carefully silent.'

The *Israelite*, a weekly religious journal published at Cincinnati, U.S., of Aug. 12, 1854, copies an article from the *New York Tribune*, containing the following information in regard to agriculture in Palestine:—

'In no part of the civilized world, where a productive soil abounds, is the condition of agriculture at a lower ebb than in the country about Jerusalem. This city is largely inhabited by Jews, many of whom are pensioners of their brethren in all the rest of the world. They are miserably poor, indolent, and without employment. The country round about is in possession of the Arabs, who hate the Christians much, and the Jews more. The Arabs are the worst farmers in the world. Their implements of husbandry are so rude and primitive, that a sample of them would surprise even a cotton-planter of South Carolina. It is supposed by many that the lands of Palestine are generally of the poorest character for the purposes of the husbandman. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The country possesses a great diversity of climate, owing to the variation in elevation. The Valley of the Jordan, at the level of the Dead Sea, is 1312 feet below the Mediterranean, while the Mountain of Lebanon rises above the line of perpetual snow, which is 9300 feet above the sea; so that there is eternal winter, while the Valley of the Jordan is a perpetual tropical climate, and between these variations of altitude there are all the varieties of productions of the temperate zones. The soil is generally a calcareous, light-coloured loam in the interior, particularly near Jerusalem; and near the sea-shore it is of a dark red loam; and on the plains of Sharon very productive, yielding three crops a year of such things as will ripen within that space. The soil produces good wheat, and corn, oats, potatoes, &c., about equal to the average crops of Connecticut. Cotton has been produced here in quality and product per acre equal to the best upland plantations in this country. Fruit of various kinds grows to great perfection; the grapes, in particular, are very superior; while peaches, pomegranates, apricots, plums, olives, figs, oranges, and melons are rich and abundant. Altogether, the climate and soil, and the productions, make it a most desirable country for a residence. The rich lands near Jaffa can be

bought for a sum equal to about six or eight dollars an English acre. To all this there is a drawback, which has heretofore deterred settlers from seeking a home there, who know how to appreciate and cultivate such a soil, and make the productions profitable, and homes in such a climate pleasant and beautiful. The country is in possession of the Arabs, who in point of civilization are but a small remove above the wild Indians of this continent. Two years ago an effort was made to ameliorate the condition of the inhabitants of Palestine. Seven Americans, with improved ploughs and other tools, and American seeds, located upon a piece of land seven miles from Jerusalem, one mile from Bethlehem, and made preparations for farming after the American system. Their location was in the valley of Artos, upon the very site of one of the gardens of Solomon. Their friends in the city were much opposed to their going out there to reside, urging them, if they were determined to try to cultivate the soil, to keep their residence within the city, for fear of the Arabs. This did not suit their plans, and they took up their residence upon the land; and commenced operations, ploughing deep with one of our best ploughs, harrowing with an iron-toothed harrow, such as was never seen there before, and planting corn, potatoes, beans, peas, oats, barley, wheat, and all sorts of garden vegetables; in short, making a perfect American farm. The operations, instead of exciting the jealousy of the Arabs, aroused them to a state of surprise, and the news of what the Americans at Solomon's garden were doing, and what wonderful tools they were using, and how peaceable and quiet they were, never saying anything about their religion, flew on the wings of the wind, and visitors came to look and wonder from far and near. The operations of the carpenter and blacksmith were not among the least sources of wonder. The rapid manner in which he heated his iron, and hammered it into just such shape as he desired, was beyond the comprehension of this simple-minded people.

From the same journal (the No. for August 18) we extract the following:—

'Jews and Agriculture.—Concerning the statement that there are about 17,000 Israelites in the United States, and among all not one is engaged in agriculture, we reply, that if there be none who till the soil with their own hands, there are certainly many who own land and oversee its cultivation. One of the greatest planters in Kentucky, Mr. Benjamin Gratz, an old personal friend of the late Henry Clay, is an Israelite; while in South Carolina, Georgia, and other states, there are many of that ancient faith extensively engaged in agriculture. Hon. M. Benjamin, of Louisiana, is also extensively engaged in sugar planting, and has written a standard essay upon the culture and chemistry of that staple.—*N. Y. Sun.*'

'We have to add to this, that there are many Jews engaged in farming. We could mention several names, as Uriah Levy, owner of Monticello (Jefferson's homestead); B. Behrend, of Narrowsburg, N. Y.; J. Kaffenberg, of Bethlehemtown, N. Y.; Dr. Rodrigues, of Charleston, S. C., and many others. The numeral statement of 17,000 Jews in the United States is also a considerable mistake. There are in the United States forty-two synagogues, and more than double that number of congregations who have not yet built. There are about 100,000 Jews in the United States. The census of 1850 contains more mistakes besides this. 17,000 Jewish families might be something approaching truth. The erroneous statement as to our having no agriculturists among us has been paraded in the columns of several papers as a stigma; few took the trouble to ascertain its truth; and the inference, of course, was unfavourable to our people in a land, where the culture of the soil is viewed as honourable, as in the United States. Why there are so few of us following agriculture, compared with other callings, can be easily explained. A large majority of the Israelites of the United States are from continental Europe, where, debarred from following the avocations and professions of their choice, and hunted about from place to place, self-preservation has compelled them to adopt commerce as their almost universal means to gain a livelihood. Emigrants to this country could not at once shake off the effects of education; and being in most cases unacquainted with the English language, they naturally and properly selected that calling to which they thought themselves best adapted. For this they should receive the commendations of their fellow-citizens; and we will show why. Emigrants are generally poor, the Jew not excepted. How many foreigners become from the moment they land in this country burthens on the public, let our poor-

house records show; but they also show that the thrift, the industry, the perseverance, and untiring energy of the Hebrew race, has made them prosper so much that there are *none of them paupers*. Without attempting to lessen the benefits of farming, we must also assert that commerce is as requisite to develop the resources of our country as agriculture.'

ANNOUNCEMENTS AND MISCELLANEOUS.

In Bohn's 'Ecclesiastical Library,' the first volume is given of the 'Works of Philo-Judæus,' translated from the Greek by C. D. Yonge, B.A. This volume contains a number of the Alexandrian Platonist's miscellaneous treatises on the Mosaic cosmogony and the early biblical records of the Jews. Mr. Yonge professes to follow chiefly the text of Mangey, which was printed in two volumes folio in 1742, subsequently reprinted at Erlangen in 1820; and in eight volumes octavo, at Leipsic, 1828-1830, under the care of Pfeiffer.

The Burney prize for the best English essay on 'Faith in Natural and Revealed Religion is necessary for the Purification and Perfectibility of Man,' has been adjudged to Thomas Wade Powell, B.A., St. John's College.

For students of Oriental literature, a very acceptable work has appeared in 'A Descriptive Catalogue of the Historical Manuscripts in the Arabic and Persian Languages in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society,' by William H. Morley, (John W. Parker and Son). General notices are given of each history, with short accounts of the author where procurable; details being added regarding particular manuscripts, as to their external form and condition, as well as their subjects and contents. There are a hundred and sixty-three volumes described, many of them of much rarity and value. An index is appended of names of works, and also of names of authors. The Catalogue is printed by order of the Council of the Asiatic Society, who have thereby rendered good service to students of Eastern history and literature. Mr. Morley has performed his work with much judgment and ability; and we lay aside his book among our manuals of reference with a wish that similar catalogues could be prepared of some of the other public libraries of Europe, where important and valuable manuscripts are lying unknown, and useless to the student or historiographer.

'*The Recent Insurrections in China.—Chinese Works in relation thereto.*—From an article in "Le Moniteur Universel," of Paris, we gather the following facts which relate to the revolution in China, and which are apparently worthy of consideration. The Imperial Library of Paris has recently been enriched with thirteen Chinese brochures, printed at Nanking, by order of Thai-ping-Wang (literally, King of Universal Peace), the chief of the insurgents in the Chinese empire. At the request of the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Stanisla Julien, Associate Conservateur of the Library, has analyzed these brochures in a work which will throw much light upon the character of the religious and political movement which has been in progress for some time past in the Celestial Empire. It is well known that one of the circumstances which has embarrassed those who early watched this revolution, was a strange blending of the doctrines of Christianity with the pretended divine mission of Thai-ping-Wang to provoke the people against the reigning dynasty. This fact is placed above doubt by these publications. A list, inserted in one of these brochures, includes the Old and New Testaments, calling them sacred books; another contains the Ten Commandments of the Decalogue of Moses, which are mentioned as having been given by God upon Mount Sinai, and which are accompanied by a commentary and by forms of prayer. In a third book there is an account of the creation of heaven and of earth; of the deluge of forty days and forty nights; of the journey of the Israelites from Egypt; of the sending of the Saviour, Jesus; of his incarnation in the kingdom of Judea, and of his sufferings for the atonement of the sins of man. The authors of this résumé pass, without any other transition, to the present age. They announce that in the year Tingtcheou (1837) the sacred and supreme Emperor (God) sent a messenger, who appeared before Thai-ping-Wang, and made him mount to heaven, whence

he was sent back to earth in order to exterminate the demons (the Tartar soldiers), and to save the people. They add, that in the third month of the year Meou-chin (1848) God himself descended among men, exhibiting innumerable proofs of his power; and that in the ninth month of the same year Jesus appeared in his turn, and exterminated in a great battle an immense number of demons. In other brochures the decrees are given which this remarkable pretender, Thai-ping-Wang, has issued for the government of his followers, his regulations for the army, and his commands in regard to the etiquette of his court. Two others of these small volumes are intended for the use of schools, and are filled with brief moral lessons.'—*Norton's Literary Gazette*, Aug. 1, 1854.

The Rev. F. Field, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity, Cambridge, is preparing a new edition of the Septuagint, based upon the 'Codex Alexandrinus,' but following the arrangement of the Hebrew original, and thus agreeing strictly with our own canon. The foreign translation committee of the Christian Knowledge Society have collected materials for this work, and the trustees of the British Museum have presented a copy of Mr. Baber's fac-simile of the Old Testament to the Library of the Society in aid of this undertaking. Mr. Field is well-known to Greek students as the editor of the 'Homilies of St. Chrysostom.'—*Clerical Journal*, August 22nd.

At Cambridge, the Hulsean prize, 100l., for the best dissertation on the 'Position and History of the Christian Bishops, and especially of the Bishops of Rome, during the First Three Centuries,' has been adjudged to the Rev. G. M. Gorham, B.A., Fellow of Trinity College.—*Gentleman's Magazine*, February.

The scholars of Norway have produced a monument of their olden time, in the 'Stjern,' a biblical, historical comment, composed towards the beginning of the 14th century, partly from Petrus Comestor, and Vincentius Belteracensis, and partly from various other written and unwritten sources, and abounding in legends, traditions, natural history, &c., in the style of that age. It goes from the creation down to the Babylonian captivity.—*Ibid.*, February, 1854.

In the press. The Autobiography and Literary Journal of the late Henry Fynes Clinton, Esq., M.A., Author of the 'Fasti Hellenici,' &c

In the press. A Geographical Dictionary of the Holy Scriptures, including also Notices of the Chief Places and People mentioned in the Apocrypha. By the Rev. A. Arrowsmith, M.A., late Curate of Whitchurch, Salop.

Nearly ready. A Popular Harmony of the Bible. By H. M. Wheeler.

The Rev. William Lindsay Alexander, D.D., author of the 'Doctrinal Connection between the Old and New Testaments,' &c., has been appointed Professor of Theology in the Glasgow Theological Academy, in the room of the late Dr. Wardlaw.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Sketch of Visconti, the eminent antiquary; his catalogue of the Pio-Clementine Museum at Rome; his explanation of the sarcophagi in the tomb of the Scipio family; his explanation of the famous statue or group called 'Pasquin' at Rome; his appointment as one of the five consuls of the City on occasion of its capture by the French armies of the republic; his exile and final establishment in France; his catalogue of the Museum of the Louvre; his invitation by the English Parliament to arbitrate in the dispute which rose concerning the authenticity of the 'Elgin marbles' as the work of Phidias.—The dispute between the archaeologists, French, German, and Italian, about the site of the famous *Pnyx*, the ancient forum of Athens—Discovery of a new and singular sort of mammoth fossil in Algeria—Curious statistics of ancient Rome, its walls, bridges, &c.—Continuation of M. Chevreul's explanation of the divining-rod.

Paris.

The *Moniteur* has published recently an interesting notice of the great Italian archaeologist, Visconti. A short abstract of the main particulars will perhaps be acceptable to your readers.

Ennius Quirinus Visconti was the son of John-Baptista Visconti, who was also himself a savant and archaeologist of such distinction as to have succeeded to the

famous Winkelman as Roman præfect of antiquities, and to be after placed by Clement XIV. at the head of the grand museum which had been founded by this pontiff in the Vatican. The young Visconti, who was born in 1751, was trained up carefully to follow the footsteps of his father. As yet a child, he could recount the principal scenes of ancient history, especially the history of the Bible. He knew the Latin, and, what is more in an Italian, the Greek so well as to have translated, at the age of thirteen, the Olympiacs of Pindar and the Hecuba of Euripides into Italian verse. He also wrote some verses of his own fabric. In short he was reputed the infant prodigy of the day—a day when history and classics with mathematics were the test of intellect. Like other prodigies, who have shone so often in these really infant acquisitions, he therefore menaced to abort in an imbecile or an erudite: for erudition needs but industry and opportunity, with common sense. This plank of refuge was presented to Visconti by his father's calling, in which he fortunately turned early to take a part.

His first production in this line was a descriptive and digested catalogue of the antiquities of the new museum, made in conjunction with his father, and wherein the son, says my authority, had most of the merit and the labour, although the honour had been left the parent, who signed exclusively the first volume. The compilation of a catalogue may seem indeed no immense honour. But in this case the attempt had been the earliest of the kind, and originality, in even minor things, is always the first of merits. The old Visconti having died some two years after the publication, the second volume which appeared in the same year, 1784, bore the name of the son alone, and was still an improvement on its predecessor. But notwithstanding the novel conception and the excellent execution of this famous catalogue of the *Pio-Clementine Museum*, the great celebrity of Visconti was due much rather to the dissertations with which he freely interspersed it on the current questions of archæology. These have been collected and published separately in five volumes, under the title of *Opere Varie*, at Milan. They raised Visconti, in his native city, into an antiquarian oracle, and made him universal arbitrator in all disputes respecting antique art.

A most conspicuous opportunity of this description was the following. The tomb of the Scipio family, made mention of by Livy and Cicero as lying beyond the gate Capena at Rome, was long the object of the researches of antiquaries. It was supposed to be recognizable in the remnant of a monument which in nothing really indicated such a destination. The proprietors of a factory placed in a field to the left of the road which conducts at the present day to the gate Saint-Sebastian, wishing, in 1780, to enlarge the cellars of the establishment, brought to light a flag which bore the epitaph of Publius Cornelius Scipio. Here then, it was clear, must be the site of the long-sought tomb, and further searches could not fail of turning up the names and titles of the illustrious line of *Asiaticus* and *Africanus*. Notified of this discovery, which was to science a great event, J.-B. Visconti, then still living, ran forthwith to apprise the Pope. The ground which contained this archæological treasure, was purchased at the charge of the pontifical purse, and the mine submitted to exploration in public. The expectations, however sanguine, were not disappointed. If the names of all the Scipios were not indeed recovered, a large number were disinterred, commencing with Scipio Barbatus, the great-grandfather of the conqueror of Carthage and Magnesia, whose sarcophagus presented the most ancient specimen of Latin sculpture. Twice also was encountered the inscription of Cornelia, which called to mind the august name of the mother of the Gracchi, who was daughter of the elder Scipio Africanus. The younger Visconti resolved to furnish a complete description of these curious monuments, connected with the most illustrious and popular names of Roman history. In the interpretation of the inscriptions, which were what constituted the main interest, he displayed the epigraphic perspicacity, the singular penetration, which he possessed in the understanding of lapidary texts, and which was one of the most salient features of his talent. He had to do, in this tomb of the Scipios, with some inscriptions in an archaic idiom, in that old Latin where there is no guidance from either authors or grammars. Nor was he less felicitous in the deciphering of Greek inscriptions. It is that this, as I have said, is but the faculty of erudition, which acquires in wriggling penetration what it lacks in amplitude and power.

Another feature of the same talent, which marks the erudite or the antiquary—

extent and concreteness of memory—was manifested by Visconti. A head in marble, wearing a casque, had been, in 1772, discovered in the *Villa Adriana*. It had hitherto received but small attention from the antiquaries. It was at last one day submitted to the examination of Visconti. The type awoke in his memory the recollection of other figures, of which, though more or less damaged by time, the vivid conception he had of their form, restored them wholly in his mind's eye, and thus enabled him to see the kinship. He recognized then in the casqued head the repetition of a figure which lay long exposed in one of the public squares of Rome, and which the people had baptised with the name of Pasquin. It is near this ruined marble that the witty or malignant were wont to write their cutting epigrams against the great—a circumstance which, from the contiguity of this statue, has transmitted to this class of writings the well-known name of 'pasquinades.' But who was the real original of the statue called Pasquin? This Visconti was the first to bring to light. It was Menelaus uplifting the dead body of Patroclus. One of the best of Visconti's dissertations is on this subject.

At this period his antique studies were broken in upon by politics. A French army entered Rome in 1797, under General Berthier. A new government was formed, of which Visconti was made a member; rather, however, for his fame, no doubt, than an opinion of his capability. The following year, when the commissioners, sent over by the French Republic, desired, in the fashion of the day, to restore the glories of the ancient Republic, and commenced naturally with the consulship, Visconti was made member. But Visconti soon recognized that his own talents were better fitted, and moreover that the task was easier, to revive the dead than the living Rome.

Besides, his consulship was soon extinguished, through the sudden capture of the Eternal City by a Neapolitan army, which had taken the garrison by surprise. Visconti fled for refuge; but the French victory of Championnet soon restored him to his country and his consulate. Obligated to fly a second time, he was repairing for good to France, when he was captured by a Russian frigate that pretended to take him back to Rome; but the commander of an English squadron gave him generously his protection and a passport which conveyed him safely to Marseilles. Here he entered the noble country of his adoption, and his old career in the arrangement and explanation of the new treasury of the Louvre. And of all those treasures, which had been rifled by Buonaparte from Rome and Europe, the acquisition of this great antiquary, says my author, was the richest.

Visconti was at once appointed superintendent of the Louvre, and had a chair of archæology created purposely for his convenience. In this position he drew up a catalogue of the various contents of the French Museum, as he had before done of the Pio-Clementine one at Rome. The second essay was however stripped of the episodical disquisitions, perhaps from the exigency of French conciseness, as well as the improvement of experience. He had also, we are told, to do the work in haste; and, as a consequence of this condition, the work is open, it is said, to criticism. To crown his other honours, he was made a member of the Institute.

With that universal instinct of, and aspiration to, the true and great which are infallibly the mark of first-class genius, Napoleon devised a project of employing the talents of Visconti more worthily than in the registering of catalogues. He proposed to compose a gallery of the great men of all antiquity, such as transmitted to us by the monuments, subjected to criticism and comparison. This was just the subject for Visconti. Accordingly he undertook it with enthusiasm; and the result, which, however, he did not live to finish, is familiar in the splendid iconography of the French Museum.

A notable incident of his career, and an example of his authority, was the journey he made to London in 1815, at the invitation of your government, to pass his judgment on the Elgin marbles. The British government having proposed to make the purchase of this precious plunder, the question was, if the wily Scotchman was not presenting, as the work of Phidias, what seemed to many, from its uncouth finish, to be by an artist of less renown. Visconti, however, decided for the authenticity of the execution; and he moreover showed what looked defect to be an excellence of art, as in fine conformity with the requirements of perspective and position—the bas-reliefs in question being placed aloft on the frieze of the Parthenon, and thus intended to be seen but at a distance. The arbitrator

besides added, in a philosophic spirit, that the forte of Phidias did not consist in delicacy of chiselling; this belonged but to the later epoch of Praxiteles and Cleomenes. The attributes distinctive of Phidias were boldness and breadth, freedom and force. He was the Angelo of statuary preceding the Raphael and the Titian. His judgment on the Elgin marbles, which decided the Parliament to purchase them, has been embodied in his 'Memoir on the Sculptures of the Parthenon,' a tract wherein is found the most complete interpretation of the mythological decorations of that famous edifice.

Soon after this London journey Visconti died, in 1818. The writer of the sketch before me, disposed throughout to be over-laudatory, recognizes, towards the close, what is a virtual confirmation of the mental estimate I have given both of Visconti and his class. 'His knowledge (we are told) was more abundant than his imagination was rich in resources. He was versed in all the ancients, and had their testimonies present to memory at the moment when they were required for the interpretation of a monument. But for invention—if we may give this name to the art of finding unforeseen relations—he possessed it but in very feeble development. His intellect was better furnished with common sense and logic than with movement and creative genius. And thus it happened that archæologists, who were his inferiors in ability and very far from being possessed of his immense erudition, have, however, thrown out ideas more profound and more ingenious.'

The eminent architect of the Louvre, who died suddenly the other day, was, I believe, a son of the subject of the foregoing notice.

There prevails, at this moment, in the archæological world, a dispute about a celebrated monument of ancient Athens. It concerns the identity and locality of the rostrum from which Demosthenes, with all his predecessors, 'fulminated over Greece.' The Pnyx—or, as by permutation we call it *Anglicé*, the Pynx—has been considered as well ascertained by the following set of indications; which rest, themselves, on the concurrent testimony of the authors. It was an *elevated* place, an *eminence*, of easy access on the side of the city, whence the phrase of *going up* to the assembly of the people. The ground was rocky, or at least covered with masses of stone to supply seats. The site was such that the seated auditors could see what passed in a part of the *Agora*: it must have also commanded a prospect so free from obstacle on every side, that it was selected for his *observatory* by Meton. Now, this description of a *rocky hillock* can be traced at present but to the *west* of the city, where alone the ground arises into eminences, running duly from north to south. Of these eminences, the most prominent and southern bore the *Museum*. On a second, more adjacent to the Acropolis, arose the Areopagus. Of the two remaining, the more northern was called the Hill of the *popular Nymphs*; the epithet *popular* deriving, doubtless, from the vicinity of the place of assembly. This accordingly, or the famous Pnyx, could have its site but on the other hillock, which lay in front of that of the *Nymphs*, to the north of the *Museum*, to the west of the *Areopagus*, and in view of a large part of the *Agora*. These several bearings, with many others, are abundantly attested in Greek poetry, history, or mythology.

The interior evidence of the remains are not less conclusive than the exterior. In an indentation, an obtuse angle of the hill containing the Pnyx, formed by two walls cut vertically in the rock, and bounding on the west the ample area of the Greek forum, is an enormous block of squared stone, isolated on three sides, and adhering by the fourth to the general mass of the rock. This block measures eleven feet in all directions. It is elevated upon three steps, and the whole height is six feet. The ascent is by a double range of stairs, one on each side, and on the platform the surface is uneven, as if left unwrought. This, then, is what has hitherto been deemed the *tribune*, the *τὸ βῆμα*, the rock of Horeb, from which proceeded the mental fountain of Attic eloquence.

But no, says one of those German mixtures of erudition and illuminatism, your pretended Pnyx is in truth an altar of the 'Supreme Jupiter.' The proof is, that several 'votive tablets' have, in the beginning of the present century, been gathered up about the spot, inscribed, in terms, to that divinity. Mr. Welcher does not explain to us this divinity mythologically, nor show historically that the worship of such a god has prevailed at Athens. No more does he advert to other

objections to his theory, resulting from the topographical displacement of the Pnyx, and which obliged him to assign it elsewhere at least a possible situation. And yet this theory, thus supported, Mr. Welcher himself pronounces to be like unto a 'flash of lightning in a dark night,' and it has rushed upon him, he details complacently, as he was passing one day the Pnyx, in the company of a friend who chanced to mention the word *altar*!

How naively characteristic of the German method of speculation! It brings to mind, for instance, Oken who, likewise walking one day in a forest, and observing the skeleton of a horse's head, exclaimed, 'Behold a vertebral column!' Not that I do not think that Oken made a real and valuable discovery, and that great ideas, in even positive science, may come like visions or inspirations. But it is precisely in science proper that the phenomenon may well occur, and not in matter of mere history or antiquities. The accidental illuminations of your Teutonic geniuses, in these departments, are no better for the most part than what is called a 'mare's nest.' It may be doubted that the authors themselves conceive them other than those *tours de force*, which denote an adolescent stage of the national intellect.

That Mr. Welcher's new light on the Athenian Pnyx is of this description has been shown conclusively by M. Raoul Rochette, in the December number of the *Journal des Savants*. This pragmatic antiquary easily vindicated the received site of the Attic rostrum, and with an affluence of erudition too complimentary to the attack.

An Algerian paper entitled *L'Africain* contains the following: 'A discovery of great interest to paleontology has been made, a few days back, adjacent to the gates of Constantine, by MM. Henrie and Gouvet, engineers of roads and bridges, in cutting a trench for the reception of an aqueduct. The cranium of a skeleton embodied in a layer of limestone having chanced to attract their attention, they directed an excavation, and were not long in turning up a thigh-bone of enormous dimensions, which could have evidently not belonged to any of the living animal species.

The excavations having been continued, this discovery was soon succeeded by that of the greater portion of the bones of the legs of the embodied animal, the vertebræ, the ribs, an omoplat, tusks like those of the wild boar, but about a foot in length: the teeth, in fine, and the upper part of the head of the animal in a condition of singular preservation.

This gigantic head measures little less than a yard from the teeth to the pole, and its breadth at the right of the frontal bone is nearly a foot and a half. The under maxillary had been armed with tusks; the anterior portion of the superior maxillary was furnished with long teeth of a circular edging.

The legs were nearly equal to those of a horse. But the curvature of the ribs shows that the vastness of the trunk must have quadrupled at least that of a large-sized ox. The head has much resemblance to that of the hippopotamus; the mouth must have been a machine of prodigious power, and its tusks a formidable instrument of combat. It was found impossible to give a name to this singular animal, which belongs perhaps to the numerous family of the antediluvian pachyderms.

The soil in which it has been found is a soft calcareous rock appertaining to the sub-Apennine stage of the tertiary formation. The exploration threw up also the bones of evidently other animals; and it is known that near Sidi-Malrouk, there were discovered, not many years since, a considerable number of bones, and that among these bones was the cranium of a singularly-shaped animal.

Your travelling public of London may be glad to hear of a new Guide book, which would seem destined to supersede, as soon as known, its predecessors in the art of ushering through both the ancient and the actual labyrinths of the Eternal City. The plan proceeds upon a middle course between the bare register of nomenclatures, and the antiquarian and topographical repositories on the subject. To combine the correctness of the latter with the compendiousness of the former, would appear the aim of M. Robello, who has the advantage of being a native. The distribution of the work presents three principal divisions: the first comprises the city proper of Rome; the second, the surrounding country, or *Agro romano*; the third gives the description of the galleries and the museums. Each

department is subdivided into short sectional specifications of the several monuments, streets, pictures, or other objects to be made known. In addition, there are two maps, the one general, the other detailed; and all this in one *octodecimo* volume.

Yet I do not introduce it here for the sole convenience of your travelling readers. My chief object was to present you a few of its antiquarian items; which will, moreover, at the same time suggest the tenor of the execution.

M. Robello begins with the beginning. He explains that Rome primordially had three appellations: *Flora* was the sacerdotal name; *Amor* the mysterious one; and *Rome*, the anagram of *Amor*, which was the civil one. It was named *Roma-quadrata*, from the square form of the Palatine hill, which was the original nucleus of the city. Rome for 800 years kept within the enclosure raised by Servius Tullius, which consisted of about eight miles in circumference. In the year of our era 271, it was extended, under Aurelian, to fifty miles. The population at that period numbered one million five hundred thousand. Then came the translation of the seat of Empire to Constantinople, which enormously depopulated Rome. The vast compass of the enclosure became in consequence not merely idle, but besides, a grievous inconvenience, because of the difficulty of defending it with reduced numbers against the invasions of the northern barbarians. Accordingly, the Emperor Honorius had most of this bulwark taken down, and the materials were employed to build a new enclosure, twelve miles in circuit. This wall subsists to the present day, and encloses Rome on the left of the Tibur.

The perimeter of the entire city is at present 16 miles; that is, 38 less than under Aurelian, and four more than under Honorius. It is built on eleven hills, of which nine are on the left, and two upon the right bank of the river. One of the latter, named *Monte Testaccio*, is but a heap of rubbish composed of fish shells, broken potsherd and garbage, like those observed in many parts of Paris and, no doubt, of London.

The gates of Rome, under Servius Tullius, numbered 16. Our author details the names with their historical explanation; for he is simple enough to laud the 'ingenuity' of the Romans in having chosen, as he imagines, appellations of significance! But, so far from ingenuity, the thing was a result of barbarity; and was, instead of being a choice, a hard necessity. It was accordingly what has been done by all nations at analogous epochs; when a name could no more be abstractedly created for a place or object, than the place or object could have been created by man from nothing. But to return to the gates of Rome: the number has not been transmitted, to which they naturally must have multiplied in the vast circuit of Aurelian. Those in the wall of Honorius, which for the most part may be still counted, consisted of twelve on the left bank, and only three on the right. And these had their appellations from the corresponding Consular highroads which concentrated in the city—showing an advanced system of denomination. Rome at present, though the area be something larger than that of Honorius, counts but twelve on both the banks of the river.

The bridges across the Tibur had been anciently seven, of which four continue still in sound condition. First, the *Ponte quattro cupi* (or fourhead bridge), from the two four-headed *Hermes* that are observed at its entrance: it was previously called the *Pons Fabricius*. Except the parapets, it is as whole as ever after nineteen centuries of city service. M. Robello aptly mentions on this occasion the Roman law, which obliged the *Ædiles* to have new bridges guaranteed for forty years. Thus, the constructor of the bridge in question has well redeemed his guarantee. The others, also, are not much more recent in their origin. That of *San Bartolomeo* is not known. This bridge is also named *Serrato*, from the chains by which it anchors the flour-mills placed upon the Tibur, by the contrivance of Belisarius, when the city was blockaded by the Goths. The third, or *Ponte Sisto*, was constructed under Caracalla, in the year 199. The fourth and finest of the whole, the *Ponte Sant' Angelo*, goes still back to about 136. It was originally called the *Pons Ælius*, from *Ælius* Adrianus, the builder. But the saints have here, as elsewhere, usurped the glory of their predecessors.

M. Chevreul, of the Academy of Sciences, continues, in the *Journal des Savants*, December number, to trace the history of the *baguette divinatoire*. In the present

paper, he analyses the principal writings on the subject, which had appeared during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Of these, the most remarkable had been occasioned, *pro* and *con*, by the performances of Jacques Aymar, a wizard famous in this line, and whose achievements, or at least his name, cannot be unknown to even British readers. The most notorious of these operations has been related with emphatic detail by Dr. Ashburner, in his translation of Von Reichenbach's *Dynamics*. It consisted in the detection of the perpetrators of a murder, and the strict pursuit of them for several leagues, a large portion of the way by water, accomplished through the guidance, as was pretended, of the divining-rod.

The fact of the detection cannot, it seems, be doubted; no more can the exactness of the indications of Jacques Aymar as to the windings of the murderers in their retreat from the scene of guilt: both these particulars were confirmed by the confession and the conviction of the only one of the three accomplices who had been actually arrested—the other two having been successful in effecting their escape from a French port but a few hours earlier than it had been entered by their strange pursuer. Nor is there reason to suspect that this pursuer could have been pre-informed through any of the ordinary channels of information. He had been sent for to a long distance, from his reputation in the premises, and upon failure of the authorities to find a clue to the said murderers. Introduced into the cellar where the deed had been committed, and thus set upon the trail, he thence pursued it like a bloodhound, still accompanied by some *gens-d'armes*, and with the results already stated.

The question is, then, whether this success has not been due to something of the bloodhound instinct, or whether really it be attributable to a mystic virtue in the divining-rod?

We know the latter is the explanation of a school of mystical philosophers, of whom the Doctor already named is, I believe, the hierophant in London. The theory of our more hard-headed Academician will no doubt be different; but its exposition he has postponed till all the facts shall have been scrutinized. In sifting those of the present case, he adds the following information, which your enthusiastic townsman has either suppressed or been unaware of—as I must own had been the case with your correspondent.

It seems that Aymar had, in consequence of the astonishment thus excited, been directed by the Prince of Condé to come to Paris. The object was to test him rigorously by a series of experiments, preconcerted of course, to baffle any mere conjectures. The result is on record in a letter of the Prince, and also one of the Attorney-General, who made arrangements for this covert trial. Well, both these documents attest that Jacques Aymar and his divining-rod had failed utterly in every one of the experiments. They further state the following incident, though quite unconscious of its real import. It seems that Aymar, on being shown his failures, declared the wand could not direct him, but in relation to such objects as he had the *intention* of discovering; not to those of whose existence he had had no notion. Here is probably the hitch whereby the sorcery of Jacques Aymar will have been linked on to the physical theory of M. Chevreul. In the divining-rod, as in the dancing-tables, the mere *bias of the intention* acts mechanically on the muscles of the fingers.

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OBITUARY.

On June 13th, at Brighton, in his 55th year, the Rev. Henry Townsend Powell. He was of Oriel College, Oxford, B.A. 1821, M.A. 1824. He was the author of several works; among others of 'Roman Fallacies,' which is highly recommended by Dr. Hook in his 'Church Dictionary.'

M. Conrad d'Orelli, a Swiss philologist of considerable note, has just died at Zurich.

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THE
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No. XIV.—JANUARY, 1855.

JOHN KITTO, D.D., F.S.A.

In Memoriam.

It is our painful duty to record the death of the originator and successful Editor of this JOURNAL, and we feel it due to his memory to express our sense of his varied accomplishments and excellences in the most prominent manner. Removed from this transient and imperfect state of being, his sensitive spirit cannot now recoil from the accents of praise, or deprecate the tribute of a well-deserved eulogy. He departed this life on the 25th of November, at Cannstat, near Stuttgart, in Wurtemberg, whither he had retired with his family in the hope of overcoming the malady under which he was suffering. But it seemed good to a wise, though mysterious Providence, still further to afflict him, and the loss of two children, the oldest and the youngest, during his brief sojourn in a strange land, had doubtless an unfavourable effect on his general health, and hastened the last fatal attack. During the whole of his illness he experienced the value of the truth contained in THE BOOK which his life had been devoted to illustrate, and we are

enabled to follow him by faith to that bright and happy world of which the earthly Canaan, with whose physical features he was so familiar, is but an emblem.

We have so recently given an estimate of the literary character and productions of Dr. Kitto,* that we need not here dwell upon them. He has left durable monuments of extensive knowledge, sanctified to the service of religion and virtue. Our task will now be, in few words, to point to some more personal characteristics, so as to make him more known, as a man, to our readers. Shut out as he was from society by the utter absence of hearing, and, as the result of that, the almost destitution of intelligible speech, his intercourse with living men was exceedingly limited. Yet no one was better formed, by intrinsic social qualities, for the offices and pleasures of intercommunion with his fellow-men. His countenance was a true index of his soul, and it at once bespoke the favour of all who came into contact with him, making them the more deeply regret the want of an unrestricted and rapid communication. The accident in childhood, which for ever closed upon him the world of sounds, had also in some degree made him short of stature, but no one could converse with him without being struck with the finely-developed head and bust, and the features lit up with benevolence and intellectual life. His eye, naturally fine and quick, had acquired an eloquence increased in proportion to the want of exercise of hearing and speech. It spake of thought, ever underlaid by kindness, and by its varied expression went far to make amends for the absence of the living voice. By practice it caught with surprising quickness the intended communications of those who associated with him, and thus rendered intercourse more easy. Fortunately, a good portrait of him is in

* Popular Biblical Writers : Dr. Kitto. J. S. L., April, 1854.

existence, and we hope it will soon adorn the full record of his Life which public respect and admiration of his talents will demand.

There can be no question that the impassable barrier erected against Dr. Kitto's intimacy with the external living world made more complete and entire his internal sources of pleasure, and that the calmness of his appearance was only the genuine reflex of much tranquillity within. He experienced much of the sunshine of the soul. Seated in his ample library, his communings were with the mighty dead, interrupted indeed by cares and anxieties more pressing as years advanced, yet far more continuous and perfect than can be the lot of most literary men. Then, there was much in the peculiar department of mental labour which he cultivated, to soothe his feelings, and beget that happy, contented mood which he more frequently enjoyed. His whole literary life had to do with Holy Scripture, not so much in its doctrinal, as in its external physical relations, so that he was constantly surrounded with that which was peaceful, holy, and divine. This would have been the case, in some degree, if he had gained all his acquaintance of Eastern life from books, but it was much more so from his being personally familiar with it, and from having his imagination stored with all that is illustrative of the scenes and habits of life depicted in the Scriptures. When to all this we add that he was a firm believer in Divine Revelation, and experienced its lofty pleasures and aspirations, we may safely affirm that Dr. Kitto was, what his appearance intimated him to be, a happy man.

But, in proportion as we believe Dr. Kitto's personal defects to have been to him, in easy and prosperous circumstances, an enhancement of intellectual pleasures, we must admit the painful conviction that they rendered more intense the pains of seasons of trouble. For some years

premonitions were not wanting of some perilous work going on in the organs of thought, on the healthful action of which his all of earthly possessions depended. From the moment this state of things became suspected, deep anxiety must have been produced as to the result, and this by its inevitable reaction would more confirm the cause. It is well known that literary occupations become more irksome in proportion to the consciousness that one writes for bread; and when to this constant drawback was added the failing of healthful energy, Dr. Kitto's solitudes must have been heavy and keen indeed. Then it was that the want of the power of freely communicating with living men must have been felt as an unmitigated calamity, deepening into yet darker hue the gathering shades of temporal misfortune. Many a man has almost forgotten his troubles by talking of them to sympathizing friendship, but this solace was denied to Dr. Kitto. The demands of his family bound him closely to his desk, and, as he plied his pen for their benefit, he must often have felt how different was his profession from that of most other men; for his was confined to himself,—no one could transact it for him, for even a single day. For him, to be laid aside was to lose all; and as writing became more and more a labour, and the overworked brain gave indications of succumbing to its toil, how sad must have been his anticipation of the future!

The heavy cloud at length broke, and the flood of trouble descended. He bore his painful visitation with patient submission to the will of that God who had led him all his life long until that day, and in whom he still confided for all that was to come. And when, far from his native home, death struck down his firstborn, whose name, Shireen, was a reminiscence of early happiness in the fair lands of the East, he groaned in spirit, but still submitted. With a presentiment of his own dissolution,

he purchased a grave at the side of that of his daughter, and, with her dying faith and hope still vividly before him, he quickly followed her to the bosom of their Father and their God.

To the great numbers of persons who have been benefited by the writings of Dr. Kitto, and to those who are sensible of his eminent services to Biblical Literature, the sacred trust is committed of attempting to place in some degree of comfort the objects of his affection whom he has left behind him. In alluding to the destitute condition of his family, we have a word to say in explanation, which we could not give while its object was living, but which may now be appropriate. We do not profess to sympathize with the complaint that literary men are neglected; the more correct statement would be that they too often neglect themselves. If we except the large and increasing class of professional writers employed on newspapers and other literary property for which there is a sure demand, we think no man *ought* to expect to live by the productions of his brain. Original works may be fine productions, destined to gain immortality for their authors, and yet they may quite fail on their appearance to beget a demand on the part of the public. Should their author have depended on such works for a maintenance, who is to blame if he is disappointed, and comes to poverty? The real fault is his having ever depended on what in its very nature is so precarious and uncertain, and, in such a case, to rail against the world of publishers and readers is mere folly or inconsideration.

But Dr. Kitto was altogether an exception to the observation just made, and we feel that his literary career was in every way honourable to himself and to his publishers. We have been asked how it was that, having written so many popular works, he should be destitute of advantage from them when his health failed. But it

is forgotten that Dr. Kitto had brought up and educated a large family solely on the emoluments derived from his works, and that, in fact, the wonder is not that he secured so little pecuniary advantage from them, but that he gained so much. Had he retained his copyrights he could not have supported his family on the yearly produce of his works. By selling them he was able to secure and maintain a position of comfort and respectability, until the stopping of his mental operations closed up all sources of profit at once. It must also be remembered that the popularity of works can only in rare cases be predicted beforehand. Publishers run great risks, and have to balance many failures against one instance of marked success.

Prevented by no fault of his own from filling the ordinary spheres of worldly competition, Dr. Kitto entered the field of literature, and cultivated it successfully for himself and others. But, to keep up the figure, he has left it far richer than he found it, and it is only reasonable that those who are benefiting by his good husbandry should now express their gratitude. We cannot but hope that before these lines meet the eye of our readers the bounty of Her Majesty, extended to the departed, may be graciously continued to his family. We may also again recur to the desirableness of some memorials of a life of no ordinary interest in its external events, and of abundant fruitfulness in its relation to mankind, being drawn up from existing materials. Judiciously done, considerable pecuniary advantage would be realized, as a grateful and appropriate mode of aiding the widow and the fatherless.

THE LETTERS OF ATHANASIUS.*

OCCASIONAL discoveries keep the fact before our minds that antiquity has not yet disclosed all her treasures, and that the world may yet be assisted in solving interesting problems by newly-found relics of the past. This has lately been eminently the case with buried cities and their monumental testimony; nor have the researches made into old and neglected libraries been less fruitful in unexpected results. We cannot reasonably expect that the earth now holds on its surface such unknown intellectual riches as are contained beneath it, because papyrus and parchment are less durable than stone; but it may be concluded, notwithstanding, that the enterprising spirit of the age will yet draw from their mouldering hiding-places many precious documents.

The work now before us owes its introduction to the literary world of Europe to three concurring causes—the sad decay of learning in the East, its vigorous life in the West, and the liberality of our Government. A few years ago it formed a part of the library of a monastery in the valley of Scete, in the desert of Nitria, near the Natron lakes in Lower Egypt, a portion of a treasure once accumulated with learned zeal, but at length, in the lapse of centuries, losing all its literary value in the eyes of its possessors, and only saved from destruction by apparently fortuitous circumstances. The Syriac language, once vernacular to the pious recluses of those solitary regions, having become a dead one, its documents lost all their interest. But their existence was known in the West, and occasionally attempts were made, but with little success, to rescue them from their neglected and perishing condition, until, in the year 1842 and onward, by the exertions of the Rev. Henry, now Dr. Tattam, and M. Pachó, a native of Alexandria, assisted by grants of money from the British Government, an immense collection of Syriac mss. was safely lodged in the British Museum. They are all of great antiquity, on vellum of fine quality, and, thanks to the dry atmosphere of

* 1. *The Festal Letters of Athanasius*, discovered in an ancient Syriac Version, and edited by William Cureton, M.A., F.R.S. London: Printed for the Society for the Publication of Oriental Texts. 1848. Imp. 8vo. Pp. 186.

2. *The Festal Epistles of S. Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria*, translated from the Syriac, with Notes and Indices. (Translated by the Rev. Henry Burgess, LL.D., Ph.D.; edited by the Rev. H. G. Williams, B.D., Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.) Oxford: Parker. 1854. 8vo. Pp. 190.

3. *Die Fest-Briefe des Heiligen Athanasius, Bischofs von Alexandria*. Aus dem Syrischen übersetzt, und durch Anmerkungen erläutert, von F. Larsow. Leipzig. 1852. Pp. 164.

Egypt, mostly in good condition. They consist partly of original works in ecclesiastical literature, but principally of translations of treatises, many of which have long been lost in the originals. The Theophania of Eusebius has been edited and translated by the late Dr. Samuel Lee; the Rev. W. Cureton has edited and published the texts of the celebrated Syriac version of the Epistles of Ignatius, the Letters of Athanasius, and a valuable work entitled 'The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John of Ephesus.' The same gentleman is also preparing for publication a precious codex of the four Gospels, with the title, '*Quatuor evangeliorum Syriacè, recensiois antiquissimæ, atque in Occidente adhuc ignotæ quod superest: e codice vetustissimo nitriensi eruit et vulgavit Guilielmus Cureton.*' In the present number of the JOURNAL will be found a translation of a small but highly valuable document from this collection, an Apology of Melito, Bishop of Sardis. It is to be lamented that the want of pecuniary encouragement, or of that *learned leisure* which, more in theory than in practice, the Church of England confers on scholars, should confine these rescued treasures of the East to their Russia bindings in our national repository.

The Letters of Athanasius, called Festal, from their reference to the feast of Easter, the date of which they fixed year by year, were known by report, and also by a few fragments in other writers; but in their original Greek they have long since, apparently, perished. This had always been a source of grief to the learned, especially to those interested in the history of the early Church, as it was presumed the epistles of a man so renowned as this great defender of orthodoxy would throw much light on doubtful or dark points. When, therefore, it was discovered that among the Syriac mss. brought from Egypt there was a translation of a large portion of these epistles, the greatest interest was excited, Mr. Cureton's share in which we will allow him to relate in his own words.

'When Dr. Tattam, now Archdeacon of Bedford, returned from Egypt in the year 1842, having so successfully accomplished the object of the mission with which he had been intrusted by her Majesty's Government, the inestimable treasures of Syriac literature which he had been fortunate enough to obtain were delivered to the trustees of the British Museum, and deposited in the national library. In the course of official duties, the task of classifying the volumes, of gathering together, collating, and arranging the numberless fragments and loose leaves of which this collection consisted, and of drawing up a summary of their contents, devolved on me. At the first sight of such an immense mass of broken, shattered, and confused materials, the labour appeared to be enormous; and I almost shrank from the task as one too great for me to hope to accomplish within the utmost limit of that

portion of my life which I could wish to pass in this kind of occupation. But a warm zeal in the cause which I had in hand, strengthened and encouraged by the satisfaction of having had the expectation which I had entertained, even while they were in the desert, of seeing and handling these precious volumes, thus realised, the delight of becoming acquainted with their contents, and the hope of obtaining leisure at some subsequent period to open their stores to others, tended much to lighten the labour, and enabled me almost to complete the task much sooner than I could have ventured to anticipate.

‘Among other works which time and neglect had rendered imperfect, and left but fragments only remaining, I discovered a portion of the Festal Letters of St. Athanasius. The volume to which these fragments belonged had originally been composed of a number of quires, each consisting of five pieces of vellum of folio size, laid one upon the other, and then folded and sewed together, so as to form ten quarto leaves, or twenty pages. . . In these were comprised a portion of the Introduction, the last part of the sixth and the first part of the seventh, together with a part of the tenth and eleventh, the whole of the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth Letters, and the first part of the twentieth. The fifteenth and sixteenth had been already lost before the Epistles were collected together into one volume. Delighted at having recovered so much of a long series of official letters by one of the most celebrated bishops of Christian antiquity, whose genius has exercised an influence upon the Church for fifteen centuries—whose zeal and sufferings for the orthodox faith, and the stirring circumstances of the period at which he lived, must give an interest to every genuine line that has proceeded from his pen—I resolved at once to transcribe, translate, and publish the contents of these fragments, and to add also a few passages from other of his Festal Letters, which in the course of my reading I had observed cited by other authors, whose works were contained in the collection of Syriac manuscripts then in my hands. The transcript was made at such intervals of leisure as I could command, and the text was committed to type in the spring of the year 1846.’

It was afterwards discovered that the monks of the monastery of St. Mary Deipara had not kept faith with Dr. Tattam, but, while concluding a bargain for the whole, had kept back part of their mss. After many romantic adventures, this portion was secured by the diplomacy of M. Pacho, and then another large fragment of the Festal Letters was added by Mr. Cureton to those which had been printed. It is probable that we now have all that is recoverable of the collection, consisting of nineteen letters, a few of which are but fragments. These were published by Mr. Cureton in the Syriac text, without translation or notes, but accompanied by a valuable preface, from which we have given the above extracts. In this form, except to a very few scholars, these antique remains were useless; for the little knowledge of

Syriac possessed by some students on leaving college, or even by the generality of readers of the Syriac New Testament, would be inadequate to the translation of these Letters, destitute as they are of any explanations, and in the defective state of Syriac lexicons. Mr. Cureton had abandoned his intention of translating and annotating, although he expresses his sense of the importance of such a task in the following language :—

‘As the text of these Letters alone now forms not an inconsiderable volume, I have been unwilling to withhold them from the learned for the long and indefinite period which, with my present occupation and engagements, must elapse before I could venture to hope for sufficient leisure to complete the translation, and to make the researches which would be necessary to enable me to add such notes as I intended to accompany the work. In some other country, perhaps, where this branch of literature is more encouraged, and consequently better cultivated and understood, some scholar will be found who will be ready to undertake the task of presenting these Letters to the public in an European dress, before I can find the leisure requisite to do so. He will have my full concurrence and my best wishes. It will be no mean honour for him to be the first, after the lapse of centuries, to offer to the theologians of Europe the Letters in which St. Athanasius, through a series of succeeding years, exhibited to those under his spiritual superintendence a notification of the day on which they were to celebrate the annual commemoration of the Resurrection of our Lord. I shall be content to have extracted the ore from the mine, to be wrought and polished by another.’

The wish thus expressed was not long in meeting with its fulfilment; for at one time, in England and in Germany, labour was being independently bestowed on the Syriac text. In England, Dr. Burgess had completed a translation in the spring of the year 1851, for the ‘Library of the Fathers,’ published at Oxford, and delivered it to the Rev. H. G. Williams, the editor, with an understanding that it was to be corrected and improved by mutual consent, previous to publication. Professor Larsow’s version did not appear until 1852; and therefore priority of execution, though not of publication, belongs to the English work, although it must also be said, the latter had the benefit of a comparison with the former, before it went forth to the world.^b The essential similarity of these two independent translations was gratifying, inasmuch as it showed that the reliques of olden language and time were capable of being rendered with certainty into modern tongues. Mr. Williams having made considerable alterations,

^b The Letters have also been reprinted, with a Latin translation, in the sixth volume of the ‘Nova Bibliotheca Patrum,’ by the late Cardinal Mai. This edition appeared after the English translation was printed, but previous to the preliminary matter being completed.

which were either admitted or modified by Dr. Burgess, the work at length appeared. The notes, which are numerous and important, are all by Mr. Williams, and for them he alone is responsible. They are in a great measure philological, and often succeed in throwing light on the text by conjectural revivals of the Greek original, deduced from a close acquaintance with the extant works of Athanasius.

From the Introduction to the English Translation, furnished by the editor, the following particulars are quoted, as supplying valuable information on the occasions and the character of these Letters :—

‘At an earlier period of the Church, Festal Letters had been sent by the Bishop of Alexandria, as we learn from Eusebius,^c who speaks of those sent by Dionysius, the thirteenth bishop (A.D. 247 to A.D. 265). In them, according to the same authority, he had treated of the high character of the Paschal Festival, had argued the necessity for celebrating it after the time of the vernal equinox, and had moreover published a canon to serve for eight years. A small fragment from the fourth of these letters, consisting of exhortations to peace and goodwill, is preserved in Damascen. Op. tom. ii. p. 753. The names by which such Letters were designated are various. They were denominated *ἐπιστολαὶ ἑορταστικαὶ*, “Festal Epistles,” not as treating of Christian festivals in general, but of the great Christian festival of Easter in particular. So the heading to the chapter of Eusebius just referred to is, *περὶ τῶν ἑορταστικῶν Διονυσίου ἐπιστολῶν*, “Of the Festal Epistles of Dionysius.” In the same way they were denominated *γράμματα πασχαλῖα*, “Paschal Letters.” The name *ὁμιλαὶ ἑορταστικαὶ*, “Festal Homilies,” was also applied to them. Such is the title prefixed to the various discourses of S. Cyril on the subject. One of these, the twenty-fifth, concludes with an epistolary salutation. Such discourses were probably both sent as Letters, and publicly read as Homilies.

‘This early custom of the Bishop of Alexandria sending Festal Letters is thus spoken of by Cassian.^d “Intra Ægypti regionem mos iste antiquus traditione servatur, ut peracto epiphaniarum die, quem provincie illius sacerdotes vel Dominici baptismi, vel secundum carnem, nativitatē esse definiunt, et idcirco utriusque sacramenti solemnitatem, non bifarie, ut in occiduis provinciis, sed sub una diei hujus festivitate concelebrant, epistolæ pontificis Alexandrini per universas diriguntur Ægypti ecclesias, quibus initium quadragesimæ, et dies paschæ, non solum per civitates omnes, sed etiam per universa monasteria designentur.” But it was not till the time of the Council of Nice that the duty of notifying to the Christian Church the time at which Easter was to be celebrated was formally delegated to the Bishop of Alexandria. Among other matters there discussed was the important question respecting the Paschal Festival. Together with the decision that

^c Euseb. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 20.

^d Cassian Collat. x. cap. 1.

the Roman method should be adopted throughout Christendom, it was determined that the calculation of the day from year to year should devolve on the Bishop of Alexandria, and that notice should be sent by him to the other churches.* The superior astronomical knowledge found in Egypt doubtless formed one reason for the duty thus devolved on the Bishop of Alexandria. The words of Leo are to this effect:—"Sancti Patres studuerunt itaque occasionem hujus erroris auferre omnem hanc curam Alexandrino Episcopo delegantes (quoniam apud Ægyptios hujus supputationis antiquitas tradita esse peritia) per quem quotannis dies prædictæ solemnitate Sedi Apostolicæ indicentur, cujus scriptis ad longinquiores ecclesias indicium generale percurreret." The fact here noted by Leo, that the Festal announcement was not confined to the churches of Egypt, is also made clear by S. Athanasius himself, who expressly speaks in the eighteenth Letter of his having sent the notice to the Romans. But another reason is doubtless to be sought in the important position the Primate of Alexandria held in the Christian Church. It was in virtue of this dignity that, as sole Metropolitan, he possessed, from ancient time, the exclusive privilege of ordaining bishops in Egypt, Syria, and Pentapolis; a right confirmed to him by the sixth canon of the same council.' . . .

'The character of the Letters, as will be seen, is not often controversial, though the doctrines and practices of the Arian, Manichean, and other heretics are occasionally introduced to be refuted or reprobated. Nor is occasion often taken to refer to the passing history of the Church, though the particular circumstances under which some of them were penned have called forth matters connected with the writer individually, suggested allusions to persecutions then raging, or prompted expressions of thankfulness for a return of tranquillity. The postscript to the thirteenth Letter, as well as the Letter to Serapion, will be valued, as furnishing the names of some of the Egyptian bishops, and of some dioceses not previously known as such. But, in general, our author confines himself in the Festal Letters to matters more directly connected with the subject before him. While, according to the authority committed to him, he notifies the day on which the great Christian festival is to be held, he takes occasion, at the same time, to stir up the minds of the faithful to the importance of a due and spiritual observance of the great and holy feast, frequently contrasting its character with that of the Jewish Passover, and dwelling upon the superiority of the former. Anxious to build up in the faith those committed to his charge, he inculcates the necessity of a steadfast adherence thereto against all adversaries; while he earnestly urges upon them the intimate connection between purity of faith and holiness of life. Love to God, charity to our neighbour, diligence in prayer and thanksgiving, distribution to the poor, a careful study of the Holy Scriptures, are subjects upon which he often dilates. When an exile, through the fury or treachery of his enemies, he reminds his flock of the spiritual unity of Christians, wherever they may be: when

* Bingham, Ant. book ii. ch. xvi. § 21.

restored to the Church, he invites them to join him in thanksgiving.'—*Introduction*, pp. vii.-xii.

But in order that our readers may be able themselves to judge of the character of these productions, we will give one letter entire. Let it be the thirteenth, which is both brief and characteristic :—

‘*Coss. Marcellinus, Probinus ; Præf. Longinus ; Indict. XIV. ; Easter-day, XIII. Kal. Maii ; XXIV. Pharmuthi ; Æra Dioclet. 57.—A.D. 341. (Easter-day on April 19.)*

‘EVEN now, my beloved brethren, I do not shrink from notifying to you the saving feast, which occurs according to annual custom. For although, with afflictions and sorrows, the opposers of Christ have oppressed you also together with us ; yet, God having comforted us by our mutual faith, behold, I even write to you from Rome. Keeping the feast here with the brethren, still I also keep it with you in will and in spirit ; for we send up prayers in common to God, “who hath granted us not only to believe in him, but also now to suffer for his sake.” For, troubled as we are, because we are so far from you, he moves us to write, that by a letter we might comfort ourselves, and provoke one another to good. For, indeed, numerous afflictions and bitter persecutions directed against the Church have been against us. For heretics, depraved in their mind, untried in the faith, rising against the truth, violently persecute the Church ; and of the brethren, some are scourged, and others torn asunder by the rack ; and, what is still more hard, the ill-treatment reaches even to the Bishops. Nevertheless, it is not becoming, on this account, that we should neglect the feast. So far from neglecting the commemoration of it, even for a time, we should the rather bear it in remembrance.

‘Now such things as seasons for feasts are not thought of by the unbelievers, because they spend all their lives in revelling and follies ; and the feasts that obtain among them are an occasion of grief rather than of joy. But to us in this present life they are especially an uninterrupted passage [to heaven]—it is indeed our season. For such things as these serve for exercise and trial, so that, having approved ourselves zealous and chosen servants of Christ, we may be fellow-heirs with the saints. For thus Job : “The whole world is a trial to men upon the earth.” Nevertheless, they are proved in this world by afflictions, labours, and sorrows, to the end that each one also may receive of God such reward as is meet for him ; as he saith by the prophet, “I am the Lord, who trieth the hearts, and searcheth the reins, to give to every one according to his ways.” But he does not first know the things of a man on his being tried ; for he knows them all before they come to pass : but because he is good and philanthropic, he distributes to each a due reward according to his works, so that every man may exclaim, Righteous is the judgment of God ! As the prophet saith again, “The Lord trieth justice, and understandeth the reins.” And further, for this cause he trieth each one of us, either that to those who know it

not our virtue may be discovered by means of the trials laid upon us—as was said respecting Job, “Thinkest thou that I was revealed to thee for any other cause than that thou shouldest be seen righteous?”—or that, when men come to a sense of their deeds, they may know the temper of them, and may therefore either repent of their wickedness, or remain stedfast in the faith. Now the blessed Paul, when troubled by afflictions, and persecutions, and hunger and thirst, “in everything was a conqueror, through Jesus Christ, who loved us.” Through suffering, he was weak indeed in body ; yet, believing and hoping, he was strong in spirit, and his strength was made perfect in weakness.

‘But the other saints also, who had a like confidence in God, accepted a probation such as this with gladness ; as Job said, “Blessed be the name of the Lord.” But the Psalmist, “Search me, O Lord, and try me : prove my reins and my heart.” For since, when the strength is proved, it convinceth the foolish ; therefore they, perceiving the purity and the advantage resulting from the divine fire, did not draw back in trials like these. But they rather received a character from them, suffering no injury at all from the things which happened, but appearing more bright, like gold from the fire ; as he said, who was tried by such exercise as this, “Thou hast tried my heart ; Thou hast visited me in the night-season ; Thou hast proved me, and hast not found iniquity in me, so that my mouth shall not speak of the works of men.” But, on the other hand, those who are lawless in their actions, so that they know nothing more than eating and drinking and dying, account trials as danger. They soon stumble at them, so that, being untried in the faith, they are given over to a reprobate mind, and do those things which are not seemly. Therefore the blessed Paul, when urging us to such exercises as these, and having before measured himself by them, says, “Therefore I take pleasure in afflictions, in infirmities.” And again, “Exercise thyself unto godliness.” For since he knew the persecutions that accompanied those who chose to live in godliness, he wished his disciples to meditate beforehand on the difficulties connected with godliness ; that when trials should come, and affliction arise, they might be able to bear them easily, as having been exercised in these things. For in those things wherewith a man has been conversant in mind, there is a hidden joy which he ordinarily experiences. In this way, the blessed martyrs, since they were first conversant with trials, were quickly perfected in Christ, not at all regarding the injury of the body, while they contemplated the expected rest. But all those who “call their lands by their own names,” and have wood, and hay, and stubble in their thoughts ; such as these, since they are strangers to troubles, are aliens from the kingdom of heaven. Had they, however, known that “tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience, and experience hope, and hope maketh not ashamed,” they would have exercised themselves, after the example of Paul, who said, “I keep under my body and bring it into subjection, lest, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway.” But they easily bore the afflictions which were brought on them from time to time for their probation, for

the prophetic admonition was listened to by them, "It is good for a man to take up thy yoke in his youth; he shall sit alone and shall be silent, because he hath taken thy yoke upon him. He will give his cheek to him who smiteth him; he will be filled with reproaches. Because the Lord does not cast away for ever; for when he afflicteth, he is gracious, according to the multitude of his tender mercies." For if all these things should proceed from the enemies, stripes, insults, reproaches, yet they shall avail nothing against the tender mercies of God; since from them we shall quickly recover, they being temporal things, but God being always gracious, pouring out his tender mercies on those who please [him]. Therefore, my beloved brethren, we should not look at temporal things, but fix our attention on those which are eternal. Though affliction may come, it will have an end; though insult and persecution, yet are they nothing to the hope which is in reserve. For all present matters are trifling compared with those which are future; the sufferings of this present time not being worthy to be compared with the hope that is to come. For what can be compared with the kingdom? or what is like to everlasting life? Or what is all we could give here, compared with what we shall inherit yonder? For we are "heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ." Therefore it is not right, my beloved, to consider afflictions and persecutions, but the hopes which are laid up for us because of persecutions.

Now to this even the example of Issachar, the patriarch, may persuade, as the Scripture saith, "Issachar desires that which is good, resting between the heritages; and when he saw that the rest was good, and the land fertile, he bowed his shoulder to labour, and became a husbandman." Being consumed by divine love, like the spouse in the Canticles, he collected from the holy Scriptures that which is profitable; for his mind was captivated not by the old alone, but by both the heritages. And further, like one expanding his wings, he beheld the rest which is in heaven, while [he looked upon] the earth as full of good deeds—rather, in truth, the heavenly—since that is always new, and never grows old. For this earth passes away, as the Lord said; but that which is ready to receive the saints is immortal. Now when Issachar, the patriarch, saw these things, he joyfully made his boast of afflictions and toils, bowing his shoulders that he might labour. And he did not contend with those who smote him, neither was he disturbed by insults; but like a man triumphing the more by these things, and the more earnestly tilling his land, he received profit from it. The Word, indeed, scattered the seed, but he watchfully cultivated it, so that it brought forth fruit, even a hundred-fold.

Now what is this, my beloved, but that we also, when the enemies are set against us, should glory in afflictions? and that when we are persecuted we should not be discouraged, but should the rather press after the crown of the high calling in Christ Jesus our Lord? and that being insulted we should not be disturbed, but should give our cheek to the smiter, and even bow the shoulder? For the lovers of pleasure and the lovers of enmity are tried, as saith the blessed Apostle James,

“when they are drawn away by their own lusts and enticed.” But let us, knowing that we suffer for the truth, and that those who deny the Lord smite and persecute us, “count it all joy, my brethren,” according to the words of James, “when we fall into trials of various temptations, knowing that the trial of our faith worketh patience.” Let us even keep the feast with rejoicing, my brethren, knowing that our salvation is reserved in the time of affliction. For our Saviour did not redeem us by ease; but he abolished death by suffering for us. And respecting this he intimated to us before, saying, “In the world ye shall have tribulation.” But he did not say this to every man, but to those who diligently and faithfully perform good service to him, knowing beforehand that they should be persecuted who would live godly to him. “But evil-doers and deceivers will wax worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived.” If therefore, like the expounders of dreams and false prophets, who professed to give signs, these ignorant men, in the same manner, being drunk, not with wine, but with their own wickedness, make a profession of priesthood, and glory in their threats, believe them not; but since we are tried, let us humble ourselves, not being drawn away by them. For so God warned his people by Moses, saying, “If there shall rise up among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and shall give signs and tokens, and the sign or the token shall come to pass which he spake to thee, saying, Let us go and serve strange gods, which ye have not known; ye shall not hearken unto the words of that prophet or that dreamer of dreams. For the Lord your God trieth you, that he may know whether you will love the Lord your God with all your heart.” So we, when we are tried by these things, will not separate ourselves from the love of God. But let us also now keep the feast, my beloved, not as introducing a day of suffering, but of joy in Christ, by whom we are fed every day. Let us be mindful of him who was sacrificed in the days of the Passover; for we celebrate this, because Christ the Passover was sacrificed. He who once brought his people out of Egypt, and hath now abolished death, and him that had the power of death, that is, the devil, will also now turn him to shame, and again grant aid to those who are troubled, and cry unto God day and night.

‘We begin the fast of forty days on the thirteenth of Phamenoth (9th March), and the holy week of Easter on the eighteenth of Pharmuthi (April 13); and having ceased on the seventh day, being the twenty-third (April 18), and the first of the great week having dawned on the twenty-fourth of the same month Pharmuthi (April 19), let us reckon from it till Pentecost. And at all times let us sing praises, calling on Christ, being delivered from our enemies by Christ Jesus our Lord, through whom to the Father be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

‘Greet one another with a holy kiss. All those who are here with me salute you. I pray, my beloved brethren, that ye may have health in the Lord.

‘He (Athanasius) wrote this also from Rome. Here endeth the thirteenth Letter.’

The simple piety of this epistle must strike every reader. Its constant reference to Holy Scripture is another peculiarity; but we need not dwell on this, as it is a feature more or less exhibited by all the early Fathers of the Church. The allusion to Issachar is a good example of a style of hermeneutics, once generally acquiesced in, and in some quarters not yet quite obsolete. The strange anachronism of Issachar *collecting from the Holy Scriptures that which is profitable*, shows how unthinkingly a spiritualizing interpretation was pursued. There is a danger now of robbing the Old Testament of its real life, and of forgetting that it has, in all its parts, a reference to the whole of God's great design of mercy; yet we cannot but be glad that the true principles of exegesis are far better understood by us than by the holy men of the early centuries. On this passage Mr. Williams has the following note:—‘The primary and literal translation may be adhered to, without affecting the more hidden and spiritual explanation. Jarchi translates the passage figuratively, of Issachar being strong to bear the yoke of the law. The Jerusalem Targum thus paraphrases the verse:—“And he saw the rest of the world to come, that it was good, and the portion of the land of Israel, that it was pleasant; therefore he inclined his shoulders to work in the law, and his brethren brought gifts unto him.” This paraphrase appears to me in substance very similar to the comment of St. Athanasius on the passage. The patriarch looked upon this world as the present portion assigned him by God; he duly estimated the blessings connected with it, notwithstanding its trials and afflictions; and he therefore willingly and cheerfully acquiesced in his lot. But he looked forward to another and better heritage to be enjoyed hereafter, and it was the prospect of this especially that was his stay and support. The *literal* explanation of resting between the heritages must be sought in the particular tract of land in which the tribe was situated.’

There is something very affecting in the consideration of the vicissitudes to which the productions before us have been exposed. The ms. recovered in Egypt, from which Mr. Cureton's copy was printed, is said, on good authority, to be of the seventh or eighth century. At that date, therefore, Syriac literature was of sufficient importance to allow of its documents being carefully copied, no doubt both for use in the churches, and for the purposes of private study. At that time also the ‘Letters of Athanasius’ are popular, and form a necessary part of a monastic library, as is plain from their being translated from Greek into Syriac. Yet how soon, by the silent though powerful influence of various causes, religious, social, and political, is all this altered; the monastery loses its learned tendencies, and sinks into a state of

melancholy dotage; the 'Letters of Athanasius' are buried in oblivion, both in their original tongue and in the version; and the carefully written characters inscribed on choice vellum are sealed in the darkness and silence of centuries, while nations change their owners, and whole dynasties rise, flourish, and decay. The West, which at the time when the scribe laboured at our manuscript was contemplated by him as in a state of barbarism, gradually takes to itself the culture and learning of the East, until an entire change has taken place in the relative intellectual positions of those two quarters of the globe. From England, France, and Germany, arise those who pass over to the lands once as glorious in their mental attainments as in their clime. They find the seats of renowned schools, the chapels, the libraries, and the halls of a former civilization, but the spirit has fled, and their present owners bear only the external resemblance to the high souls they profess to succeed. They sell their birthright for a mess of pottage; they part with literary treasures for gold, and the ships of the Frank bear them from East to West, to place them in repositories where they will be revered, investigated, and made to deliver up their long-closed utterances. Such is only a rapid glance at the adventures of a Syriac ms.; a sketch which it would require no extraordinary power of fancy to expand into a captivating romance.

But as we convey to our national museum these spoils of a people who have fallen from their former greatness, we cannot avoid an emotion of tenderness for those who thus ignorantly deliver up their most precious possessions. The sculptured relics of Greece or Rome, or those of Pompeii or Nineveh, may be removed thousands of miles from the ruined cities they once adorned, without much feeling, because the peoples to whom they belonged are extinct upon the earth. But the case is different with the mss. of monasteries, which still call Christians to worship at the sound of the bell—still follow the rites and read the services of their predecessors. We experience a deep regret that the life should have left these still moving forms, and a desire, if possible, to animate them with some of their former mental power. Hence the many efforts made on behalf of the decayed churches of the East, as pious and sincere as they have hitherto proved fruitless—fruitless, we mean, as far as such efforts seek to infuse Christian energy into the antiquated fanes of churches whose candlesticks have long been removed out of their places. Perhaps the most enthusiastic lovers of the desolated holy palaces of ancient Christendom do not seriously expect that the time will ever come when in their forsaken temples shall again resound the accents of Athanasius or of Ephraim.

But we cannot, at all events, be doing wrong in collecting together these *κειμήλια* consecrated to the service of Christian piety, and in opening up their excellences to the general view. The English reader may derive great profit from the volume we have now introduced to him, if he will only approach its pages with a rational devotion, removed as much from superstition as from an unthinking depreciation. As ancient relics alone they are valuable; but they are far more—they are the thoughts and utterances of a man who has given a tone to the Christianity of all future time. We here see the great champion of orthodoxy contending with difficulties, and paying the penalties of his high position in persecutions and sufferings; and we find that, as in the case of the humblest Christian, he is made perfect by his trials. It is in such letters as these, which, though not strictly private, yet allowed of a full development of his own religious feelings, that we discern the operations of Divine grace in the heart of Athanasius. We hope therefore that no mistaken dislike of patristic literature will allow this volume to be neglected. It is the hard fate of human productions, like men's persons, to be judged of, not by their intrinsic merits, but through the medium of some subjective views, quite separable from, and often foreign to themselves. Because the extant learning of the early Christian ages has been made the symbol of a party, it is therefore despised, to the neglect of all true principles of forming a judgment. If very far below sacred Scripture, these writings have a real value which only bigotry or ignorance can refuse to acknowledge.

We may add, that important chronological and historical data are given in these Epistles; and that curious information is contained in the Introduction and Notes.

PROPOSED REVISIONS OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.*

THE two productions noticed below are the results of efforts now being made simultaneously, in England and America, to improve our vernacular version of the Holy Scriptures. At first sight such attempts appear both praiseworthy and capable of successful accomplishment; and yet, on a nearer survey, they are found to be encompassed with great difficulties.

'The Word of God is perfect;' and as it is lodged in the vehicle of human language, we have it in its purest form in those sacred originals employed by the Holy Ghost to convey Divine truth to the world. Without admitting a strict verbal inspiration, it must be conceded that any orthodox or satisfactory theory of the mode of Divine communication must recognise an appropriateness of language as a part of it, since, after all, it is in the words that the revelation resides. Hence, to pass from the originals to a translation, is to leave the Divine for the human, the explicit and certain for that which is more or less vague and equivocal. That it is *possible* to make a perfect translation cannot be denied, but the *probability* of such a consummation is rendered uncertain by a thousand things connected with human prejudices, errors, and peculiarities of intellect. The reasonable conclusion from this is, not that perfectness in a version is not to be sought after, but that it can only be attained with difficulty; and that an approximation to it, rather than its complete accomplishment, is to be contemplated.

That the English Bible, the *received text* in use among us, admits of improvement, cannot be denied. There may be differences of opinion as to the desirableness or practicability of alteration, but that there is room for it will only be denied by the extremely ignorant. *A priori*, it could only be by an assertion of inspiration on the part of our translators that perfection could be predicated of their labours, since they were not in circumstances favourable to such a result. Two hundred and fifty years ago Biblical learning was only in its youth, and since then, although its growth has been steady and constant, it cannot be said to have

* 1. The Second Epistle of Peter, the Epistles of John and Judas, and the Revelation: translated from the Greek, on the basis of the common English Version, with Notes. New York: American Bible Union. London: Trübner and Co. 1854. 4to. Pp. 264.

2. The Epistles of Paul the Apostle, an original Translation, with Critical Notes and Introduction. By Joseph Turnbull, Ph. D., Honorary Secretary of the Anglo-Biblical Institute. London: Bagsters. 8vo. Pp. 182.

yet attained full maturity. We admire the beauty of language, the pious turn of thought, and the felicitous and terse rendering of the Hebrew and Greek idioms, which make the English Bible our first and greatest classic, and yet we find on every page something which our increased light could make nearer to the originals, more expressive, or, to modern ears, more clear. Hence, through the whole period of its triumphant career, not only in Britain, but wherever the English tongue is spoken, our Bible has been criticized, and been subjected to numerous schemes of revisal and improvement. The translators themselves were far from arrogating perfection to their labours, as appears from their very numerous marginal notes, which suggest a reading probably better than that which they have given in the text. Their own observations on this variety of rendering seem to transfer the cause from their own ignorance to a higher source, and yet they virtually admit their own incompetency. They say in their Preface,—

‘Some peradventure would have no variety of senses to be set in the margin, lest the authority of the Scriptures for deciding of controversies by that show of uncertainty should somewhat be shaken; but we hold their judgment not to be sound in this point; for though *whatsoever things are necessary are manifest*, as St. Chrysostome saith; and as St. Augustine, *in those things that are plainly set down in the Scriptures all such matters are found that concern faith, hope, and charity*; yet for all that it cannot be dissembled, that, partly to exercise and whet our wits, partly to wean the curious from lothing of them for their everywhere plainness, partly also to stir up our devotion to crave the assistance of God’s spirit by prayer, and lastly, that we might be forward to seek aid of our brethren by conference, and never scorn those that be not in all respects so complete as they should be, it hath pleased God in his Divine providence here and there to scatter words and sentences of that difficulty and doubtfulness, not in doctrinal points that concern salvation (for in such it hath been vouched that the Scriptures are plain), but in matters of less moment, that fearfulness would better beseem us than confidence, and, if we will resolve, to resolve upon modesty with St. Augustine (though not in this same altogether, yet upon the same ground), *Melius est dubitare de occultis, quam litigare de incertis*: it is better to make doubt of those things which are secret, than to strive about those things that are uncertain.’^b

But while revision is admitted to be both practicable and desirable, it is found to be, from various causes, most difficult to effect it. Some of these impediments we shall point out, without making any pretence to exhaust the subject.

^b It is much to be regretted that the admirable preface quoted above, which is found in most early editions, should now be almost invariably excluded. Our extract is taken from the preface given in Bagster’s ‘Comprehensive Bible.’

The grand obstacle, no doubt, is a preliminary one, not found in the subject itself, but accidental to it; we mean our unhappy divisions, which make us jealous of each other's movements, and cause the very best motives and designs to be suspected. The passions of men are engaged in this subject, strange as it may seem, *politically, ecclesiastically, and doctrinally*, since there are alterations which, if made, are presumed to be capable of affecting the relations of worldly politics, of Church government, and of points of faith. While we may be ashamed that such a cause as this should influence us, when we profess to be searching after and sacrificing to the truth alone, we must confess that it exists, and most powerfully operates; so that, even if we were agreed on matters of Biblical criticism and science, we should still be unwilling to come together for this object. The only remedy we can see for this unworthy postponement of the honour of Divine Revelation to our own bigotry, is a higher measure of personal piety in all who profess and call themselves Christians. We may depend upon it that a high state of religious feeling will make men more and not less candid; and that the divisions of the Christian world, though masked by the names of principle and consistency, are both the cause and the effect of a low state of godliness.

But let us suppose this stumbling-block were removed, and that Christian men, of the requisite ability, were assembled to revise the English Bible; even then there would be very serious difficulties in the case itself, requiring more wisdom to overcome than we can well imagine any such conclave to possess.

First, the question of *Text* would have to be decided before any movement could be made in the right direction. In the Hebrew Scriptures the difficulty on this point would be great indeed, since criticism has not made sufficient advances in this department to allow of an easy settlement of what is the text which proceeded from the Hebrew penmen. A glance at the question of chronology alone will convey our meaning to our readers, for some Biblical scholars think that the current Hebrew text is to be authoritative in this department, while others consider it to be altogether false. If all could think that the discrepancies arise from the early use of letters for numerals, the task of reconciliation, although great, would be lessened; but if that rule is denied, agreement is impossible.

When we turn to the New Testament, greater approaches are certainly made to some concurrence as to what the Text should be. Such at least is the general opinion, that now a platform of agreement is erected by the sifting criticism to which Greek mss. of the New Testament have been subjected. But if we look

closer into the matter we shall find reason to doubt whether this unanimity is not more popular and conventional than real. Dr. Tregelles, for example, is about to publish a Text formed altogether from ancient documents—from *uncial* to the general rejection of *curative* mss. This principle is approved by some, but rejected and condemned by others; and yet, until an agreement is attained upon it, how impossible will it be to unite harmoniously in correcting the English Version!

Secondly, when the question of Text is decided upon, that of *Interpretation* follows, and presents equally insuperable difficulties. Instead of generalizing on this point, we will take a special case in illustration of our meaning from the volume of Dr. Turnbull, noticed at the head of this article. In his Introduction, which is well worthy attentive perusal and consideration, that gentleman adduces Romans xi. 15, as an illustration of the *originality* of portions of his undertaking.

‘One such passage of great importance may be here adduced in vindication of this claim [of originality]. In Rom. xi. 15, the common version is thus: “*For, if the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead?*” My version runs thus: “*For, if their rejecting be the reconciling of the world, what is their receiving, but life from the dead?*” On a reference to the context it will be apparent that the rejecting *αποβλημα*, and the receiving *προσληψις*, cannot be the acts of God, but must be the acts of the Israelites, to whom the proffered salvation by Jesus, as the Messiah, is first addressed, according to the Apostle’s plain declaration in the former parts of the epistle. Hence, in the beginning of chapter xi., the Apostle asks, “*Hath God then put away, απωσαο, his people? Far from it! For I also am an Israelite, of Abraham’s blood, of the tribe of Benjamin. God hath not put away his people whom he formerly acknowledged.*”^c The common version renders the words *απωσαο* and *αποελημα* both by the terms “*cast away*” and “*the casting away*,” and thus there is an evident contradiction between the first and the fifteenth verse. The Apostle is made to say, in the first verse, that “*God has NOT cast away his people*,” and then, in the fifteenth verse, he is made to represent God as having “*cast them away*,” or as about to do so, with an ultimate view to receiving them back again.’—p. xvi.

Now we will waive other objections which might be made to this view, and take it on the ground of its *originality*. We do not then hesitate to say, that this very quality, originality, would be fatal to the reception of the emendation, if any twenty-four men, chosen merely for their general fitness for such a task, had to

^c In the present state of Christian opinion, improved as it is, what an opposition would be raised against the last words of this proposed alteration!

decide upon it. Let us see how the case stands in those interpreters, ancient and modern, which we now happen to have at our command.

PESCHITO SYRIAC.—ܐܘܬܝܪܝܢܝܐ and ܐܘܬܝܪܝܢܝܐ. The former has evidently a passive sense, and might be rendered *vi etymologiae*, 'their being rejected;' the latter is active, 'their turning or conversion.' The cases in which the former word occurs are too few (in our own experience) to enable us to say whether the passive form may ever be lost in the *usus loquendi*.

PHILOXENIAN SYRIAC.—ܐܘܬܝܪܝܢܝܐ and ܐܘܬܝܪܝܢܝܐ: both decidedly passive; 'their being cast away, or put far off;' and 'their being received.'

LATIN VULGATE.—'Si enim *amissio* eorum, reconciliatio est mundi: quae *assumptio*, nisi vita ex mortuis?' Both words of doubtful application as to active or passive sense. *Amissio* may be *what they lose* as the result of unbelief, equivalent to *their rejection*; *assumptio* is used passively by Cicero: 'Artes propter se assumendas putamus, quia sit in his aliquid dignum *assumptione*.' —*De Finibus*, 3, 5, 18.

CHRYSOSTOM.—His language is somewhat obscure; yet it seems to lean to the passive sense. 'Yet this again condemns them, since, while others gained by their sins, they did not profit by other men's well-doings. But if he asserts that to be their doing which necessarily happened, &c. [so far apparently in favour of the active sense. But then he adds] If in anger with them He gave other men so great gifts, when He is reconciled to them what will he not give? . . . But they were cast out owing to their own folly,' &c.

LUTHER'S VERSION.—'Denn so ihr Verlust der Welt Versöhnung ist; was wäre das anders, denn das Leben von den Todten nehmen?' From which nothing can be gathered. The verse is remarkable as substituting *anders*, the *contrary* or *opposite* (i. e. to Verlust) for a German word for *πρόσληψις*, as *their loss and gain*.

BEZA.—'Nam si abjectio eorum, est reconciliatio mundi, quae erit assumptio nisi vita ex mortuis?'

OSTERVALD.—'Car, si leur *rejection* est la réconciliation du monde, que sera leur *rappel* sinon une résurrection d'entre les morts?'

SCHLEUSNER.—'Metaphoricè usurpatur (ἀποβολή) ut sit *repudiatio*, et iis tribuitur qui non in familiam et populum Dei recipiuntur. Sic legitur in N. T. Rom. xi. 15, ubi τῷ ἀποβολῇ, quod de Judaeis usurpatur, qui ipsi incredulitate sua commodis et jure

civitatis Christianae se privaverant, opponitur ἡ πρόσληψις, h. e. receptio in familiam Dei Christianam.'

GROTIUS.—'Ἀποβολή *amissio*, quod idem est cum ἀπωθεῖν, quod habuimus modò commate 1. Despexerat Deus Judaeos qui Evangelium contempserat. Πρόσληψις *assumptio*, contrarium est τῇ ἀποβολῇ *reprobationi*. Loquitur autem de assumptione magnae Judaeorum multitudinis.'

J. C. WOLFIUS, in his *Curae Philologicae*, thus gives the opinions of others, and adds his own:—'Cl. Heumannus, in Biblioth. Bremensi Class. iv. p. 294, ita haec reddit: *si enim rejectio* (Vid. 1 Tim. iv. 4) *Judaeorum, mundo* (i. e. Gentilibus, Vid. v. 12) *cessit in reconciliationem cum Deo* (seu conversionem ad Deum) *quae tandem erit assumptio*, seu receptio (scilicet Judaeorum) *nisi resurrectio ex mortuis?* Quo ipso innui putat, prodigii simile visum iri, si Judaei ad Christum convertantur, imò non minus mirum hoc fore, quam si mortui resurgant e sepulchris. Vicissim Martianeus in Conatibus suis novae Versionis, per πρόσληψιν non conversionem Judaeorum, vel Apostoli aetate, vel in posterum sub finem mundi imminentem, intelligit, sed felicitatem potius Judaeorum, ad Christum jam una cum gentilibus conversorum, qui scilicet considerandi sint ut ex mortuis ad novam vitam revocati. Cl. Starckius in notis ad h. l. ita haec accepit: *Si enim rejectio eorum fiat reconciliatio mundi* (seu gentium) *quae* (quanti fructus erit) *assumptio* (πληρώματος, multitudinis Judaeorum, v. 12) *nonne*, vel certe, *erit vita ex mortuis*, vel *mortuorum*, scilicet gentilium, collatis Eph. ii. 1, 5; Luc xv. 32; et 1 Joh. ii. 14. Mihi quidem ἡ πρόσληψις ad Judaeos, tunc adhuc ad exemplum Gentilium convertendos, referenda videtur. Loquitur enim Apostolus v. 14 de Judaeis ministerio suo adhuc ad salutem convertendis, et quidem ex aemulatione Gentilium, quam in illorum animis excitare instituebat, ut sicuti Gentiles fructum receperant ex incredulitate Judaeorum, ita Judaei vicissim ex opposita Gentilium fide commodi aliquid nanciscerentur, tanquam ad quos in tantum vita ex Gentilibus, qui olim mortui fuerant rediret. Sic orationis Paulinae nexus egregie sibi constat. Spei suae, qua id eventurum esse praecipiebat, fundamentum Apostolus v. 16 exponit.'

OLSHAUSEN.—'Ἀποβολή is used as equivalent to ἡττημα in v. 12. The rejection of Israel is at the same time the reception of some, and it is only on this positive side that it is the blessing of the Gentile world. The πρόσληψις, however, is that reception of the whole body which is to be expected.'

MACKNIGHT.—'Because, if the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what will the resumption of them be but life from the dead?'

BLOOMFIELD gives no information of importance in his *Recensio*, but in his Greek Testament approaches near to the sense of Dr. Turnbull, at least in the first member of the sentence. 'Ἀποβολή is used (by a metonymy of the effect for the cause) to denote that obstinate unbelief which caused the rejection of the Jews.' He does not apply the metonymy to πρόσληψις, though in his general observations he seems to come very near to the proposed version.

ALFORD.—'For if the rejection of them be the reconciliation of the world, what will be their reception, but the occasion of life from the dead?'

PEILE.—'For if their rejection from being God's visible Church has been found to be the reconciliation of the world, what shall their taking back into favour and fellowship with God be, but life, when till then they were dead?'

KNIGHT (a Critical Commentary, just published).—'For, if their casting away be the means of reconciling the world, what will their re-admission to their former position be, but such a renewal of the world, as may be designated a resurrection from the dead?'

This very imperfect summary of opinions respecting this text will show that *authority* is altogether against the novel rendering of Dr. Turnbull; and, in a case of this nature, such an objection would prove fatal to its adoption. And we think justly so. It is scarcely conceivable that an important passage of Scripture should be wrongly interpreted by translators and commentators through eighteen centuries, and that in the nineteenth its correct meaning should be ascertained for the first time. But, granting that such uninterrupted tradition does not really possess any weight *de jure*, it will always tell *de facto*. Constituted as men are, they will be unwilling to broach and maintain an interpretation of Scripture opposed to such concurrent testimony. There will always be found minds constituted like Dr. Turnbull's, to suggest and support novel meanings—we all do so more or less, if we are diligent students of God's word—but on the other hand, there will as certainly be others of an opposite tendency; and hence the impossibility of securing agreement in the important work of revising the Scriptures.

We will take another illustration of this hermeneutical difficulty—the fine classical passage in Job. xix. 25-27. How grandly its strains fall upon the ear and reach the heart, big with the sublimest hopes of Christian men, and consecrated in our best feelings by the fact, that for near two thousand years they have uttered the same sentiment—'For I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth; and though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my

flesh shall I see God ; whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold and not another, though my reins be consumed within me.' Amidst the halo of a hoar antiquity, and when yielding ourselves to the hallowed associations of education and habit, which of us doubts that here we have the very doctrine of Jesus Christ and St. Paul, teaching us that in all ages good men have believed in the resurrection of the body ? Yet let criticism do its work, and doubts and difficulties arise which seem insuperably opposed to this long-believed view of this fine text. We look into the English Bible, and find the passage strangely filled up with *italics*, and on turning to the Hebrew text we wonder how, by exegesis alone, its extreme terseness became amplified into the full harmonious sentences of our Bible. On consulting expositors we find some of them unhesitatingly stating that the common opinion of the text is wrong—the subjective rendering of a Christian mind, having no objective reality. Let then *this* passage come under the notice of our revisors, and what will be its fate ? Rigid laws of interpretation would leave out the now filled-up ellipses, and thus rob the passage of much of its effect, if not give to it a different meaning altogether. But, we ask, would any company of men be found to agree to this ? Or, if they did, could they induce the Christian world to indorse their opinion ? Certainly not. This is a case in which custom, reverence for antiquity, and the deep feelings of the heart, will prove too strong for criticism, however correct it may be. Most men will in such cases adopt the sentiment of Campbell, *mutatis mutandis* :—

‘Triumphal arch, that fill’st the sky
When storms prepare to part,
I ask not proud philosophy
To teach me what thou art ;—

Still seem, as to my childhood’s sight,
A midway station given
For happy spirits to alight
Betwixt the earth and heaven.

When science from Creation’s face
Enchantment’s veil withdraws,
What lovely visions yield their place
To cold material laws !’

Not that an adherence to the English version of the passage in Job is mere prejudice or fancy—far from it. A rendering almost as old as Christianity itself must rest upon some solid foundation, although we may not be able precisely to see it.

If our observations are just, they seem to intimate that, while learned criticism may revise the Holy Scriptures, its conclusions

will never become popular ; or at least, they will be admitted by very slow degrees. If such is the fact, it is worthy of inquiry how far religious truth itself may be affected by this persistence in that which is old and authorized ; or, in other words, to what extent is the value of the Bible, as the vehicle of popular instruction, vitiated by the continued presence of erroneous renderings.

If a persistence in retaining translations known to be false were the matter in hand, then unquestionably such a feeling would be immoral, and productive of the worst consequences to the religious sentiment. But this is not the subject of consideration, but merely a preference of old versions, with centuries of authority on their side, to new ones backed by learned criticism. Our decided opinion is, that no harm can result to the interests of Divine revelation from this state of things, for the following reason : the truths of that revelation are not founded on single texts, but on combinations and collections of passages, and, to a great degree, on uninterrupted tradition. God has wisely adapted his Word to the state of man in this world, and made its substance independent of the accidents of time and the discordant conclusions of man's judgment. Hence we can hardly imagine a translation of the Bible, which is not a mere caricature, which could fail in becoming to its readers all that God intended it to be, in reference to great and saving results. Divines think more of single texts than plain Christians do, and often fancy them of more importance than they really are in the formation of religious opinions.

It is incumbent on all men to study the Scriptures as much as they can ; and while they do this they will probably be equally blessed, although one may have all the appliances of learned scholarship, and the other be confined to an imperfect version in his mother tongue. Men are equally healthy, whether they are born amidst Lapland snows, and breathe their bitter atmosphere, or are nurtured from infancy amidst the balmy breezes of Italy. The Christian who has leisure, and especially the Christian minister, must not neglect the gift with which he is intrusted, but in his degree must seek to become *a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth*. He must not, if he wishes to be found faithful, rest in mere traditions, but must *prove all things, and hold fast that which is good*. A responsibility rests upon him to sift and examine every passage, and, as far as he is able, to give the results of his convictions to the world, as the writers of the works before us have done. We can only feel indignation when we see men called to be expounders of the Word of God, resting satisfied with translations ; and we much fear that for this supineness they will be called to give an

account. But the man of business, who has no opportunities of deep study, will be neither condemned of God, nor impoverished in his spirit, if he finds enough in a translation, with all its faults, to satisfy his utmost religious desires.^d

We trust then that our intention in this article will not be misunderstood. It is not to decry studies to which our whole life has been devoted, and which have for us an inexpressible charm; it is to counteract a restless feeling as to the sufficiency of our translation for all the purposes for which a Bible is given. It is certain that for popular use we must be content to put up with imperfections; and therefore it is satisfactory to know that those blemishes do not impair the fair beauty of the Bible to any appreciable extent, and that much less do they interfere with its efficiency.

But we must say a few words of the works now placed before our readers, on their own merits, and apart from the general question we have discussed. They are the productions of two distinct societies—the Anglo-Biblical Institute, and the American Bible Union—and their object is to gain, by the co-operation of their members, greater completeness in translations of the Holy Scriptures. To the quarto volume of the latter society are appended the rules laid down to secure its objects, and we think we shall benefit both our readers and the respective institutions by reprinting them:—

‘The general character and design of this work may be learned from the following rules and instructions, in conformity with which it has been prepared, except as regards a literal observance of the *third* special instruction:—

‘General Rules for the direction of Translators and Revisers employed by the American Bible Union.

‘1. The exact meaning of the inspired text, as that text expressed it to those who understood the original Scriptures at the time they were first written, must be translated by corresponding words and phrases, so

^d We subscribe to the *spirit*, if not to every detail, of the following extract from the Rev. T. Boys’ ‘Helps to Hebrew’:—‘A disbelief of the plenary inspiration of Holy Scripture, and a neglect of the study of Hebrew, are two evils which, very extensively, and very naturally, prevail together. If, in our view, the Bible was only superintended as to matter, and not inspired as to terms—and if, in consequence, we virtually consider the text of Scripture not, as we affect to call it, the word of God, but the word of man—we shall naturally regard the acquirement of the sacred tongue as of little importance, and as scarcely meriting the labour of study. A fair translation will give the general sense; and the general sense is all that we regard as of divine authority. But if we view the Scriptures as literally the word of God, if we regard them as a book not merely superintended, but suggested, by the Holy Ghost, then surely it will be our object to know exactly what it means, and the sacred language will be studied diligently for that purpose.’

far as they can be found, in the vernacular tongue of those for whom the version is designed, with the least possible obscurity or indefiniteness.

‘ 2. Wherever there is a version in common use, it shall be made the basis of revision, and all unnecessary interference with the established phraseology shall be avoided; and only such alterations shall be made as the exact meaning of the inspired text and the existing state of the language may require.

‘ 3. Translations or revisions of the New Testament shall be made from the revised Greek text, critically edited, with known errors corrected.

‘ Special Instructions to the Revisers of the English New Testament.

‘ 1. The common English version must be the basis of the revision; the Greek text, Bagster and Sons’ octavo edition of 1851.

‘ 2. Whenever an alteration from that version is made on any authority additional to that of the reviser, such authority must be cited in the manuscript, either on the same page or in an appendix.

‘ 3. Every Greek word or phrase, in the translation of which the phraseology of the common version is changed, must be carefully examined in every other place in which it occurs in the New Testament, and the views of the reviser be given as to its proper translation in each place.

‘ 4. As soon as the revision of any one book of the New Testament is finished, it shall be sent to the secretary of the Bible Union, or such other person as shall be designated by the Committee on Versions, in order that copies may be taken and furnished to the revisers of the other books, to be returned with their suggestions to the reviser or revisers of that book. After being re-revised with the aid of these suggestions, a carefully prepared copy shall be forwarded to the secretary.’

We can only now add, that the volume to which these rules refer is in every way creditable to the good intentions and general scholarship of its promoters. We have already intimated our approval of Dr. Turnbull’s work, although we are far from coinciding with all his conclusions. His translation is not always felicitous, and his departures from the English version will grate harshly upon most ears. But apart from mere taste, we cannot think the following rendering of that beautiful passage, 1 Thess. iv. 13-18, at all comparable to that of our Bible. Let our readers judge for themselves:—

‘ Now, we are not willing, brethren, that you should be ignorant respecting those who are deceased, in order that you may not grieve like others, who have not a hope: for, as we believe that Jesus died and arose to life, so also we believe that the deceased God will raise by Jesus, as he raised him. For this we tell you, on the Lord’s word,

that those of us who may be living, and anywhere remaining unto the coming of the Lord, will not precede those who are deceased. Because the Lord himself will come down from heaven with a shout, with the voice of an archangel, and with an awful trumpet; and the dead in Christ will be raised first:—then those of us who may be living and anywhere remaining will be caught up along with them by clouds, into the air, for a meeting with the Lord: and so with the Lord we shall always be. Wherefore comfort one another with these words.'

In this short passage we find many objections, and probably most of our readers will do the same. In mere change of phraseology we do not think the new version is at all happy. 'We are not willing, brethren, that you should be ignorant,' is more wordy, no clearer in sense, and far less idiomatic, than the 'I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren,' of the old translation. Then there is a fine musical fluency, almost amounting to a rhythm, in the old rendering, which we miss in the new. We are willing to admit that old association is very apt to form the taste in such matters, and yet we cannot but believe that, if both the versions are compared, this observation will be found just. 'Awful trumpet,' while perhaps capable of defence on some grounds, is, we think, far inferior to 'the trump of God.' But our strongest objection lies against the substitution of 'those who are *deceased*' for 'those who are asleep.' Surely it is desirable that the English reader should know the beautiful idiom of the Greek here, and in all places where it is possible. But is there no doctrinal idea conveyed in the original? We decidedly think there is, and should strongly deprecate the omission, in 'The Bible of the People,' of the evident allusion to immortality and a bodily resurrection contained in the phrase. It is true the expression was used by heathens, to whom a state after death was often a matter of doubt; but this does not prove that the apostle merely adopted the *usus loquendi*. We think the very expression was chosen by him as an element of the comfort he wished to administer to the believers.

While we have felt it our duty thus to point out what we think the great difficulties which stand in the way of Biblical revision, we by no means wish to discourage it, but would gladly help on those who in a scholarlike and candid manner contribute anything to such an important and noble object. The two societies in England and America will always find our pages open to their transactions, or to any special communications which may be made to us. Apart from all that has been advanced, there is a class of defects which are acknowledged by all, and the removal of which ought to be attempted at once. Obsolete words, for instance, now

conveying a false meaning, as *let*, to hinder, *prevent*, to go before, should be altered, or at least explained by a marginal note. We will conclude these remarks with the following pertinent observations from Dr. Turnbull's Introduction :—

‘The received translation has now been in vogue, without any material revision, nearly two centuries and a half, and bears the evident marks of antiquity, in many forms of expression now obsolete or merely vulgar, and hence either obscure] or offensive. That translation was undertaken about fifty years after the Genevan, which was highly popular ; and yet, in that short period, it was thought desirable to revise the translation. Much more, then, is it probable, that now, that very translation, after so long a period as nearly two hundred and fifty years, should require much revision and adaptation to the present state of our language. This alone, if properly executed, would remove much of the difficulty in the way of the mere English reader.

‘But this amount of revision is not sufficient to clear up many sentences and passages of Paul's Epistles. The fault which prevails in most of the European versions of the Scriptures is, that they adhere too rigidly to the letter of the text, and thus translate the words without expressing the sense. Herein they follow the example of the Latin Vulgate, which aims at rendering the Greek original word for word. Doubtless this mode of translating proceeded from a desire to preserve the very form and character of inspiration contained in the original text. In translation, however, the inspiration does not consist in the equivalent *words*, but in the equivalent *sense* ; and this sense must be expressed in terms familiar to the reader in his vernacular tongue. This is the difficulty. To translate word for word, it is obvious, presents no difficulty, except in the case of a few rare terms. But, to give the equivalent idiom, and the just sense—this is the work to be done. And it is, indeed, a labour—one which demands great patience, unwearied diligence, long experience, close and concentrated attention, and a supreme love of truth, beside the intellectual qualifications necessarily pre-supposed. Of these remarks it were not difficult to adduce pertinent illustrations from the present volume ; but the reader will soon perceive and feel their truth, as he proceeds with its perusal.’

HISTORICAL ORIGIN OF THE PASSOVER.*

If the mission of Moses had been to give the Hebrews a new religion, it would be a palpable anachronism in me to point out some of the ritual prescriptions he wrote down in the Pentateuch, as my evidences of a former state of things. But this was not the case. Moses was the people's chosen deliverer, instructor, and—as regards religion—merely the restorer of that which was before in all its essentials, but had been greatly neglected in practice during the bondage. After the Levitical priesthood was appointed in place of a former one, many additional prescriptions certainly were needed to adapt the public ministration of sacred things to the conditions of the new ministry. But all that is essential in significance under the typical ministration characteristic of the sacrificial service, must have existed ever since sacrificial rites were appointed. In the first sacrifice on record, we find matter-of-course admissions that a festival at the return of the year was celebrated by bringing firstlings of the flock and offering a burnt-offering, as well as by bringing the firstfruits of the earth; and the intentional omission of the former is deemed a sin, implying want of faith in that represented by the firstling and sacrifice, a sin for which confession, repentance, and a sin-offering, would obtain the sinner's forgiveness; and his refusal, expulsion from the presence of God. In the next recorded sacrifice, we have distinctions of clean and unclean animals admitted in the same matter-of-course way. I will not multiply instances; but merely say that I shall not apply to my present purpose any Mosaic written ordinance that does not necessarily follow upon the fundamental principles of the Patriarchal religious institutions referred to in this way in the more ancient historical book of Moses.

The pre-existence of a Patriarchal religious institution by which the firstlings of the flock were dedicated to God's service with certain sacrificial rites, pre-supposes that every firstling of the flock was 'a devoted thing,' and 'Holy unto the Lord;' something due to Him at a certain time, and not to be made any other use of. Accordingly, in Lev. xxvii. 26, we find a reference to this principle. The principle itself is not the new ordinance here, but only the case to which that principle is applied to justify an exception; namely the case of a man's voluntarily dedicating to the Lord anything he has:

אֶדְבָּכֹר אִשָּׁר יִבְרַר לַיהוָה בְּבִהְמָה לֹא-יִקְדָּשׁ
אִישׁ אֹתוֹ אִם-שׂוֹר אִם-שֶׁחַ לַיהוָה הוּא :

* Concluded from p. 39.

'Only the firstling which is firstborn unto the Lord, no man shall consecrate it' (*i. e.* dedicate it to Him in the way of the before-mentioned objects of devotion): 'whether bull, or lamb, it is the Lord's.'—Now, if it be contended that the law by which every such firstborn and firstling 'is the Lord's' was actually made out for the first time on the occasion of the first Passover, I point to the primitive priesthood—to Eve's dedication of her firstborn son to God, as well as to the firstlings brought by Abel, and firstfruits by Cain.^b קָנִיתִי אִישׁ אֶת־יְהוָה (Gen. iv. 1). 'I have acquired a man unto the Lord';—the appointment of Joseph in lieu of Reuben, and the terms of the orders given by Moses concerning the spring-festival of firstfruits, I referred to in the first part of this paper. These are so many recorded facts in proof that the example of Adam and Eve in dedicating their first produce to the Lord was followed by their posterity. Seth was put in the place of Cain as teacher of the revealed religion of a future Messiah, because Cain, as the typical 'firstborn of every creature' destined so to teach the great antitype, turned out an unbeliever himself, and would not repent. Jacob was put in the place of Esau, because the latter evidently did not care for the spiritual privilege of propagating the true faith, which he, as the firstborn of Rebekah, was born to. Joseph was put in the place of Reuben (1 Chr. v. 1) because, as firstborn of the next wife, these spiritual privileges and trusts devolved on him, which his brother's misconduct had forfeited. Thus, even in the recorded instances of exception to the rule, the typical law of qualification for the ministry of the primitive Patriarchal church stands thus self-registered—not indeed by words of an express written ordinance, for it is more ancient than the age of written ordinances—but by a simple analysis of the facts written down, instead, which show how that law was acted upon. And so, another principle is gathered from these instances,—that a minister who neglected his sacred charge, or proved unworthy of it, was considered liable to its forfeiture.

All these principles apply to the important case we shall next

^b אֶת, unto. Particle generally marking the object of the verb or leading clause. Here, as in a few other cases where the verb has an accusative followed by a noun with this prefix, it denotes the dative, *i. e.* the object of the leading clause. Compare Gen. vi. 14: 'Thou shalt make chambers (אֶת־הַתְּקָה) to the ark.' Another instance of the same construction (Exod. i. 11) has also been mistranslated in the Authorised Version, and is therefore universally misquoted, viz. 'They (the children of Israel) built for Pharaoh store-cities at Pithom and at Rameses' (Thoum or Patumos and Heliopolis):

וַיִּבְנוּ עָרֵי מִסְכְּנוֹת לְפָרְעֹה אֶת־רַמְסֵס וְאֶת־פִּתּוֹם

The common translation makes it appear the Hebrews were employed to build cities which existed many centuries before they came in the land.

consider: the situation of the Church at the time of the first Passover; not only of its members, but of its ministers.

Lastly—since the Spring-festival of firstfruits was a festival of the earlier Church, before the Exodus, the rites by which it was celebrated would not be different from what they were after the Exodus, or it would not have been the same festival. The rite itself, we find, consisted in bringing the firstlings to the priest, to be dedicated to God's service; in presenting a sheaf of the firstfruits of the earth; and in offering as a burnt-offering a lamb of a year, male, without blemish.

As to the time of celebrating this feast, which—as we shall see—was changed by a few days after the first Passover, the evidence for the fact that the sacred year of the ancient Hebrews was absolutely regulated by the lunation is not found written down in their law, certainly; but it is established in the practice of their descendants at the present time, for their sacred calendar, by which their festivals are regulated, is based on the old Mosaic principle unaltered; an equation of the lunations and equinoctial day being obtained by periodical intercalations. Nevertheless, for all secular purposes, they conform to the way of reckoning time customary in the lands of their settlement, just as I suppose their forefathers did of old in Egypt.

We say then that the children of Israel at the time of the Exodus were preparing to celebrate the festival in question—the new year's day or 'beginning of months'—the festival of firstfruits.

It was due on the day of the new moon. On that day the head of every family was to be ready with a male lamb of a year old without blemish for a burnt offering, and was to bring his firstlings and firstfruits to the priests for God's service; and these, the first-born of each family, with the chief Elder, the descendant of Joseph,^c at their head, were—if they did their duty—anxiously awaiting the order of Pharaoh granting the desired permission to retire into the desert, offer their offerings and sacrifices, and return to their labours. The last trial was come—the day was at hand—yet neither the striving of Moses, nor the terrors of God poured forth on the devoted head of this arch-rebel, had as yet been able to extort from him the desired leave of absence.

Now the people did not know beforehand, as Moses did, that he would strive in vain to the last. It was meet they should be tried as well as saved. The last communication of Moses with Pharaoh, closing with the tyrant in a fury ordering Moses out of his presence on pain of death when he sees his duplicity is detected

^c It is evident by Ps. lxxxi. 1-6, that the family of Joseph was the religious head of Israel at the time the Passover was ordained 'for a testimony.'

(Ex. x. 24-29), reaches the anxious congregation when the day on which the festival will be due is so close at hand that it would be too late for another mission. Either the people must offer their sacrifice in the land itself and brave the risk,—or, supposing they omit it out of regard for their safety, what is to be done with the devoted things? the intended victim they have got ready for the feast? the firstlings that are the Lord's? These are His for a special purpose—devoted. It would be sacrilege on the part of the people to dispose of them in any other way on their own responsibility, or to return them to the flock for common uses. But indeed have they a right to withhold the sacrifice out of regard for their own safety? since they have been awakened to a sense of their duty, and God has striven with man by such signs and wonders to show the importance he attaches to their fulfilment of that duty, ought they not to do it now without demur at any danger to themselves they may apprehend from the hand of man?

It will be confessed that this was a very trying position. The people, who saw the difficulty, could not presume to take upon themselves the responsibility of raising it. Moses, acting by God's immediate direction, accredited before the people even above their chief Elder, is appealed to; and Moses, who knows that God's will towards his people is not to destroy but to deliver them, inquires His will as regards the dilemma in which the people are placed. We learn the result in the twelfth chapter of Exodus.

The Lord Himself orders the suspension of the festival due to Him; and directs the manner in which the victim devoted to Him is to be disposed of, at the time and for the reason He Himself significantly appoints:—

'The Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron in the Land of Egypt, saying:

'This month is to you "the beginning of months:"^d it is to you the first of the months of the year:'

הַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה לָכֶם רִאשׁ חֳדָשִׁים

רִאשׁוֹן הוּא לָכֶם לְחֹדְשֵׁי הַשָּׁנָה

reminding them that the season they were in, and its sign close at hand at the time He spoke, actually was the first of the months of the conventional year *to them*, whatever other position in the

^d There is no authority in the Hebrew for the future verb, inserted in the authorised English version by the translators because they misunderstood the transaction. God is not imposing a new ordinance, either as to the festival of 'the beginning of months,' or as to the season for opening the sacred year. He is simply and forcibly stating the fact as it is at the time being: רִאשׁוֹן הוּא, it *actually now* is the beginning, etc. The Septuagint have correctly understood and translated it: πρῶτος ἐστὶν ὁ μῶν ἐν τοῖς μηνσὶ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ.

calendar that month might hold by the custom of the country they were in.

‘Speak ye unto all the congregation of Israel, saying: On the tenth day of this month, they shall take to them each a lamb . . . without blemish, a male of the first year; ye shall take it out from the sheep or from the goats: and it shall remain in your charge *וְהָיָה לָכֶם לְמִשְׁכָּח* until the fourteenth day of the same month, and the whole assembly of the congregation of Israel shall kill it between the two evenings.’

Now we have seen, by the tidal data as deduced in the first part of my paper, that the equinoctial new moon of the first Passover must have fallen on the tenth day of the month the Egyptians called Abib or Epiphi. The day therefore on which God appoints that the people are to get their lamb ready, is that very same day, the time at which the sacrifice for the spring-festival was to be prepared; for at sunset, at the first appearance of the new moon ending the 10th day, it was due and ought to have been offered. God bids them shew they were ready—that they had not neglected their duty, although He excuses them from its fulfilment—but He orders them not to offer it up; they are to keep it in their charge until the eve of the actual deliverance, which God now proceeds to bid Moses and Aaron to declare to the people.

He appoints a delay of four days. It was fit that Pharaoh should have a final warning. On his head must the blood of his son and his people be, if they are to be slain in that awful night. And we find by the short chapter preceding (Ex. xi.), that, notwithstanding the tyrant’s threat at the last interview, Moses had again ventured in his presence to fulfil this hazardous duty: not to ask leave to go and sacrifice to the Lord, for it was too late to grant that; but to warn him of the desolating blast that was to sweep away all that was most dear to him and most honoured among his people, unless he repented. Surely a delay of three days to ‘consider of it’ is not too much, with such a fearful state of responsibility hanging on the issue of his decision.

Accordingly the end of the 14th day and eve of departure is appointed for the preparation of the Paschal victim.

This victim was then in fact the lamb which should have been offered as a burnt-sacrifice on the altar. Compare the ordinance relating to the feast of firstfruits: ‘Ye shall offer on that day when ye wave the sheaf an he lamb without blemish of the first year for a burnt-offering’ (Lev. xxiii. 12). Word for word the qualifications required to constitute a Paschal lamb.

Now this lamb, originally destined for the sacrifice of the feast, is ‘a devoted thing;’ therefore, as such, it must die. ‘No devoted

thing can be redeemed' (Lev. xxvii. 28, 29). But the manner in which it is disposed of is so singular and unprecedented, that nothing short of God's special command could have authorized such an appropriation of the intended sacrificial victim. Its destination is now appointed to shew the future generations of Israel 'what the Lord did unto them in Egypt.' It is not to be slain on the altar by the priest as a sacrifice—but only to be killed in a common way, by the congregation. Its flesh is not to be consumed into smoke on the altar, but only to be roasted and eaten by themselves: not at a common meal, but at a sacred commemorative public repast. It shall serve to sustain their strength on the approaching long journey that awaits them, as well as to preserve their lives from the destroyer by the token of its blood.

Does the additional insight we hereby obtain into the commemorative incidents of the deliverance of Israel after the flesh by the Paschal victim, in any way detract from its double significance as pointing to the future deliverance of Israel after the spirit?

The religious commemoration ends here with the Paschal repast; but this was a 'night of many observances unto the Lord'—
לֵיל שְׂמֵרִים.

Another formality is connected with this, taking up another department of the subject. It is the feast of unleavened bread, beginning from the evening closing the 14th day (Ex. xii. 18), which means on the evening which begins the 15th day of the month, and is the first of unleavened bread (Lev. xxiii. 6). Deliverance was promised to the Israelites, an immediate and unexpected deliverance. Those who believe God's promise are to testify their belief by fulfilling the form of eating the Paschal repast with all the outward signs of preparation for that promised hasty departure. The feast of unleavened bread commemorates the circumstances of departure itself and the journey out; those circumstances are indicated beforehand, and ordered to be perpetuated by a mnemonic repetition. Ex. xii. 15: 'Seven days shall ye eat unleavened bread . . . 18: in the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month, at even, ye shall eat unleavened bread until the one and twentieth day of the month at even . . . 34: And the people took their dough before it was leavened, their kneading-troughs being bound up in their clothes upon their shoulders . . . 39: and they baked unleavened cakes of the dough which they brought out of Egypt; for it was not leavened, because they were thrust out of Egypt and could not tarry; neither had they prepared for themselves any victual.' The journey, and consequently this state of things, really lasted seven days—neither more nor less. The same duration was therefore appointed to the

commemorative repetitions.* By the physical geography of the land they traversed, compared with the ancient topographical notices of the places on their route, we know there must be, by the distances, six days' march from Heliopolis, which they left on the morning of the 15th day of Abib, to the place of the passage which they reached on the evening when the 20th day ends. Then comes the forced midnight march and passage on the morning of the 21st day. The rest of that day is devoted to a general thanksgiving of the congregation for their deliverance, as we learn by the triumphal ode which Moses composed and which they all 'sang unto the Lord.' They were therefore not at liberty to resume their occupations again, and prepare their food in the usual manner, till the evening of that day.

In consequence of that day's having been enjoined beforehand to be kept as a Sabbath, the commemorative repetition of all these incidents includes the Holy convocation at its close. Ex. xiii. 6, 8 : 'Seven days shalt thou eat unleavened bread, and the seventh day is a feast unto the Lord . . . and thou shalt shew thy son in that day, saying : 'This is done because of what the Lord did unto me when I came forth out of Egypt.'

We now come to the most difficult and mysterious among the commemorations of this 'night of observances'—the redemption of the firstborn of man and beast, for which the reason in a past event has to be discerned in the event itself.

When the Divine command has been issued to prepare for the first Passover, and its future observance as well as of the feast of unleavened bread has been ordered in anticipation of the event, we find that Moses receives an additional order, after the eventful night itself. Ex. xiii. : 'Sanctify unto me all the firstborn, whatsoever openeth the womb among the children of Israel, both of man and beast : it is mine. And Moses said unto the people, Remember this day in which ye came out from Egypt, out of the house of bondage : for by strength of hand the Lord brought you out from hence : there shall no leavened bread be eaten. This day came ye out, in the month Abib.' The ceremony of *sanctifying* the firstborn—whatever its object—must therefore have taken place after the eventful 'night of observances,' and just before the departure from Rameses, on the morning of the 15th day of the month. In this final exhortation, after reminding them of Canaan their destination, and that when they are established there they are to keep the feast, he adds that then also 'Thou shalt set apart unto the Lord all that openeth the matrix, and every firstling that

* See the papers 'On the Physical Geography of the Exodus,' in the *Athenæum*, June 24 and July 1, 1854.

cometh of a beast which thou hast : the males are the Lord's. Every firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem with a lamb, and if thou wilt not redeem it, then thou shalt break its neck : and all the firstborn of thy children shalt thou redeem. And it shall be when thy son asketh thee hereafter, What is this for? thou shalt say to him, By strength of hand the Lord brought us out from Egypt, from the house of bondage : And it came to pass when Pharaoh would hardly let us go, that the Lord slew every firstborn in the land of Egypt, both the firstborn of man and the firstborn of beast : therefore I sacrifice to the Lord every male that openeth the womb, and every firstborn of my children I redeem.' Now the Hebrew idea of redemption is that of the recovery, by purchase or substitution, of something otherwise forfeit. If the firstborn of man and beast in Israel were not then considered as forfeit, they would not have needed to be got back again to save their lives—the men, who cannot be sacrificed, by redemption money, the ass by a clean animal of equivalent value.

Again, if the firstborn among men, in Israel, had to be 'sanctified unto the Lord' that morning, it implies they were regarded as in an unconsecrated condition before the ceremony—as not 'holy unto the Lord : ' and yet by former references we have seen that this very class were by their very birth dedicated to the service of God, were the primitive hierarchy of the earth. The 'sanctification' of this class is therefore the old institution, though the form of its renewal had to be gone through over again for some reason or other : but their redemption is altogether a new institution superadded for the reason assigned by Moses ; 'because of what the Lord did unto them in Egypt'—by slaying every firstborn of man and beast of the Egyptians—judicially in their stead.

The opinion that the firstborn formed the hierarchy of the primitive patriarchal church is pretty generally admitted, and I have no doubt correctly. I do not know that the essential principle of qualification, that of being *the firstborn of the woman*, is generally insisted on with the stress it deserves ; and therefore I lay rather more emphasis on the few instances from which this qualification is deduced. The cases under the patriarchal age have been referred to, and seem quite in keeping with the unequivocal specification of the qualification in the passages relating to the subsequent consecration of the Levites, expressly—as it appears—in the place of the primitive hierarchy of the firstborn. We have seen instances of individual ministers so qualified having forfeited their charge for neglecting or disgracing it. We learn by the rebellion of the golden calf that one tribe only proved faithful—that of Levi—which implies the guilt or defection of the appointed

hierarchy; and we see that immediately afterwards the tribe of Levi are put in the place of those who had formerly ministered;—are appointed and consecrated as soon as the new tabernacle and its sacred furniture are completed. Nu. iii. 12: ‘And I, behold I have taken the Levites from among the children of Israel instead of every firstborn that openeth the matrix among the children of Israel (13: for every firstborn is mine; in the day I smote every firstborn in the land of Egypt I consecrated to myself every firstborn in Israel, both of man and beast): mine they (*i. e.* the Levites) shall be.’ In Nu. viii. 12, they are consecrated by the children of Israel; these (*i. e.* of course the elders representing the people, the former standing hierarchy) transferring their charge to the Levites by ‘putting their hands upon the Levites,’—‘that they may execute the service of the Lord’—‘for they are wholly given unto me from among the children of Israel instead of such as,’ &c.—again most emphatically repeated.

The prevailing idea of the great Exodus contest throughout is, that the people were obstructed in the fulfilment of those religious rites which were characteristic of their faith. Those whose duty it was to perform the ritual were therefore to blame more or less for the omission. Doubtless on many occasions before this memorable year, during the bondage and oppression, the priesthood of Israel had relaxed in the performance of its duties, both of exhortation and ministration. The coercion under which they lived, hitherto had stood their excuse in the eyes of their merciful Almighty Father. But now the case was altered, at least as regards their consciences. Their minds had been fully opened to the importance of restoring the patriarchal institutes. Their religious feelings were revived, their religious ideas purified, their zeal aroused to the greatness of their calling. God had deigned for their sakes to strive by miracles against the self-will of a man, to magnify the dignity of His claims. Then they learnt how He valued the service by the price at which it was enforced from their oppressor. And were not they amenable to some punishment for whatever degree of guilt they had incurred by their omissions in time past? Surely in the memorial of ‘what He did unto them when they came forth from Egypt,’ they had to be taught another lesson—the majesty of God in his requirements, as well as in His mercy and His wrath; and in the awful stroke of the Destroying Angel on that ‘night of observances’ they learnt it by the terrors of the visitation that would have fallen on the firstborn of Israel, had the guilt of omission in the performance of God’s service been wholly theirs. Presuming a pre-existing duty on the part of the Israelite elders to fulfil certain acknowledged religious obligations, I cannot but see a very reasonable and satisfactory explanation in that state

of things, of the fact recorded : that when the Lord chose to inflict on the Egyptian tyrant, and the rebel party who supported him, the last and only blow so hardened a wretch as he could be made to feel, He chose that which would at the same time testify His indulgence towards them. The firstborn of Israel, in law and deed, were guilty of neglecting their charge. That charge was forfeit by law, and they were further amenable to punishment. But their guilt had been incurred under extenuating circumstances, and their sentence was recorded with a practical recommendation to mercy : the firstborn of the ruler of Egypt were smitten in lieu of the firstborn of Israel, because he was guilty of the coercion that led to their remissness : the firstborn of beast were smitten among the Egyptians, because, inasmuch as their counterparts in Israël, 'holy unto the Lord,' had not been duly offered and brought to Him, they were devoted to death ; and the law was executed, by substitution, on those of Egypt, for an example. The nominal tax in the form of redemption-money to which this class became liable from that time forward, is a perpetual memorial of acknowledgment that they were so redeemed from death by the transfer of their punishment.

This, however, did not restore the hierarchy of Israel to its former position. The lives of the firstborn were safe, it is true, by the vicarious punishment of those of Egypt ; but their priesthood was nevertheless judicially forfeit. Before they could resume their sacerdotal functions, they had to be consecrated over again. The great cry that arose at midnight throughout the land of Egypt had been echoed by the shout of thanksgiving, as the Lord skipped the houses of the faithful and obedient servants marked with the sign of the blood which is 'the life of all flesh,' and smote the rest. In the morning, when the Egyptians were burying their dead, the Israelites were sanctifying unto the Lord those whom His justice had spared, and His mercy had saved. That this was the work of the morning sacrifice at the Holy convocation prior to the departure, the time of the order and the words of Moses at its execution leave us no room for doubt. It was on 'the day they came forth out of Egypt, out of the house of bondage'—the day itself—the 15th day and first day of unleavened bread, reckoning exclusively from the eve of the Paschal sacrifice (Lev. xxiii. 6, 7). This day was then kept and was ordered ever after to be commemorated as an holy convocation and Sabbath, like its last day.

I now pass on to the chronological memorial included in the great 'night of observances unto the Lord.'

The Hebrews received a general order to celebrate all future passovers on the anniversary of the first. This order was given irrespective of the calendar to be used in fixing the dates. Up to

the time of the first passover, they had been accustomed to fix their festivals, if they kept them at all, by designating them in the way and according to the calendar the Egyptians used in fixing their own festivals. Consequently, when the ordinances for the first passover were imposed, the dates given referred to the latter. The month Abib they were in at the time, and which they are so often enjoined to remember as the period of their coming forth from Egypt, was the eleventh of the Egyptian sacred year, and synchronized with the spring month which was the first in the sacred year of the Hebrews: a fact of which Moses and Aaron are emphatically reminded: 'This month is your beginning of months; it is *to you* the first of the months of the year,' for it was not the first to the Egyptians. Its new moon was the sign which marked *to them* 'the beginning of months;' and this, as we have seen by the tidal analysis in the first part of this paper, fell on the day which the Egyptians called the 10th of Abib of their sacred year. This 10th day was therefore the appointed time of the great national festival of old, which the Hebrews had made preparations to keep. But the details of the narrative of Moses shew us how their intention was frustrated by the opposition of Pharaoh. And as this was the original occasion which led to the final deliverance from bondage, it was meet that its anniversary should be celebrated by a religious festival commemorating this among its other leading events.

The interrupted sacrifice, being then the leading incident of the whole commemorative series, was pointedly perpetuated in the memorial by the elders of the tribes being ordered to bring their lambs of sacrifice in readiness for the usual *appointed day*, the day of the new moon—the 10th; although they were bid not to slay them until *the day fixed for the deliverance*. This was deferred by order to the eve of the 15th, the day of deliverance itself. The memorial then commemorates the hasty and unusual manner in which the victims consecrated for the interrupted sacrifice were now disposed of—so different from their original destination that a special Divine order alone could authorize such, or indeed as we have already seen any other appropriation of them but that to which they been solemnly devoted.

I have explained the dilemma in which the Israelites were placed at this juncture; and as the Divine orders by which this dilemma was met became the origin of a new feast associated with the ancient one of firstfruits, their execution was fixed to the days of the Egyptian month on which they fell the first time they were deferred by God's command. And to perpetuate the circumstance that the victims destined for the deferred spring-feast sacrifice had thus become the origin of the Paschal, the two feasts were from

that time ordered to be celebrated simultaneously. Thus the future spring-feasts were permanently transferred to the same day as the passover, and the victim for both solemnities was ordered to possess the same qualifications, the only difference being in the manner in which they were to be disposed of; the lamb or kid of the firstfruits being offered on the altar as a burnt offering by the priest—that of the passover being killed by the heads of the houses and eaten with other mnemonic symbolical rites.

After the Hebrews recovered their civil and religious liberty, they resumed their own primitive mode of dividing time by the moon. But the *dates* of the conventional months in which the events of the first passover had fallen while they were still in Egypt, had been unalterably imposed in the original prescriptions. They had been ordered to keep these feasts on the 10th and 15th to the 21st days of the synchronising month of the Egyptian style: and in this way, the same dates being retained, came to fall on the corresponding days of the moon, when, after the first passover, the Hebrews resumed also the lunar style of their forefathers. For the chronological ordinance imposed upon them was to *remember* the month Abib at the season of their deliverance, but to keep the commemorative festivals themselves on those given days of 'the first month.'

Some very curious chronological data arise out of the above position, which this JOURNAL would not be the most fitting arena to discuss. I will, however, devote the conclusion of this notice to the consideration of the only section in this highly suggestive branch of inquiry that falls within the limits of my present subject.

Those who are conversant with the peculiar method of dividing time in common usage among the ancient Egyptians, known as their 'vague' or erratic calendar, and by which they dated events, reigns of kings, and secular matters in general, will have remarked that, in alluding to the Egyptian year from which Moses reckons the month Abib of his passover dates, I have throughout qualified it as the Egyptian *sacred* year. The Egyptians had two kinds of year: the civil year as above, that changed its place with respect to the seasons at the rate of one day in four years, in consequence of having no leap-year; and another by which they regulated their festivals, which they fixed to its place by suitable intercalations; for most of the Egyptian festivals depended upon combinations of astronomical phenomena and agricultural operations, which would soon have been thrown out of season had they been fixed to unchangeable days of the vague year. Such a feast as the 'Manifestation of Sothis' and rejoicing for the rising of the Nile—for instance—could only be kept when Sirius really appeared as a morning star in the heavens, and the river really

had begun to rise high enough for the proclamation of the rising to be made. The offering of firstfruits of ears of corn, which the Egyptians celebrated as punctually as the Hebrews themselves, could only be made when the ears of corn were grown and fit to be offered.

It is well known by ancient monumental records and ancient astronomical notices on what days of the civil calendar the feast of the 'Manifestation of Sothis' was solemnized at various epochs of Egyptian antiquity. By a chronological memorial in the form of a calendar bearing the name of Thothmes III., we learn it fell on the 28th of Abib, which gives the date B.C. 1477.¹ By a similar memorial of Rameses II., father of the king in whose reign the Exodus happened, the festival was on the civil new-year's day itself, the first day of the month Thoth, when the Sothic cycle began, B.C. 1325. This is called the astronomical 'era of Menophres,' and is calculated by ancient mathematicians—Theon of Alexandria, and Ptolemy—from the appearance of the star in the latitude of Memphis and Heliopolis. The festival so fixed held good for all Egypt, although, in fact, the physical phenomenon of the star and the Nile both appear earlier in the southern parts of the empire.

We need not stop to inquire why the Egyptians fixed on the parallel of their northern rather than their southern metropolis for the basis of their standard of uniformity, so essential to prevent confusion in their chronological and their liturgical arrangements. All our dates depend upon this issue, and we have the authority of their recorded practice for the fact on which the issue depends.

The fundamental datum of this Era of Menophres and its comparative calendar-positions suffice to shew that Moses was not fixing his dates of the first passover after that calendar. For the 10th day of the vague Abib only occupied the place the passover dates require by the new moon's falling on or within 28 days after the spring equinox—not less than a century after the era of Menophres, if the passover lunation happened at the latest possible limit of 28 days;—and a century later than that, if the new moon was on the day of the equinox itself. Such days would carry the Exodus far beyond the limits of probability, both historically and chronologically. Historically—because, unless we have a clear interval of 280 years from the Exodus to the building of the Temple, there is not room enough for the intervening genealogies and events. Chronologically—because the Exodus cannot be placed so very long after the year B.C. 1325, included by monu-

¹ For a full discussion of this subject, see my notice on Biot's dates for the reigns of Thothmes III. and Rameses III., in the *Athenæum* of April 29, 1854.

mental evidences in the reign of the Great Rameses II. ; for we have the following combined evidences that it was during the reign of his son and successor, the last king of the 19th dynasty, that the last revolution of the Shepherd race occurred, in which is sub-included the Jewish Exodus. The narrative of Manetho to that effect places this beyond a doubt, although Josephus, who quotes the story, so little understood what he relates, that he confuses it, both with the revolution of the king he calls Amenophis^s and with the expulsion of the Shepherds from Egypt under the first king of the 18th dynasty three centuries before. Moreover, the hieratic papyri of the time of Seti-Meneptah II. contain allusions to incidents of this last Shepherd revolution ; and one very remarkable document among them, in particular, with his name and full titles as reigning king in the heading, refers to a set of slave-people who, I am confident, can only be meant for the Goshen captives, from the transactions in which they are found engaged ; and among other interesting incidents the writer states that these slave-people wanted to celebrate in the month of Paoni the festival sustaining their beginning of months.^h

This is precisely the date Moses would have given, if he had dated the first passover by the civil Egyptian calendar according to its position during the 19 years 6 months that Seti-Meneptah II. reigned, viz. between B.C. 1300 and 1280. The spring equinox then fell in the latter part of the month called Pachons, and 'the beginning of months' of the slave-people—the very denomination by which God reminds Moses and Aaron of the season at hand—being the new moon following the spring equinox, would consequently happen early in the month Paoni.

In the year B.C. 1291, which I believe to be the year of the Exodus, and 10th current year of the reign of Seti II., the com-

^s Josephus, c. Apionem, b. i., c. 14, 16, and 26. This King Amenophis is called, in the lists of Africanus, *Amenephtes*. The full name is Seti-Meneptah II. Manetho's reading originates in the name Seti being written ideographically with the figure of the Egyptian god Set, who became obnoxious at some later period, and this figure was accordingly defaced or altered wherever it occurred on monuments and in proper names. Manetho read what remains of the name in the second or proper name oval of the king, viz. the long vowel, two reeds, a or i, and the surname, 'beloved of Ptah' . . A-Mai-n-Ptah. On the pedestal of this king's statue in the British Museum the erasure is evident. There is a pillar also in the Museum with the title and name of his son and successor, Seti III., on the capital, in which the original figure in the name is untouched.

^h Select papyri in the British Museum, Anastasi VI., plate 122 of the published fac-similes. I am indebted for this information to the Rev. D. I. Heath, who has for some time been engaged in translating these documents. As a selection of these translations will shortly be published, the reader curious for more information as to their use in illustrating the history of the times will have the opportunity of judging for himself whether the epistolary allusions in this papyrus of an Egyptian writer contemporary with Moses refer to Israel in Egypt or not.

parative calendar and season positions were by strict calculation as follows :

| Egyptian vague year. | Julian calendar. | Gregorian correction. |
|---|---------------------------|--|
| 1st of Thoth | July 12 = | July 1. |
| 25th Pachons. | Spring equinox, April 2 = | March 22, 10 ^h 56 ^m A.M. |
| (New moon any day between this and 23rd Paoni inclusive.) | | |
| 1st Paoni | April 8 = | March 28. |

And the vague 10th of Abib, the next month after Paoni, was thus 45 days later than the equinox.

Since the month Abib of this calendar cannot be the chronological point which the Mosaic dates of the first passover have in view, although we have the positive astronomical proof, deduced from the hour of the tides in a certain locality giving the moon's age at 11 days on the 21st day of the month he calls Abib, that he must have been referring to some Egyptian division of time that did not follow the phases of the moon, I conclude that—like the Egyptian priests and scribes among whom he had been brought up—he had been used to refer the annual return of season festivals to the sacred or scientific calendar by which they fixed their season festivals. The months of this calendar were the same as the other as to the names and order, and it only differed in its initial Thoth being kept fixed to a particular point of the tropical year by an adequate system of intercalations.

I thus not only find in the dates of Moses an additional proof of the supposition already ably advocated by our most judicious critics on Egyptian antiquity, and especially by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, that their learned men were acquainted with the length of the tropical year, and applied their knowledge to astronomical and liturgical purposes, although they had allowed the old defective popular method to run on—but I further believe that I obtain by my analysis a very near approximation to the initial point of the religious calendar framed on this knowledge ; and a positive datum to this object is a desideratum which has never yet been attained. Conjecture certainly has been busy enough on the subject, and much ingenuity has been expended to arrive at some result ; inquiries into the original position of the three hieroglyphic symbols which denote the three seasons of the Egyptian year have been explored to this end, with no more definite result than to indicate to some the winter, and to others the summer solstice, to others the autumnal equinox, and to others the heliacal rising of Sirius,¹ as the desired initium of the Egyptian scientific tropical year.

¹ I do not say this last opinion is without foundation for the period *after* the era of Menophres : nevertheless I have strong reasons for doubting that even then the use of the Sothic year and its period of 1461 vague years, starting from this era, ever went beyond forming the initium of a strictly chronological cycle, quite unconnected with the year of religious observances and its periods.

Such discrepancy in the results must denote something originally unsound in the very basis of the research. Of late, a new light has been thrown upon this very point by the rectified interpretation of the three season-symbols themselves, proposed by Mr. D. W. Nash.* The universal adoption of Champollion's original, but as it now appears erroneous, interpretation of them, has been the great stumbling-block of inquiry. That the symbols denote the three phases of the Nile is unquestionable; but they had been fixed to the wrong place. The hieroglyphic group of the pool and three waterlines, being assumed as the season of waters, was made to stand for the four months of the inundation, disregarding the consequence that it brought the preceding season, called in the popular dialect the *season of ploughing*, to the time of the year when the land is dry and they do not plough, but gather the harvest; and the first season of water-plants, to the time when the Nile is retiring, and there are no water-plants—but they are ploughing and sowing.

Mr. Nash's interpretation presumes that the demotic names are the translation of the hieroglyphic ones, like the inscription of the Rosetta stone. His arrangement replaces the three season-symbols to the season they really denote, and they also agree with their popular names. The first season, whose hieroglyphics read *Sha*, 'the rise,' or water-plants, and comprehending the months numbered i. Thoth—ii. Paophi—iii. Athor—iiii. Choiak—denotes the season when the Nile is rising. The next season, that reads *Hert*, or 'appearance,' the 'season of ploughing,' comprehending the months numbered i. Tybi—ii. Mechir—iii. Phamenoth—iiii. Pharmuthi—denotes the season when the Nile is falling and agricultural operations really are carried on: The third season, of *the tank*, or 'irrigation,' comprehending the months numbered i. Pachons—ii. Paoni—iii. Abib—iiii. Meshori—denotes the season when the Nile is stationary and low, and the land is irrigated by canals and pools: the dry and harvest season.

In replacing the symbols thus interpreted to their normal position in the solar year, Mr. Nash[†] inadvertently followed Dr. Lepsius in the error of making the summer solstice mark its initial point, the rising of the Nile.¹ It is true that for prudential

* 'On the Antiquity of the Egyptian Calendar.' Trans. of the Syro-Egyptian Society, vol. i. part ii.

¹ This would of course modify the dates obtained by the calculations of Mr. Nash, and also of Dr. Lepsius. The original position of the season-symbol calendar, corrected to the time of year I propose, yields the middle of the 27th century B.C. as its date. But the primitive position of the calendar of 12 months, deduced from the names and attributes of its 12 patronym gods, was undoubtedly the autumnal equinox, from which the old defective year had wandered a whole

motives, to prevent the troubles that might arise from popular anxiety in tardy inundations, it has been the custom from time immemorial to defer proclaiming the beginning of the inundation until that late season ; whence the error of the ancients which our modern theorists have thus been entrapped into repeating. But this does not alter the fact that even in Lower Egypt, where the phenomenon is most in arrear, the river, in favourable seasons, has generally risen about nine cubits when the rise is proclaimed ; and therefore, assuming the real beginning of the most favourable inundations to be the normal criterion, the initium of the phenomenon should be fixed at a mean point of a month before the solstice, to square with facts. That this is the true position is further confirmed by the well-known period of the next phenomenon, the retiring of the waters, which marks the beginning of the second season ; when the river has not risen beyond the favourable point, the lands begin to clear, and preparations for agricultural operations are made at about the time of the autumnal equinox.

If in consequence of these circumstances we make the correction they necessitate in fixing the initial point of our Egyptian season-year, by placing the 1st day of its month Thoth at about the 24th of May, when the Nile on a mean may be said to begin to rise, the result is very remarkable. It may be only a curious accidental coincidence, or it may be the genuine result of our having really recovered the normal position of the Egyptian tropical year, the sacred year of the Nile ; but the fact will be, nevertheless, that the 10th day of its month Abib, according to this position, will fall about 10 days after the spring equinox, say the 31st of March, within a very few days of which, either way, the equinoctial new moon, which was the Hebrew beginning of months at the first Passover, would have appeared, according to the data we gather from the account of Moses which I have analyzed.

F. CORBAUX.

season when this season-symbol calendar correction was made. This divergence is equal to 500 years of time. The old defective year would thus have been instituted in Egypt in about the middle of the 32nd century B.C.

✓ AN UNPUBLISHED APOLOGY,

ASCRIBED TO MELITO OF SARDIS.

[Translated from a Syriac MS. in the British Museum, for the
Journal of Sacred Literature.]

[IN the 'Quarterly Review' for December, 1845, there is an account of the Syriac mss. which had then recently been deposited in the national museum. Among these mss. mention is made of an unpublished Apology by Melito of Sardis. This document has hitherto been almost overlooked, buried amid the mass of Syriac treasures now contained in the British Museum. The Chevalier Bunsen, whose Argus eyes discern most things, refers to it in his new work on Hippolytus, but questions its genuineness. We believe the learned author is unacquainted with the language in which the Apology is preserved, and that therefore he may not have minutely examined it. Having, in the course of our researches among the Nitrian mss., fallen upon this, and for the first time become aware of its existence, we concluded we had made a discovery, and at once transcribed it for further examination. We soon became persuaded that, whether genuine or not, it belongs to an early period and is too valuable to be lost. Between this and the most ancient apologetic writings there is a strong resemblance in style and spirit; at the same time there are characteristic differences sufficient to show that it was an independent production. The occasional obscurity of style may be owing to the Syrian translators aiming at a too literal rendering; and the occasional obscurity of reference is to be ascribed to our limited knowledge of the literature of the Syrian people.]

The reasons which have been brought against the genuineness of this piece are derived from the fact that neither of the short extracts given by Eusebius and the writer of the Paschal Chronicle is exactly to be found here. It may be said in answer to this, first, that there is some reason to suppose that Melito addressed *two* Apologies to the Roman emperor; secondly, that there is a striking resemblance between the short sentence preserved in the Paschal Chronicle and several expressions here; thirdly, that the statements contained in this production agree closely with part of the extracts given by Eusebius. Further, there is much in this document which savours of the times to which it is assigned, and there is not the shadow of an intimation that the writer lived at a later period. Finally, let us remember that the English reader, after all, has but the translation of a translation.

The volume from which the following is taken is a small folio of 368 pages in vellum, written in a good legible hand in double columns, and ascribed to the sixth or seventh century. It is imperfect both at the beginning and end. The first 250 pages are filled with commentaries on Aristotle and translations from his writings, by Sergius of Resaina, a monophysite teacher and philosopher who lived in the sixth century. At p. 250 begins the famous treatise of Bardesanes, commonly called *De Fato*, here, however, with a different title, and for the first time we have it in a perfect form and in the original. The piece is a dialogue somewhat after the manner of Plato.

The rest of the volume is occupied with philosophical articles, and the 'Discourse of Melito the Philosopher,' as he is designated.

Our readers are aware that Melito was a Christian bishop at Sardis in the time of the Antonines; he was therefore the contemporary of Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Hegesippus, Athenagoras, Tatian, and Bardesanes, who, with many other illustrious men, adorned the second half of the second century. Between him and Polycarp of Smyrna, his neighbour, we can imagine a sweet interchange of all the offices of Christian affection. Melito was not unworthy of such an age, for, by the concurrent testimony of those who wrote of him, he was one of the most distinguished men of his day. Indeed, some considered him to be under the special influence of the spirit of inspiration, and others to be a prophet. It is not known when or how he departed this life. His many writings have nearly all perished, and only the titles of most of them are known. There are a few valuable fragments in Greek, and one of his works, the *Clavis*, has been found in a Latin translation, and now from the Syriac we get the following Apology and a few other fragments.

It is not our intention now to prolong our observations; on a future occasion we hope to furnish some additional particulars respecting the life of Melito and his writings, and especially to give two or three of the curious extracts from his writings which we have met with among the Nitrian mss.

In the following translation it has been attempted to render the original in accordance with the idioms of our own language, for the most part; it is therefore a translation of idioms as well as of words; but while not servilely literal, the text, in its spirit and sense, has been rigidly adhered to. As it regards the absence of direct references to Christ, and of express mention of almost all which is *peculiar* to the Gospel, this may be easily accounted for, and will therefore present no serious difficulty. There are several important practical inferences which we intended to point out from this production: one or two must suffice. First, that Christians

should meet persecution, not by sedition and riot, nor by cowardly silence, but with a manly and outspoken protest against the opinions and practices which they have renounced; secondly, we should be as anxious for the conversion of our enemies as for our own safety; thirdly, that Christianity may always with advantage assume an aggressive aspect and strive to overturn false systems. In this way those early Christians acted; they were men of war; they drew the sword of the Spirit, nor could they be induced to cease from the strife until idolatry quailed before them, and the doctrine of the Cross took possession of the throne of Cæsar himself.]

A Discourse of Melito the Philosopher before Antoninus Cæsar; and it was addressed to Cæsar in order that he might know God; and he showed the way of truth, and began to speak thus:—

1. *Melito says:* It is not easy at once to bring into the right way a man whom long previous continuance in error holds fast. But it is nevertheless possible, because, when a man is a little turned away from error, the remembrance of truth apprehends him. For just as when a cloud is a little parted there comes fair weather, even so also when a man is turned towards God there are speedily chased away from his countenance the darknesses of the error which has prevented him from truly seeing: for error also, like disease and sleep, by continuance takes fast hold of those who remain under it; but truth, employing the word, as if it were a goad, and striking those who are asleep, awakes them. And when they are awakened they look upon truth; they also become wise, and they hear and distinguish that which is, from that which is not.

For there are men who call iniquity righteousness, inasmuch as they think thus—that this is righteousness when a man goes astray with a multitude. But I say that this apology is not good, that a man goes astray with a multitude; for if one alone shall commit transgression, his transgression is great, how much more shall transgression be great if a multitude transgress? Now the transgression which I mean is this—if a man shall abandon that which truly *is*, and renders service unto that which truly *is not* (1 Cor. viii. 4; x. 19). Now there is that which truly *is*, and it is called God; and truly he *is*, and by his power everything consists (Col. i. 17). And this is he who was never made, and who never began to have existence; but he is from everlasting, and he is for ever and ever, and he is unchangeable, and man's vision cannot discern him (1 Tim. vi. 16; Rom. xi. 33), nor the mind find him out, nor speech declare him. But those who love him thus call him Abba (Father, Rom. viii. 15), and God of truth (John xvii. 3).

Therefore if a man forsakes the light (John iii. 19-21) and says that there is another God, when he has so said the thing is possible that he should call one of the creatures God. But if a man shall call fire God, it is not God, because it is fire; and if a man shall call water God, it is not God, for it is water; or this earth whereupon we tread, or these heavens which appear unto us; or the sun, or the moon, or one of those stars which run by commandment, and do not rest, and proceed not by their own will; or if a man shall call gold or silver Gods, they are not such, which we use as we will; or these logs of wood which we burn, or these stones which we break—how are these therefore Gods? For behold, they are for the use of men! How shall they not be found in great sin who substitute for the great God, by their word, those things which exist by commandment, so long as they exist? But nevertheless, I say, that however many the men who do not hear, nor discern, nor understand that there is a Lord over these creatures, they are to be blamed notwithstanding, because no man blames the blind man when he goes greatly astray; for thus also men, when seeking after God, stumbled at stones and wood; and those among them who were rich stumbled at gold and silver, and by their stumbling were prevented from (finding) what they sought.

But now a voice is heard in all the earth (Rom. x. 18) that there is a God of truth; and an eye is given to every man in order that he may behold (John ix. 40, 41; xiv. 9) how they are without excuse who are ashamed of the many that go astray with them, and yet will not go in the right way; for those who are ashamed to live must of necessity die. Wherefore I counsel them to open their eyes and see, for, behold, light has arisen unto us! Man shuts his eyes that he may not see the pit to which he is journeying; for why is a man ashamed of those who go astray along with him? Is it not better for him to use persuasion with those who follow him? and if they will not be persuaded by him, he shall deliver his soul from among them; for there are men who cannot be elevated above the earth, their mother; therefore also have they made unto themselves gods out of the earth, their mother; and they stand condemned by the judges of truth, who impose that name which is immutable upon those things which are mutable, and who do not fear to call Gods that which is made by the hands of man (Ps. cxv. 4), and have had the temerity to make an image to God whom they have not seen.

2. Now, I say that rejection is denounced against those who offer worship to the images of kings who are dead. And this it is easy to know; for behold, even now they worship the images of the Cæsars, and honour them rather than those who were

before them;^a for their gods were before these. And there are also both tributes and sacrifices offered to Cæsar, as unto one that is better than they. For this reason those are put to death who despise them, and fail to accomplish the decrees of Cæsar.^b

And how many worshippers contribute in different places to the treasury of other kings, and how many offer vessels filled with water from the sea, is admitted!^c

And this is the evil of the world, that they go in and worship and reverence that which is destitute of consciousness.^d And there are many who are wise, who either for the sake of profit, or for the sake of mere empty praise, or for the sake of influence over the multitude, even these render worship, and entice those who are without understanding to give worship to that which is destitute of consciousness.^e

But I, so far as I am wise, will describe and note down how and on what occasions images have been made to kings and tyrants, and they have become as gods.

The inhabitants of Argos have made images to Hercules, because he was their fellow-citizen and was very powerful, and slew by his daring courage noxious animals, and especially because they were afraid of him, for he forced and carried off the wives of many, for his lust was great, like that of Urdi^f the Persian, his friend.

Again, the inhabitants of Ecate^g worship Bacchus, their king, because he originally introduced the vine into their country.

The Egyptians worship Joseph, a Hebrew, who is called Se-

^a It is well known that there was a fashion in gods as in other things; and the disposition to run after the last new god is not unfrequently referred to in classic authors.

^b This statement perfectly harmonises with the history of the times: the Christians were bitterly persecuted.

^c This curious custom is well illustrated by Lucian, *De Dea Syra*, s. 13, to which further allusion will be made below. As it respects the contributions to foreign treasuries, this was the case. When the worshippers of one country went to pay their homage to the god of another, they generally either paid a tax for the privilege to the civil government, or made voluntary offerings, which often found their way to the royal treasury.

^d This expression is found in the fragment of Melito's Apology which is preserved in the Paschal Chronicle; it also occurs once or twice below.

^e This important declaration agrees with the well-known fact that at that time 'those who were wise,' i. e. the philosophers, were induced by the influence of the civil government to join the idolaters in support of Paganism, and in opposition to Christianity.

^f MS., *Ἰρδῖ*: who is meant is not apparent, but probably he was known to the Greeks and Romans by another name. The same remark will apply to several other of the names which follow.

^g MS., *Ἡκατόπυλος*, perhaps Thebes, which was called *Hecatompyles*, from its hundred gates.

rapis,^h because he distributed provisions among them in years of famine.

The Athenians worship Athene,ⁱ the daughter of Jupiter, king of the island of Crete, because she built a citadel at Athens, and made king there Erichonius,^k her son, who was born to her from adultery with Hephæstus^m the smith, the son of her father's wife. And she continually kept company with Hercules, who was her brother by her father; for Jupiter, the king, had loved Alcmena, the wife of Alectryon, who was of Argos, and committed adultery with her, and she became the mother of Hercules.


The inhabitants of Phœnicia are worshippers of Balthis,ⁿ queen of Cyprus, because she loved Tammuz,^o son of Cythar, king of the Phœnicians. And she forsook her kingdom, and came and dwelt in Gebal, a citadel of the Phœnicians: and at that time she subjected all the Cyprians to Cythar the king. Because, before Tammuz, she had loved Mars, and committed adultery with him, and Hephæstus, her husband, caught her, and his jealousy was kindled against her, and he came and slew Tammuz in Mount Lebanon, where he was wounded by a boar. And from that time Balthis remained in Gebal, and she died in the city of Aphek, the place where Tammuz is buried.

The Elamites worship Hai,^p daughter of the king of Elam. When the enemies took her away captive, her father made unto her an image and a temple in Shushan, a palace which is in Elam.

The Syrians worship Ate,^q the Hadibitess, who sent the daughter of Balat, a doctress, and she healed Seme, the daughter of Hadad the king of Syria.^r And after a time, when a leprosy fell upon Hadad, Ate made request unto Elisha, a Hebrew, and he came and healed him of his leprosy.^s


^h The worship of Serapis is said to have been introduced at Rome by Antoninus Pius.

ⁱ Minerva.


^k MS., .

^m Vulcan.

ⁿ Venus, as we learn from Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* i. 10: Hesychius, &c. See Jahn's *Biblical Antiquities*, s. 409; Selden, *De Diis Syris*, ii. p. 245, &c.

^o Adonis, the son of Cinyras, here called Cythar. See Michaelis, *Lex. Syr.* p. 964; Gesen., *Heb. Lex. sub voce* ; Jahn, *Bibl. Ant.* s. 410; Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, ss. 6-9, &c.

^p MS., .

^q MS., . If we had access to the homily of Jacob of Serug on the downfall of idols, quoted by Asseman in the *Bibl. Orient.*, doubtless light would be thrown upon these names. At present they are very obscure.

^r 'Hadad, or Adodus, the greatest deity of the Syrians.'—Gesenius, *Heb. Lex.* p. 127, Bagster's ed.

^s Compare 2 Kings, ch. v.

The Mesopotamians also worship Cutheb,¹ a Hebrew woman, who delivered Bicru, prince^a of Edessa, from his enemies.

But what shall I write to you about Nebo,² who is at Mabug? For behold, all the priests who are at Mabug are aware that it is the statue of Orpheus the magian, an enchanter. And they honour the image of Zerdusht³ the Persian, a magian. Both of these were addicted to magical arts. As for the pit which was in the grove of Mabug, wherein there was an unclean spirit which injured and afflicted the secret parts of every one who passed through all the place, where now stands the citadel of Mabug; these same magians commanded Seme, the daughter of Hadad, that water should be drawn from the sea and cast into the pit,⁴ in order that this spirit might not go on injuring; as if there was some mystery in their enchantments.

And in the same way the rest of men also have made statues of their kings and worshipped them, which I shall not go on to describe.

3. Now the understanding is free and a knower of truth; whether it is in these things, consider with thyself. And if they dress up for thee the figure of a woman, remember that thou art a man, and believe in him who is verily God, and unto him open thy understanding, and unto him apply^a thy soul, and he is able to give to thee eternal life which shall not die, for all power is in his hands. And the rest of things shall be considered by thee according to what they are, images as images, and statues as statues; and what has been indeed made shall not be put by thee in the place of him that has not been made. Now he is God, who liveth for ever; in thy mind shall he have free course, for thy mind is itself his likeness; for it also is invisible, is endowed with consciousness, and is without form, and the whole body is

¹ MS., *صاح*.

² MS., *حبل*. The meaning given to this word in the text, which, like many others, is not in the lexicons, is conjectural.

³ Mercury. See Gesenius, s. v., *נֶבֹז*.

⁴ Zoroaster.

^a We may here give the passage from Lucian referred to in note^c. He says that there was in the sacred city (*i. e.* Hierapolis or Mabug) a chasm which received the waters of the deluge of Deucalion, and that a temple to Juno was built over it. This chasm he himself saw. In memory of the circumstance of its formation, 'twice in every year water is brought from the sea into the temple,' a distance of many miles, 'and not only priests, but all Syria and Arabia, carry it. And many men from beyond the Euphrates go to the sea, and all fetch water. It is poured down first in the temple; afterwards it reaches the chasm, which, although it is small, will contain a large quantity of water.' This story differs from the one above, but clearly points to the same place, and is in various ways illustrative of the passage. Comp. Plin. Nat. Hist. 2. 93, and Cicero de Div. 1. 36.

^a A similar idea is conveyed by the apostle in Rom. vi. 17.

moved by its will. Therefore know, that if thou shalt serve him who is immutable, as he is for ever, so thou also, when thou shalt strip off this which is visible and corruptible, shalt stand before him for ever. Since thou livest and knowest, let thy works be unto thee a treasure which is inexhaustible and riches which never fail. But know that the chief of thy good works is this, that thou shouldest know God and serve him; and know that he asketh of thee nothing which is needless.

Who is God, he that is truth and whose word is truth? That which is not formed, nor made, nor fashioned. He it is whose being never began; He is and is called truth. Now, therefore, if a man worships that which is made by hands, it is not the truth which he worships, nor the Word of truth.

But I have also very much to say against this generation. But I am ashamed for them, because they do not understand that they are superior to the work of their own hands, and do not understand how they give gold to artificers to make gods for them, and give silver for their adorning and for their honour, and change their wealth from one place to another and worship it.^b And the reproach from this is great, that a man should worship his wealth, and should forsake him that gives him wealth. But he shall rebuke man who will worship the image of man, and will sacrifice an animal, and will worship the likeness of an animal. But this is known. And they worship the work of their fellow-men; for they do not worship their filthy lucre when it is laid up in store, but when artificers have made images out of it, then they worship it: and they do not worship treasures of gold or of silver, but when the workmen have wrought at them, then they worship them.

O destitute of understanding! what is added to thy gold, that, lo! thou dost worship it? If it is because it resembles a winged creature, why dost thou not worship the winged creature itself? And if because it resembles a beast of prey, behold the beast of prey is itself before thee! But if it be the workmanship itself which is delightful to thee, let the workmanship of God be delightful to thee, who made all things, and made the very workmen in his own likeness; and they endeavour to make an imitation of him, but they imitate him not.

But perhaps thou wilt say, How, is my work not the God whom thou worshippingest, and not an image? By this which thou sayest, thou hast desired to become a useless thing,^c and not to be a living man. Now God made thee thus agreeable to him, and

^b The sentiments of the writer on idolatry may be compared with what is said in the Epistle to Diognetus, sec. 2. See J. S. L. for April, 1852, for a translation of that epistle.

^c σκευος, a mere thing, or machine.

endowed thee with a free and noble mind. He set before thee great things, and thou mayest discern all things, and select for thyself that which is pleasant. He hath placed before thee the heavens, and hath set therein the stars.^d He hath placed before thee the sun and the moon, and these, too, every day, therein pursue their courses. He hath put before thee the many waters, and he restraineth them by his word. He hath set before thee the great world, which is quiet and stable before thee in one form. And in order that thou mayest not suppose that it is stable by its own nature, he also causes it to tremble when he will. He hath placed before thee the clouds which by commandment bring water from on high, and satisfy the earth : that from these things thou mightest understand that he who gives motion to these things is superior to them all ; and obtain the grace of him who gave thee a mind, that thereby thou shouldest discern these things.

Wherefore I do counsel thee to know thy soul, and thou shalt know God. For understand how there is within thee that which is called soul, whereby the eye seeth, whereby the ear heareth, whereby the mouth speaketh ; and (understand) how it makes use of the whole body. But when he wills to remove the soul from the body, that falleth and corrupteth. From that therefore which is within thee, and is invisible, understand how that there is also a God who moves the entire world by his power, as if it were (his) body ; and when he pleases to withdraw his power, even the whole world, like the body, falleth and corrupteth.

4. Now for what was this world made ? And wherefore is it passing away ? And why does the body exist ? And why it falls and wherefore it remains thou canst not understand, except thou hast lifted up thy head from this slumber whereby thou art overwhelmed, and opened thy eyes and seen that there is one God, the Lord of all, and served him with all thy heart. Then does he vouchsafe to thee to know his intentions. For every one that is far from the knowledge of the living God is dead and buried in his body. Therefore, before demons^e and departed spirits (shades), thou wallowest upon the ground, and askest vain requests of what is without the power to give. Thou, then, get up with thee from among those who are prostrate upon the earth, and kiss the very stones, and give their sustenance as food for fire, and offer their raiment to images ; and who, while endowed with consciousness themselves, are willing to render service to that which is destitute of consciousness. But thou, ask requests which are

^d Compare Ep. to Diogn., sec. 7.

^e See Jahn, s. 415, 1, and Deut. xxxii. 17 ; Ps. cvi. 37, in the original. The word here is *جول*.

incorruptible, of the incorruptible God, for thy soul which is incorruptible: and thy freedom shall at length appear, and his solicitude. And confess unto God that made thee, and granted to thee a free and noble understanding, in order that thou mightest pursue thy course as thou wilt. He hath placed before thee all these things, and showed unto thee that, if thou followest after that which is evil, thou shalt be condemned by thy evil deeds; but if after goodness, thou shalt receive from him many good things, with eternal life which will never die.

5. There is nothing therefore which prevents thee from forsaking thy evil mode of life, because thou art a free man, and from seeking and finding who is the Lord of all; that thou shouldest serve him with all thy heart. Because there is with him no jealousy in regard to the bestowment of his knowledge to those who seek him; so that they can find the knowledge of him.

6. Let it be thy first concern not to deal falsely with thy own soul; for if thou sayest concerning that which is not God, 'This is God,' thou liest unto thy own soul, and sinnest before the God of truth. O fool! is that God which is made merchandise of? Is that God which experiences want? Is that God which requires to be protected? How thou dost purchase him, as if he were a servant, and renderest service to him, as a lord! How thou dost make requests of him to give to thee, as if he were rich; and givest unto him, as unto the poor! How thou dost depend upon him to give to thee the victory in war; but behold, when thine enemies conquer thee they also plunder him!^f

Peradventure he that is a king will say, 'Am I not able to govern well, because I am a king? And is it not mine to influence the will of many?' He who thus speaks is truly fitted for sport. For wherefore is he a king? Shall he not lead the way to all good things, and persuade the people to be obedient to him, that they may live in purity and know God in truth? And he shall place before them in himself examples of all good works, for thus it becometh him. For it is a disreputable thing, that when a king conducts himself very badly, he should judge and condemn those who walk wisely. Now for myself, I think that it is possible for a kingdom to be governed peaceably in this way, when the king shall know God in truth, and shall reverence Him, so as to observe among men those who are obedient to him; and he shall judge everything in righteousness, as a man who knows that he also will hereafter be judged before God: when also those who are under his dominion shall fear God, (and) to trans-

^f Compare Ep. to Diogn., s. 2.

gress against their king, and shall be afraid to transgress one against another. And by this knowledge of God and the fear of him, all evil can be removed from a kingdom. For if the king does not wrong those who are under his dominion, neither will they transgress against him, nor against one another. The thing is manifest, that all the land will dwell in quiet, and there, there shall be many good things, among all of whom the name of God is glorified. For there is this good thing which hence especially arises, that the king shall deliver the people who are under his dominion from error; and by this good work shall he please God, inasmuch as it is from error that all these evils spring. Now the chief source of error is this,—when a man is without the knowledge of God, and instead of God shall be a worshiper of that which is not God.

But there are men who say, ‘It is for the honour of God that we make unto him an image;’ in order that they, forsooth, may worship the image of the unknown God.^s And they do not know that God is in every land, and in every place, and that he is never absent; and that there is nothing done which is not known to him. But thou, O frail man! within whom he is, and without whom he is, and above whom he is, dost go and buy for thyself timber of the carpenter, to be carved and fitted to the form of a God, whereunto thou dost offer sacrifice, and knowest not that the Eye which seeth all things sees thee, and the Word of Truth rebuketh thee, and says to thee, ‘How can God that is invisible be represented by statuary?’ But it is the likeness of thyself which thou makest and which thou worshippest.^h Because the wood has been carved, dost thou not perceive that it is wood? or that it is stone? or how much gold he who weigheth it in the balance taketh away? And when thou hast made it, wherefore dost thou weigh it? Therefore thou art a lover of gold, and not a lover of God. And thou art not ashamed that blood should be required of the maker of it, whether he hath stolen a part of it. And although thou hast eyes thou seest not, and though thou hast a heart thou dost not understand, wherein thou wallowest on the earth, and yet art favoured. For things which are destitute of consciousness are afraid of him who maketh the earth tremble, and makes the heavens revolve, and rebukes the sea, and overturns the mountains; him who can be like unto fire, and consume everything.ⁱ Now if thou canst not justify thyself, add not unto thy sins; and if thou canst not fully know God, believe that he is.

^s Or *secret*, as in Acts xvii. 23, where the Syriac has the same words.

^h Comp. Ps. cxv. 8, and Ep. to Diogn., s. 2.

ⁱ Comp. Heb. xi. 39.

7. But again: there are men who say, 'Whatever our fathers left us we are to reverence.' Owing to this, forsooth, those to whom their fathers have left poverty strive to get rich! And those to whom their fathers gave no instruction are anxious to be taught, and to learn that which their fathers did not know! And why, forsooth, are the children of the blind able to see? and the children of the lame able to walk? Because it is not well for a man to follow those who were before—those at least who went so far astray; but let him turn from that way, in order that what happened to those who were before may not happen again, and be an injury to us. For this cause, ask if thy father used to go aright, and then, thou too go after him: and if thy father went at all astray, go thou aright: and thy sons also after thee shall follow: and thou shalt be sorry for thy father that he went so far amiss, while thy sorrow may possibly be his aid. But as for thy sons, say thus unto them, 'There is a God, the Father of all, whose being never began, and who was never made, and everything exists by his will:—and he hath made the luminaries, that his works may see one another; and he hath made himself free by his power, from all his works; for it is not under the control of anything which is mutable to see him that is immutable.' But those who remember, and are in that covenant which is unchangeable,—they see God according as they can see him. The same cannot be consumed when the deluge of fire cometh upon all the world. For at one time there came to pass a deluge of wind; and chosen men were destroyed by a mighty tempest, but the righteous were spared for a testimony of truth.^k And again at another time there came to pass a deluge of waters, and all men and every living thing perished in the multitude of waters. But the righteous were preserved in an ark of wood, according to the commandment of God.^m And so shall it come to pass in the last times, and there shall be a deluge of fire, and it shall consume the earth with its mountains; and men shall be burned along with the images which they have made, and with the carved statues which they have worshipped: and the sea shall be burned up with its islands. But the righteous shall be preserved from wrath, like their fellows who were in the ark, (preserved) from the waters of the flood. And then those who have not known God shall be made alive; and those who have made unto themselves images, when they shall see these same images of theirs burning along with themselves, and nothing shall be able to help them.ⁿ

^k The destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah is here alluded to.

^m The deluge of Noah.

ⁿ Comp. 2 Thess. i. 7-10; 2 Pet. ii. 5, &c.

Now when thou shalt learn these things, O Antonius^o Cæsar, and thy sons also with thee, thou shalt cause them to inherit an inheritance which shall be for ever, and which faileth not; and thou shalt deliver thy soul, and the souls of thy sons, from that which cometh to pass to all the earth, in the true judgment of righteousness: that as thou knowest him here, he may know thee there; and if thou thinkest of him supremely here, wilt thou not think of those who know him and acknowledge him?

Let these things be sufficient for thy Majesty; but if more—if thou pleasest.^p

Melito concludes.

B. H. C.

THREE MONTHS IN THE HOLY LAND.

CHAP. I.—*Departure from Smyrna — Chios—Samos—Rhodes—Cyprus—and Beyrût.*

‘THE Passover was nigh at hand,’ and pilgrims from the interior of Asia were already waiting at Smyrna, ready to embark for Jerusalem.

I agreed to join some of them, and the day of our departure was fixed. Meanwhile, I prepared my travelling gear, and paid a farewell visit to old and favourite haunts. I wandered across an ancient plain of Æolia, still as fresh as ‘the garden of Irem,’ to the sacred springs of the Meles, where, among oleanders always in bloom, and myrtles that never shed their fragrant leaf, the sweet songsters of Colonus took refuge after the death of Antigone, in the days of Cretheüs and Mæone, when Homer lived, and when he sang the beauties of his own native land. But all that is changed, and Homer, we are told, is now no more. His

^o The MS. reads Antonius, clearly an error of the transcriber.

^p The abruptness of this conclusion is remarkable, and strongly savours of a genuine document. The theology of the piece, and other matters, may call for further discussion. We have no doubt the editor will admit any communication which may bear upon the genuineness or serve for the illustration of the foregoing. The translator has confined his own illustrations to some of the more obvious and prominent features of this interesting document, now first made public from a manuscript certainly not less than twelve hundred and fifty years old.

The translator cannot but observe, in conclusion, that the last words suggest to his own mind the extreme probability that this was a memorial actually addressed to Aurelius, and that it was the first; a second and perhaps more elaborate production being afterwards presented, in accordance with the intention, if permission were granted, so to do. While, however, his own feelings are in favour of the authenticity of this spirited appeal, he would by no means venture to pronounce dogmatically on the subject. No doubt, as in old time, some will say, ‘This is he,’ while the more cautious will at most only confess ‘He is like him.’ Would that he could speak to us without an interpreter, and say ‘I am’ or ‘am not he’!

once clear and running stream, now languid and shallow, slowly flows by tangled beds of flags and bulrushes, where the silent kingfisher sits alone and watches his prey. For the song of the nightingale has ceased, and swallows only return in the spring to twitter on these deserted banks, and to tell in their plaintive ditty that the Dorian bard, their own Bion, is also dead and gone.

From thence I returned through the cypresses growing round the temple of Cybele, and by the ruins of the theatre, to the hallowed spot on which the aged disciple of St. John, Polycarp, was arraigned before the Roman governor for the faith of Christ. Here, encouraged by the voice from Heaven, 'Polycarp, be thou strong and of good courage!' the valiant saint, nothing daunted, answered in presence of the people to the governor, who bid him swear by the Emperor and deny Christ: 'Hear it once for all! I am a Christian; and as to reviling Christ, for more than eighty-six years have I served him, and he has never injured me; how could I revile my King, my Saviour?' 'I have wild beasts at hand,' said the Roman governor. 'Send for them,' replied Polycarp; 'I never will recant.' 'To the stake, then.' 'That, and whatever else thou listest,' added the holy martyr; 'why tarriest thou?' Then they tied him to the stake, and the people ran and lighted the pile. But, in the flames that would have spared him, Polycarp was heard giving thanks to Christ for suffering in his cause. When, having looked up to Heaven, he knelt down, and yielded his spirit, in sight of his own church; of the church to which the Lord himself had said, 'Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer.' But 'be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.'

I left this holy spot, and walked up to the top of the hill which rises above the town, from whence the eye ranges over the blue waters of the bay, by Clazomenæ and the isthmus of Chalcis, on to Chios, Lesbos, and Mitylene; then across the wide fields of the Hermus, on which, here and there, a few gaunt cypresses stood like sentinels over the surrounding plain, to the foot of Mount Sipylus, as far as the banks of the Caister, on the road to Ephesus. The sky was without a cloud, and the air—how fresh and pure!

At last, after many delays inseparable from eastern travel, the hour of setting sail arrived. It was at the close of a bright day of the early spring, as spring is wont to be on the classic shores of Ionia; when, as in Eden,

'Sweet is the breath of morn, her rising sweet,
With charm of earliest birds; pleasant the sun
When first on this delightful land he spreads
His orient beams;'

and, as it were, in a moment, under the magic influence of that heavenly climate, nature adorns herself in her fairy bridal dress. Then, on the bare and lifeless ground, flowers of a thousand hues open at once to the genial breath of spring ; which, ‘ accompanied by his interpreter the rose, comes to create all things anew.’

I have seen the north in his summer pride of tangled birch and willow woods, rank herbage and moss ; such as Odin admired in the gloom of Ultima Thule ; and in southern climes, I have been in the land of life and beauty, where Cálidás, in his immortal tongue, sang the glories of Avanti : the fairest portion of celestial birth, transferred to earth from Indra’s paradise. But in Ionia the air is purer, the sun is more sunny, and the sky more blue. There grows the rose tinged with the blood of Adonis, entwined around the branches of the dark myrtle-tree. There also blossom the lovely flowers of Europa’s choice, and the pale purple anemone, which Bion tells us sprang out of Venus’s tears. There the winter is soon over, and soon also forgotten, amid the vernal beauties of that enchanted land, so quickly roused from its winter trance into fresh vigour and enjoyment of life.

I took leave of the kind friends with whom I had spent the winter, and went on board as the last rays of the setting sun were lingering over the summit of Olympus, when

‘ Still evening came on, and twilight gray
Had in her sober liv’ry all things clad.’

The air was soft and calm, and our ship lay motionless on the surface of the bay ; but when, over Mount Sipylus,

‘ The moon
Rising in clouded majesty, at length
Apparent queen, unveil’d her peerless light,
And o’er the dark her silver mantle threw,’

as I remembered it in the vale of Helicon, and on the banks of the Nile, the land wind began to stir, and to give new life to the scene. It sped the fisherman’s boat home, and, gently rocking our ship at anchor, it waved her sails, as if impatient of delay. Then the signal was given, and, once free from her moorings, she opened her canvas to the breeze ; and the white minarets of the town, its dark cypresses, and at last even the grassy slope of Coryphe, vanished in the distance, as we glided along softly on the dark waters of the Hermæan gulf.

At first everything on board was in bustle and confusion. Armenian pilgrims from Ararat, Georgians from Tiflis and from the Caucasus, Greeks from Athens and Thessaly, and a few Turks with their families going to Rhodes, lay, sat, or stood, as best they might, until every one of them, having spread his carpet, accom-

modated himself, with Eastern ease and good humour, to the small space allotted to him on deck. This done, the best Mocha coffee was served, and pipes of real Djebelée were soon handed round—a remnant, no doubt, of good old Homeric times. Families gathered together, old acquaintances met, and fellow-pilgrims began to talk, aloud and fast, of the many chances of their distant pilgrimage; until, as it grew late, their voices dropped, one by one, and not a sound was heard but the occasional flapping of the sails, and the moaning of the helm in the moonlit wake of our gallant little ship. As the wind freshened, we rapidly passed by the olive-groves of Kelisman, where anciently stood Clazomenæ, the birthplace of Anaxagoras; thence to the battle-field of Leucæ, and at the break of day we enter the narrow channel that separates Chios from the high range of Mimas on the mainland.

Oh, for the pen of a ready writer, to tell of the dawn of day in those Ionian climes! of the freshness of the hour at which Aurora throws open the gates of that Heaven, and ushers, in all his majesty, the brilliant orb of an eastern sun; of the magic effect of his first rays as they struck the sloping heights of Pelinæus, and gave life to its fields, to its vineyards, and to its groves of evergreens, until the whole island shone in the morning sun, and rose from the deep, as in the days of her immortal bard, ‘the fairest island of the sea.’ There stood before us that famous Chios, extolled by historians of old, and sung by every poet of the day; for her fame was great, and her names were many. Æthalia, from the brightness of the soil in which the son of Ariadne first planted the vine; Macrys, from her length; and lastly Chios, so called of Phœnician settlers, attracted by the charm of her climate and the richness of her soil, on which ripened the fragrant gum of the mastich-tree, the finest wheat, delicious figs, and, above all, the full and luscious grape of Arvisia.

We sailed with a fair wind by the town of Chios, embedded in evergreens, into the Cæstrian gulf; when the coast of Ionia, thrice blessed with climate, land, and sea, opened before us in all its wonted beauty. Beyond the pirate shores of Corycus appeared the site of Téos, birthplace of Anacreon; then Lebedus, the famous oracle of Claros, and Colophon; and a little further, beyond the mouths of the Cæster, by the hills Coressus and Prion, lay the ruins of Ephesus; of the famous city which, at first a small village around the shrine of Opis, grew to be ‘the light of Asia,’ and the yearly gathering-place of all nations. To the Gentiles thus flocking together St. Paul preached the Gospel for the space of three years, and planted the church which laboured for the name of Christ, ‘and fainted not,’ but which afterwards fell from her first love, and is now no more. For Ephesus is laid waste; the

shapeless ruins of her palaces, scattered over a pestilential soil, are now the dwellings of unclean birds of prey, and the haunts of venomous beasts. The theatre, which rang with the shout, 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians!' is now a pasture for flocks; and the place on which her temple stood, the wonder of the world, is now a swamp, and knoweth it no more.

Sped onwards by wind and wave, under a cloudless sky, we rapidly neared the high land of Samos, which lay before us across the bay, and in the afternoon we found ourselves under the lee of its precipitous cliffs. Majestic and bold, they stand out as vanguard of the coast, to break the fury of the storms, and to bid the foaming billows that roar at their feet to dash and die. Well might the Tyrian mariners, who first came, in their vermilion ships, wonder at this height, and give it the name it bears.

'By Melcart,' said Captain Atherbal to his men, 'this land is high! It reaches even to Bel-samen, and shall be called after him.'

'Samo, thou chosen abode of our own Astarte! Let her dwell in peace on thy distant shores, and for ever soar from yonder heights, sole mistress of thy sea! And thou, Queen, from henceforth reign over this land supreme!'

Under such auspices Samos increased in prosperity. Her trade was brisk, her climate good, and her soil rich; while her science and wisdom are still our own. To her king, Ancæus, who was the first in the island to introduce wine—of which, by the way, he was rather fond—we are indebted for the wise old saying we all know, 'There is many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip.' To her tyrant, Polycrates, we owe the useful lesson, that too much happiness in this world will not do; while we have received much practical science and good advice from her wiser son, Pythagoras, who, we are told, overjoyed at having found the square of the hypothenuse, offered an ox in sacrifice to the Muses. Why, then, not a hecatomb to the whole senate of Olympians, when he solved, and taught his disciples, the far harder problems, 'Early rise; hold your tongue; and, examine yourselves?'

Sailing under the lee of the island, into the smoother waters of the Icarian Sea, we found ourselves towards evening among the Sporades: when the wind began to lull, and the flapping of our sails warned us of our slow progress over the calm surface of the deep blue sea. For my part, I welcomed the delay among such scenes and at such an hour, when the softer rays of the setting sun mellowed the lights, and lengthened the blue shadows of the coast and of the surrounding islands. As I stood on deck, my eyes wandered in succession, from the snowy summit of Messogis, in the distant horizon, down into the fertile plains of the Mæander, as far as Trallæ, with Mount Mycale and Trogyllium on the left;

Mount Latmus, on which Endymion, the beloved of Selene, tended his sheep, on the right; and the famous town of Miletus, the birthplace of Thales, on the sea-shore. There St. Paul, on his way to Jerusalem, where bonds and afflictions awaited him, gave his solemn parting charge to the elders of the church at Ephesus, bidding them watch and follow his own example; whom nothing moved, neither did he count his life dear unto himself, so that he might finish his course with joy, and the ministry which he had received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God. Thence by the site of the celebrated Oracle of the Didymæan Apollo, and across the gulf of Iassus, where the Temple of Vesta stood, over which no rain ever fell, on to the Dorian peninsula. Then over the well-wooded island of Calymne, famous for its honey, to Leros of evil repute; and far beyond, over scattered islets, until the eye lost itself on the distant horizon, among the faint outlines of some of the Cyclades.

Amid scenes of so much interest in history, fable, or fiction, I turned at last with pleasure to an object of still deeper interest. A few miles off towards the setting sun was a small, barren-looking island—and that island was Patmos. Other recollections were for a time forgotten. What was the varied outline of the Dorian coast, clad in its everlasting spring, or the wooded glades of the adjoining island of Calymne, to that arid and rocky spot? However great the men had been who once lived on those favoured shores, the poor fisherman, but ‘beloved disciple,’ exile in Patmos, ‘for the word of God and for the testimony of Jesus Christ,’ is greater still. For all the wisdom of that land—all the exquisite beauties of her great and gifted bards—

‘Just guessing, through their murky blind,
Few, faint, and baffling sight,
Streaks of a brighter heaven behind
A cloudless depth of light,’

fade away by the side of the inspired records of the holy Apostle. They are to them what a Sibylline oracle would have been to these words,—‘I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last. Behold, I come quickly; and my reward is with me, to give every man according as his work shall be.’

‘Immortal Greece! dear land of glorious lays,
Lo! here the “unknown God” of thy unconscious praise!’

I longed to visit the island, but time urged us onward. And as, after sunset, the evening wind again filled our sails, we steered accordingly. So that, during the night, ‘we came with a straight course unto Cos, and the day following unto Rhodes,’ where we anchored under the white tower at the entrance of the port.

I accompanied a Turkish family on shore, looking in all directions, and into the clear water of the harbour, for some broken bits of Charis' famous statue of Apollo. But although we are told that, after it had been thrown down by an earthquake, the scattered heaps of fragments formed mounds and caves of an enormous size, not a trace of them could be found. I inquired, and heard that a Turk had sold them of old to his friend, a Jew. No wonder then that not even a nail of the great Apollo remained. Not so, however, the knights of St. John, of whom traces are seen in every part of the town. At a house which formerly belonged to one of them, and now is turned into an inn, I ordered some dinner, and while 'mine host' of Rhodes, a sly-looking, black-eyed Greek, was getting it ready, I sallied forth to survey the neighbourhood.

From the mantled walls of the town, which command an extensive view of the surrounding plain, up to the summit of Atabyrius, and down into the verdant fields of Ialysus, over hill and dale, over orchards and flowery meadow-lands, the eye ranges over the beauties of an eternal spring, in this chosen domain of Apollo. Here the queen of flowers grows in her native soil, and blossoms evermore on the plain that never sees a sunless day. For the Sun loves it as his own; his rays gave it life, and it was made for him who fondly smiles upon it from year to year. No wonder, then, if Rhodes, at first ycleped Ophiusa, Telchinis, or what not, soon became celebrated for her beauty, and for the wise laws of her three famous cities, Cameirus, Ialysus, and Lindus, which brought the rich offerings of kings, and the wealth and wisdom of nations, to her Elysian shores. Her healing climate banished from her coast the diseases of other lands; her fast-sailing ships, built of her durable timber, and laden with the choice produce of her genial soil, carried her fame, and with it her colonies, to the distant parts of the earth; until, after untold vicissitudes in peace and war, under the Phœnician, Greek, Roman, and Turkish rule, she became what she now is—the yet illustrious and beautiful, but fallen, island of Rhodes.

I traced my way back to the inn, in quest of my dinner, and I sat down well prepared to do justice to it, whatever it might be. Rash intention, however! for I little knew what awaited me. Not indeed the favourite dish at Rhodes, sprats and jelly-fish in oil, seasoned with garlic; much less a broiled slice of the celebrated elops, or of the savoury galeus: no such luck! 'There is no fish in the market at this time of day; no, not even at Rhodes,' said mine host; while he put before me what looked like a roast fowl, a bottle of wine, some bread, dried figs from Caunus, and some honey from Calymne. But, if I was to be dis-

appointed in tasting the fish of Rhodes, I came in for another classical treat; for this said fowl defied knife and fork, and of course my teeth also. It could be no other than one of the famous fighting-cocks which Pliny tells us were reared on this island. Tough and dry, it had been, no doubt, a match for many others; for it took years to die, and when dead and roasted it still got the better of me. The wine, too, was not the juice of the celebrated Hipponian grape, but a very fair sample of the sort which Athenæus calls 'good for nothing.' The honey, however, was delicious, and the bread and figs were unquestionable.

Having taken in fresh provisions, and an additional passenger or two, we weighed anchor at sunset. The wind blew soft and fresh, and a cloudless horizon, from whence the glowing orb of the setting sun cast a farewell look on his beloved isle, bid us hope for a good run to the shores of Cyprus. We soon lost sight of the coasts of Lycia; while a favourable wind filled our sails, and wafted us over the gold and purple waves of the Pamphylian sea. The mast creaked, and the yards bent in the breeze; while the pilot stood in good spirits at the helm, and, hopeful, steered for the land yet unseen: until, early the second day after our departure from Rhodes, the morning star in the east pointed to a dim outline of coast in the distance; and at sunrise we distinctly saw the high hills of Cyprus, rising above the morning haze, and across a foaming sea. We bore upon it, and soon hailed the shore on which the Syrian goddess landed in olden times—the white cliffs of Paphos; and, sailing under the lee of the island, by the shrine of Adonis, and the laurel-groves of Amathus, we came in the afternoon to the roadstead of ancient Citium, at present known as Larnaca.

As our stay at this post was limited to a few hours only, I went ashore at once, in order to set foot on this ancient land of Chittim, and see what I could of Cynira's famous isle, second to none in power and renown when Belus founded Citium and Ajax Salamis. I passed through the town, and climbed a hill, from whence the view inland was limited by the chain of the Olympus. The landscape, however, was varied, and the country looked rich and well cultivated, even to the water's edge; where the shore, lined with palm-trees, embraces the sea, and forms a wide and safe harbour of refuge. Here landed the Phœnicians, who brought their language, their habits, and the worship of their gods; when Cyprus received her name, and with her early prosperity also the licentious rites of her sea-born Aphrodite, called Baaltis at Byblus, Cypris in Cyprus, and Venus at Rome. But here too, Barnabas and Saul preached the Word of God, and planted in this land a church, which, although now fallen, is not dead, and only waits

for the appointed time in order to rise from her dust in newness of life.

At a given signal from the ship I returned on board ; and as the sun was setting behind the hills of Amathus, we spread our sails to the breeze, and steered at once for the port of Beyrût. 'To-morrow, at daybreak,' said the captain to the pilgrims, 'you will see Lebanon, and land on the coast of Canaan.' 'Phark Asdudzô!' said an old Armenian, already weary of his pilgrimage, at eighty years of age, 'yea, glory to God! I shall see the holy city, Jerusalem, ere I die!' 'God willing, we shall!' added some of his fellow-pilgrims; 'God willing, we shall!' Night fell; and soon silence reigned on deck. I retired to rest, and, in the words of Moses, 'I besought the Lord at that time, saying, O Lord God! I pray Thee, let me go over to see the good land that is beyond Jordan, that goodly mountain, and Lebanon!'

CHAP. II.—*Coast of Phœnicia.—Beyrût.*

WHILE awaiting an answer to that prayer, I could think of nothing else; and I lay awake, anxiously looking through the port-hole of my cabin for the first glimmer of the dawn. So that I was up, and preparing to dress, when at sunrise a confused murmur among the pilgrims overhead, followed by the shout, 'El-Libnân!' told the news that land was near and Lebanon in sight.

I hastened on deck, when all my dreams of Lebanon fled; for I now beheld a vision—a vision, too, the most beautiful. Lebanon appeared, not on the earth, but as it were in heaven. At this early hour the coast lay shrouded in a thick, morning mist, which opened only to discover the white summit of Djebel es-Sunnîn, one of the peaks of Lebanon, glittering from among the clouds in the brilliant rays of the rising sun. Snow-mountains at sunrise were no new sight to me; and I had only just left the classic shores of Greece and of Asia Minor. But a sacred spell bound me to these hills; and I had never seen the light of day stream over the snows of this range, which as far exceeds in interest the fabled heights of Olympus, as itself rises high above the level of the sea. I could not turn my eyes from the scene, and I stood as if riveted to the spot; until an old Syrian, noticing me, drew near in astonishment and said, 'Friend, what are you gazing at? That is only snow. We see it every day. Our way home lies close to that hill. Come and see us at Damascus, and you will have plenty of it.'

During this interval the curtain rose, and the mist, ascending into the blue sky above, revealed to my eager eyes the whole

extent of the Phœnician coast from the Rock of Arvad north, by 'the land of the Giblites, and all Lebanon,' and along the shores of Canaan, on to the bold headland of Carmel, south. It looked ancient and solemn. Every feature in it had a meaning; from the lofty brow, and down the riven sides and wooded slopes of that long range of hills, tipped with snow, which rise abruptly from the shore, as if to forbid the waters of the 'great sea' to go further, it told of olden times, when every cape had a signal, every knoll a name, every creek an altar, and every town a patron god: when, over-prosperous and over-wise, Phœnicia sent forth from her queenly cities her children, her wisdom, and her wealth, even unto the ends of the world; and at home did service with her ships to Jehovah, the God of Israel, her neighbour. For, from yonder ancient city, Gebal, the servants of Hiram, King of Tyre, started the rafts of cedar-wood, hewn on those very mountains, by the men of his ally, the king of Israel. And after a votive offering at the shrine of the sea-goddess of Byblus, they steered them along this coast, until they landed safe at Japho, to be taken from thence to the Temple at Jerusalem. It was in those woods also that Adonis was killed; there flows the stream dyed with his blood; and from thence issued the voice of lamentation over him, which the prophet heard at the gate of the Temple, and which re-echoed even on the distant shores of Sicily. That cleft in the hill marks the limit of Gebal's territory, and tells of the conquest of the Egyptian king Sesostrius. Before us lie the groves of Berytus, the cradle of our race. From that very strand, at the foot of those hills, fled the terrified inhabitants of this land, before the conquest of the son of Nun, and carried with them the dread of his name, their language and their gods, even to the borders of the Libyan desert, ere Cadmus left for Europe, or Dido for Carthage. On that narrow strip of land by the water's edge, arose and flourished, in the days of Canaan, the far-famed cities of this ancient coast; splendid Tyre, greater than Arvad and Gebal, or even Berytus; and Sidon, the mother of them all, who now sits among them desolate—a phantom of her former self, a mere shadow of her ancient glory. And beyond is that Carmel, on which the prophet of God put to shame the worshippers of Baal, when the shouts of the assembled multitude rent the heavens at his bidding, and proclaimed to this idolatrous land that 'the Lord he is God!'

Meanwhile we neared the town, and soon cast anchor in the port of Beyrût. I took leave of the captain, and of my fellow-passengers, and, getting into a boat, I went ashore. But, ere it landed, I cleared the last wave with a bound, and stood at last on the Phœnician strand. For the present, however, all romance

was at an end. For no sooner had I got on shore than I was addressed by a matter-of-fact Turkish officer of customs, who, having watched me leaping from the boat, took me for a somewhat doubtful character, who was rather in a hurry. My sketch-book, too, under my arm, increased his suspicions, so that he bid me stop and show him my luggage. I took out of the boat a pair of saddle-bags, containing all my worldly goods, which I began to undo, while conversing with him about the weather and Turkey. Those few words in his own tongue had the desired effect, and he politely stopped any further search, with a significant 'pek eyü!' accompanied by a gentle nod, which none but a Turk can either give or thoroughly appreciate.

These preliminaries over, I proceeded at once to the house of the Rev. Dr. Smith, the well-known American missionary, who kindly asked me to become his guest during my stay at Beyrût, and while I made preparations for my journey into the interior. The house stands on an eminence, about a mile from the town, and commands an extensive view of the coast of Kesrwân, as far as Gebal, and of the bay of St. George, with its surrounding hills and their numerous villages, over which presides in silent majesty the hoary head of Lebanon, as I saw it then, high in a sky of the deepest hue. The mulberry-trees, with which the country round Beyrût is chiefly covered, were already clad in the fresh green of their first spring leaf, and contrasted well with the dark foliage of the stone-pine. While, here and there, around the white flat-roofed dwellings of the inhabitants, graceful palm-trees waved their feathery branches in the breeze of noon, as it swept into the plain from the slopes of Lebanon.

No wonder if, in days of old, the nymph Beroë fixed upon this charming place as her future abode, and the site of her own city. She loved its groves of evergreens, and its gushing streams at the foot of those hills, on the shore which, in winter, is sheltered from the cold, and in summer is always fanned by the breeze of Lebanon. Here, on this chosen spot, was Beyrût founded of old, even when 'Jupiter was a babe,' as twin-city to Byblus, the oldest in the world. Here it flourished, blessed as it was with a delightful climate, with lovely scenery, and a most productive soil, and soon became 'the brilliant star of Lebanon's land.' And even when, under the Roman rule, it lay fallen and waste, and inhabited by Roman veterans, its agreeable position and abundant produce still won from them the enviable name of 'Felix,' the 'happy.' Of the ancient city little or nothing remains; but the springs to which Beyrût owes its name continue to run through the town, which is still comparatively flourishing, as the seaport of Damascus and the principal town on the coast of Syria.

The first few days I spent on the shores of Phœnicia glided rapidly. How could it be otherwise? I met with the greatest kindness from my host, while enjoying the charm of first impressions in this land; full of recollections of the past, and of anticipations for my future journey. Recovering, too, as I was, from a fever, every breath of this dry, soft air, fragrant 'of the smell of Lebanon,' seemed, as I inhaled it, to come from the springs of life itself; and wherever I moved I trod on consecrated ground, the very dust of which yet speaketh. Yonder small town on a rock projecting into the sea at the foot of Lebanon is Gebail, Gibl, or Byblus, Cinyra's realm, the cradle, tomb, and temple of his son Adonis; the far-famed shrine of the hill-goddess Baaltis, cyleped, at Golgos, Aphrodite. And here, in Berytus, which claims to have been founded by Baal, Chiun, Cronus, or Saturn, lived the celebrated Phœnician disciple of 'Jerubbaal who is Gideon.' From hence, too, from Berothai, city of Hadarezer King of Zoba, King David took 'very much brass, wherewith Solomon made the brazen sea and the pillars and the vessels of brass.' Then again, these are the shores which in days of yore were famous in the world for wealth and wisdom, and covered the sea with their ships, from the golden land of Ophir, even unto the distant coasts of Britain. But, above all, this was now to me the door into the promised land; everything around, therefore, was of interest; from the stately cedar and the waving palm that gave this land her name, to the white cyclamen that grows among the rocks by the road-side. Whether the majestic flight of the vulture that soared overhead in graceful spires, or the bee that buzzed among the frail blossoms of the almond-tree, everything here interested the mind and captivated the heart; for it all belongs to mysterious times, and told of things and of ages we remember with awe, and past long, long ago. In presence, too, of this venerable range of Lebanon, around which hover upwards of three thousand years of unbroken associations, cherished in all lands, out of the word of God, who could feel other than spell-bound? And what man, however much imbued with classic lore, and however much attached to the glades of Helicon, or to the famed summit of Ida, would not turn with a look of affection towards the varied outline of these hills, and utter the prophet's words, 'Will a man leave the snow of Lebanon for the rock of the field?' For whether in the cool of the early morn, or when deeply coloured by the setting sun, Lebanon is ever beautiful, ever impressive and solemn. And even at night, when the whole scene lies buried in sleep, and not a breath is heard under Heaven, the shade of the mountain whispers of ancient days, when it witnessed the glory of this land, when it yielded its choicest produce for the temple of God, and was in

turn consecrated for ever in the sacred lays of Judah's inspired kings. Yet, fair as it now is, 'Lebanon is ashamed and hewn down.' But the days will come when 'its glory shall belong unto the kingdom of Christ, when Carmel and Sharon shall see the glory of the Lord and the excellency of our God.'

While preparing for my journey to Jerusalem, I fell in with an acquaintance of mine, the captain of one of her Majesty's brigs of war lying in the harbour. He was about to start for Damascus, and begged I would accompany him. We were to be absent a few days only, and we made our arrangements accordingly. We each hired a horse, and we engaged a servant, who, by the way, never told us he was suffering from a fit of ague; and as the weather was, as yet, too cold and unsettled to make a tent available, we fondly trusted to whatever accommodation we might find on the road. My friend said, that, as he had often slept in his cloak, we should want nothing more; and as to provisions, we were sure to find 'something somewhere.' Fortunately, however, the friends with whom I was staying knew better, and they very kindly filled my saddle-bags with sundry packages of tea, sugar, bread, roast meat, and other eatables. And thus provided for, but without bed or shelter, I agreed to join my travelling companion the following day at a given place about a mile out of the town, and I prepared to leave my comfortable home, not without misgivings, yet hoping for the best. Whatever else on my part, it was a great error in travel.

CHAP. III. — *Mount Lebanon — Stay at Qabb-Elyas — Mount Ante-Lebanon — Arrival at Damascus.*

TRUE to our word, we met at the appointed time; but the sky was lowering and the day looked altogether unfavourable. I was for turning back, and for deferring our trip until the weather was settled, knowing, from experience, that wind and rain add very little to the enjoyment of mountain travel. But my sailor-friend was pressed for time, and seemed to care little for either. He thought we had better go at all events, and risk whatever came, storm or sunshine.

Onwards therefore we went, along the dusty road, between hedges of prickly pear, and through the pine-forest of the plain, to the foot of Lebanon. For awhile the clouds looked as if inclined to disperse, and the wind lulled as if uncertain which way to blow.

'So you see we are all right,' said the captain.

'Respite finem,' or 'wait a bit,' was my sullen reply.

'Come, come, put a good face upon it; we shall do very well yet, depend upon it.'

‘We shan’t suffer much, I hope,’ replied I; ‘but we shall assuredly get a thorough ducking. Do you see that mist, how it drifts over the snow?’

‘I do; what of it?’

‘Only a storm; wind and rain.’

‘Never mind; enjoy sunshine while it lasts, and abide the storm when it comes.’

‘So we will.’ And certainly, for the present at least, the scenery was such as to put us in good spirits. For awhile our rugged road was skirted with thick bushes of the purple rock-rose in full bloom. This was relieved at intervals by clumps of evergreens—yet not without some of ‘the brier of Lebanon’—and the showy blossoms of the gum-cistus, wet with dew, that fell from their delicate petals when fanned by the breath of morn. Anon our path lay between masses of moss-grown rocks and a few stunted pines, through which the mountain wind rustled fresh and fragrant, while a couple of red-legged partridges tamely ran before us and disappeared among high tufts of grass. Now we were toiling up a craggy slope profusely covered with white cyclamen and the starry blossoms of the scarlet anemone, and then walking leisurely across meadows and rich pastures already clad in luxuriant herbage. All this, too, amid the changing scene of the mountain-side, by rill or torrent, in gleams of sunshine or in partial showers of drizzling rain; sometimes looking upwards to the frowning summits of Sunnîn, already gathering around itself some angry clouds, or down into the woodland glen that shelters the lonely hut of the mountain peasant; and then, far over hill and dale, on to the boundless horizon of the Tyrian main. And then we reached the brow of one of the side ridges of Lebanon, from whence the eye plunges into the deep valley of Talûgâh beneath, and follows its foaming torrent of melted snows down a narrow bed into the plain of Beyrût. As we passed, an Egyptian vulture, that was sitting on a rock overhanging the precipice, looked at us, once opened and closed his wings as if to try their strength; then spreading them he soared in the air, and with a rapid flight spanned the chasm, and settled, as a mere speck, on the cliff beyond. Then the prophet’s words came to mind: ‘They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles.’

But as we rose higher the sun entirely disappeared, the wind increased, and the showers became more frequent, until we reached ‘Ain el-Hajel, or ‘the spring of the partridge,’ near the top of the hill, already laden with heavy clouds of rain and snow, which swept over our heads in the growing fury of a mountain storm. I turned back for an instant to look at the scene. Above, and

immediately below, drifting clouds covered 'the roots of Lebanon,' which extended beyond and sloped down in high ridges and deep valleys as far as Beyrût, now a mere spot on the sun-lit shore of the plain spread like a map at our feet. I began to regret that I was not there, in peace and sunshine, when all of a sudden we became enveloped in a cold murky cloud, and a little beyond we found ourselves half way up to our horses' knees in snow. Presently we came to a stand; we had lost the track, and here, all alone, towards evening, in thick mist and deep snow, our servant, who it appears only knew the road as long as he saw it, confessed to us that he knew not which way to turn. We shouted, but in vain; the rocks alone grumbled a mournful reply. It was useless to look for some fellow-wanderer in this desolate spot, and the alternative to retrace our steps back to a khan a long way off, or to spend the night as we were, did not by any means satisfy us. My provisions, too, the only ones we had, were well-nigh exhausted, so that now our only chance was indeed to get 'something somewhere.' We ventured a few steps at a time, unable to see further; but once we found ourselves on the brink of a precipice, and on another occasion we were rapidly descending on the wrong side of the mountain. While in this uncomfortable plight, which only impressed upon me all the more the fact that wind and weather, food and shelter, are no trifling items in travel, the clouds opened an instant, just long enough to let us see the last rays of the setting sun streaming over the vale of Lebanon and the scattered dwellings of a village deep down below, and then the cloud closed in again.

Encouraged by this providential opening, we began to descend the mountain, not, however, without some difficulty; for as yet we had found neither path nor track of any kind. It was with my sailor-friend all 'dead reckoning,' and with me, I confess, 'rap at a venture.' Our servant, too, was worse than useless; he sat shivering on his horse, not knowing what to do. At last, after many fruitless attempts, we fell into a beaten track on the edge of the snow, and, following its narrow windings, we soon emerged from the mist. Then we found ourselves apparently within an hour's walk of the village below. The rocks on either side of us were literally covered with tufts of purple aubrietia, and the ground was adorned with red anemones, blue irises, and pale-white and yellow crocuses, first flowers of spring in these high regions: they seemed to smile on our dreary path, and to bid us hope for a brighter day on the morrow. Thus cheered, even in the storm, by these relics of Paradise, we picked our way down the steep and rugged side of the hill, until, long after sunset, we arrived at last, wet and weary, at the small village of Qabb Elyas.

The first inhabitant we met at this out-of-the-way place offered us shelter for the night. 'Welcome, gentlemen,' said he, 'welcome under my roof.' Such is the usual hearty greeting of even the poorest host in the simple and genuine land of the East; for there, 'my heart is thine and my house too,' are no empty forms of speech. Yakûb—such was the name of the poor villager—meant what he said, and what he had he gave, and with a good will too. He led the way to his house, and, opening the door, 'There, gentlemen,' said he, 'lie down and rest yourselves;' and we went in. I was too tired to ask any questions, and, the interior of the house being so dark that I could scarcely see anything, I made a pillow of my saddle-bags in a corner, and, spreading my thick Smyrnian cloak over an old and dirty mat that was on the floor, I at once lay down to rest my wearied limbs, while our host and his wife lighted a fire of pine-chips on the hearth. By that lurid glare I began to descry the size and accommodation of 'our house.' It might be about twelve feet square; the floor, the native earth; the walls, mud; and the roof, branches of trees, through which I could see the outer covering of earth and gravel. It was flat, about seven or eight feet from the ground, and hung with festoons of old and dusty cobwebs that dangled in the smoke. In the centre was the hearth, around which Yakûb had spread the coarse and dirty mat on which we lay: and behind me was a heap of all sorts of things—a plough, with other tools of husbandry, an old harness, bits of old rope, a bundle of wood, on which a few fowls were roosting; jars, boxes, wooden bowls, pitchers, and earthen bins containing grain, the worldly goods and chattels of the master of the house. There was no other opening than the door to let in and out light and smoke, men and women, and the children and poultry of our host. If that were all, well and good; but ere I had lain long upon the ground, half-smothered in smoke, which tried in vain to escape at the door in the teeth of a howling wind, I found that the most troublesome inmates of this hut, if too small to be seen in the dark, were, at all events, to be felt. I do not mean rats, of which whole families were careering about, nor yet the wall-lizard, that uttered its plaintive note on one of the rafters above: I mean other creeping things, worse than those, and here, alas! innumerable.

And now, in good earnest, for 'something somewhere.'

'What have you got in the house, friend?' said I to our host.

'Nothing.'

'What, no bread?'

'No, none.'

'No milk?'

'There is none in the place.'

‘No eggs?’

‘My fowls don’t lay.’

‘What do you eat, then?’

‘What I can, and that seldom.’

‘So do many besides yourself; but really, can you get us nothing, for we are both very hungry and tired?’

‘Perhaps to-morrow; but now every soul in the village is asleep.’

‘A bad look-out, indeed. Well, then, can you get us some water?’

‘Oh, plenty of that!’

And in a few minutes my kettle was hissing its wonted tune on the hearth—real music to the weary traveller. I made some tea, and while drinking it, with a dry crust of *Beyrût* bread, I cast one more glance around me, and, after musing on the probable architect of this hut, I came to the conclusion that it must have been the home of some Hivite who lived hereabouts in the days of Joshua! for our host and his wife looked very much like a pair of them. For the sake of old associations, therefore, I resigned myself contentedly to my fate, and in the name of all the Hivites, Arkites, and other shades of Lebanon, I wrapped myself up in my cloak and did my best to go to sleep.

But all in vain. For what with the howling wind and pouring rain without—what with the rats running up and down and often over me, the lizards, and other smaller creatures here in plenty, and the snoring of *Yakûb* and his family within—rest in this Hivite lodge was not intended for me. Still I would have patiently waited for the dawn as I was; but the rain, which was falling in torrents, had soaked through the coating of the roof, and was dropping fast upon my face, so that I was fairly driven from where I lay. Thus dislodged, I got up and groped about in the dark for another resting-place, but in so doing I stumbled over *Yakûb*, who roared out ‘Who’s there?’ This terrified the children, who began to scream at the top of their voice, while their mother tried to quiet them, in regular Hivite style, by thumping and beating them. Then my friend, half-awake, groaned ‘What’s all this about?’ whilst I, for my part, burst into a hearty fit of laughing. The whole affair, in such utter darkness, sounded so ludicrous, that, after lying down, I could not close my eyes, but lay wide awake until the dawn of day. *Yakûb* got up ere it was light, and went out. Weary as I felt after such a night, I soon fell into a doze, and dreamt of Hivites and I forget what else, when a rumbling noise, which in my half-conscious state I took for thunder overhead, and so near as to shake the house, startled me from my dreams and put an end to all further chance of rest. It continued to roll for awhile, and then ceased altogether. Presently *Yakûb* returned, and I

anxiously asked him about 'the weather.' This time it was no inquiry of ceremony, I meant it in earnest.

'Weather,' said he; 'it pours torrents—it blows a hurricane!'

'Well! and it thunders too,' said I.

'Thunders, do you say? I have heard no thunder.'

'Heard no thunder? Why, a moment ago it even shook your house!'

'Allah yesallemak! I was rolling the roof of the house with my stone roller to make it tight, and to prevent the rain from coming through. Thunder, indeed!'

'Come, it is not so bad as I thought, after all,' said I to myself. 'But tell me, is there any chance of our going to-day?'

'Not the slightest, for the plain is flooded, and nobody can cross it: you won't go to-day; neither you nor anybody else.'

Pleasant prospect, thought I, entombed in this hole, either shivering with cold or blind with smoke, and without light to read, sketch, or do anything else: how shall I spend one whole day in it? And then, turning to my companion, I asked him what he thought now of that little cloud that meant nothing? 'But never mind,' said I; 'as you said, we have had "something somewhere." Now let us "take things as they come;" storm, of course, as you see, and sunshine, if any.'

And so we did take things as they came, at breakfast at least; for it was short and light, and as to the weather, it was implacable. Ever and anon springing from our mat to the door to try and catch one ray of hope in the gloom of our stormy sky, we spent the day, alternately driven out of doors by the smoke, and then driven back by relentless torrents of rain. At last, in the afternoon, for something to do, we betook ourselves to what, considering the time of day, we courteously called 'dinner'—one course and no dessert. One of those unfortunate hens that laid no eggs, and that had cackled in the morn, poor wretch! was brought to us, boiled in a bowl of bruised barley, which, to the inhabitants of these hills, supplies the place of rice; and this, with a few loaves of coarse barley-bread and a jug of water, was all our fare. It reminded me of my dinner at Rhodes: although this fowl was less tough than that, it would have defied all but a keen appetite; we were, however, sharp-set, and we left but little of that unhappy bird; while, of its adjuncts, we bequeathed to our servant absolutely nothing: what he ate we know not. After dinner, as the day began to wane and the wind continued to howl as before through the incessant rain, we sought comfort in our forlorn state, my friend in his pipe, and I, who never indulged in that luxury, in a cup of tea: soon after this the night closed in. We took to our cloaks again, laid ourselves down on the matting, and earnestly hoped for rest in sleep.

As habit, they say, is a second nature, and I had got partly used to this state of things, I know not whether the rats and other things behaved more courteously that night, but it certainly proved shorter and better than the last, and at the break of day I went anxiously to see what the weather could be. Alas! it looked as angry as ever, and the rain as much determined to fall. No hope of escape as yet. My companion was for starting at all events, and braving rain and weather of any kind; but we had ten or twelve hours' journey before us, in order to reach Damascus, across the vale and the chain of Ante-Lebanon, which no one could have attempted in such weather. Besides, the plain was impassable on account of the late rain: our host declared we should not reach the opposite side alive; and, for my part, I urged that, whatever else it might be, we were, at all events, under a sort of shelter and comparatively dry, and that I should prefer this to being exposed to wind and rain for a whole day. It was ultimately agreed to make a virtue of necessity, and once more, for that day, to resign ourselves to our untoward fate. Only think, to spend another four-and-twenty hours in this wretched hovel, instead of resting, as we had hoped, in the marble halls of Damascus! Such is life in travel.

Enveloped as we had been in clouds and rain from the moment of our arrival at this place, we had, of course, no idea of the surrounding scenery, so that I felt as if passing from a sort of intermediate state into a new existence, when, about the middle of the day, the wind having shifted, the mist gradually dispersed and revealed the green pastures and running streams of the vale of Lebanon. It lay spread at our feet as far as the range of Ante-Lebanon, now displayed before us, from the distant heights of Amana beyond Ba'albec to the lofty summit of Mount Hermon, covered with fresh snow and glittering in the meridian sun against a deep-blue sky. We sallied forth at once, in order to enjoy this splendid view from a higher point, near some ancient sepulchres in the rock, to which our host led us. I now felt fully reconciled to the delay, and to every inconvenience, for the sake of the scene before me, if it must have been purchased at such a price; for, while thus standing on Lebanon, I ranged over the whole extent of this famous plain of el-Bekâ', the ancient domain of 'the Hivites that dwelt in Mount Lebanon, from Mount Baal-Hermon unto the entering in of Hamath.' The trees on the plain were not yet in leaf, but the plain itself was one sheet of the freshest green. It was parted in its length by the windings of the Leontes, now flowing like a silver thread, and anon swollen into pools of the purest blue, till it disappeared in the purple shadows of the opposite hills of Ante-Lebanon. Over the whole presided, as genius of the land, the venerable summit of Mount Hermon, famed, from

the river of Babylon to the plains of Bœotia, for the freshness of its snow. For there is no snow so white, there is no sky so blue, there is no dew, no, none, like 'the dew of Hermon, that descended upon the mountains of Zion; for there the Lord commanded the blessing, even life for evermore.'

The vision was short, for the mist closed in again and everything grew cold and gray. We retraced our steps to the hut, hoping this would, indeed, be our last day in it, and that we might visit the mountains which we had just seen. We had both had enough of Hivite board and lodging; and no love of antiquity, no recollections, however remote, seemed equal to beguile either of us into a longer stay at Qabb-Elyas. We felt as if, in storm or sunshine, to-morrow go we must. The weather, though still unsettled, looked more favourable, so that, after a frugal supper, and for the third night, we took to our cloaks and matting again, vowing vengeance on all rats, lizards, and other creeping things of this Hivite den, and so far determined, come what might, to leave it on the morrow.

Early the next day I awoke, or rather unrolled myself, dull and weary of the night, and anxiously asked Yakûb, 'What of the weather?'

'The weather,' said he, 'will do to-day; you may go.'

'El-hamd lillah!' Our patience had been tried well-nigh to the uttermost; and it finally met with reward. Breakfast—I forget what—was soon over: we paid our host for his services, and, vaulting into our saddles, we bid a long and hearty farewell to our home at Qabb-Elyas, and left it for good.

Outside the village we were met by a man on horseback, who offered, or rather intruded, himself as guard, without which, he said, we could not safely cross the dreaded passes of Ante-Lebanon. We declined his offer, knowing what tricks are played upon travellers, in order to extract money from them, by certain idlers, who, in concert with the servants, persuade foreigners that, but for their escort, they will arrive dead. Our friend, however, would take no refusal. He did not escort us for money, no, it was all for love—'his heart was ours,' and on no account would he let us go unprotected. We understood his meaning and duly prized his generous offer, and, as he rode a very fine horse, well caparisoned, and was himself gaily dressed, we allowed him to accompany us, more as a set-off to our own rather shabby costume than as a safeguard against fancied robbers. Presently we fell into the regular road from Beyrût to Damascus, which we had lost at 'Ain el-Hadjel, and a little further, after crossing the Leontes, we came to the village of El Merdj, at the foot of Ante-Lebanon. We were joined at this place by some native travellers on donkeys,

going to Damascus, with whom we formed a very motley cavalcade, when, headed by our Syrian guard, who led the way, we left the plain, and entered the mountain-passes of Ante-Lebanon.

Our road led us through much woodland scenery, which, later in the season, would have been very picturesque; but the ground was still covered with snow, and the wind blew rough and very cold. The only signs of life on this chilly morning were, strange to say, the pretty butterfly, *Doritis apollina*, which I often saw settle on the path, still wet with melted snow, and patches of purple and scarlet anemones. Thus beguiled through this wild and dreary scene by these welcome messengers of the early spring, we crossed, in a storm of snow and rain, a wide opening among the hills, and on the opposite side entered the Wady el-Qarn. Here our guard began to trim his firelock, and, telling us of robbers and cut-throats, he led the way into this narrow defile, formed by the dry bed of a torrent, between abrupt and perpendicular rocks. The scenery was certainly very grand; the rocks, on either side, rose to a considerable height, and were covered, here and there, with grass and fir-trees, from which, as we passed, a pair of eagles rose into the blue vault of heaven, and soared from thence over the surrounding hills.

We had now left behind us the region of snow, and were fast, also, leaving clouds and rain. Our sky was more open, the wind had lulled, and the air was soft and calm, when, following our path along the stream, now deep among rocks and stones, and anon by the side of luxuriant pastures, already spangled with early spring-flowers, we came to the village of Damas, situate at the opening of this mountain valley among low and barren-looking hills. Here our guard left us, as he said, 'quite out of danger;' and we pressed onwards, anxious to reach Damascus before dark. We continued among a succession of low, undulating hills, which lay before us and intercepted our view of the plain. Every knoll we came to promised to be the last, but one after another deceived us, and I had almost ceased to long after a sight of that earthly paradise, now within reach, when, about sunset, and at a turning of the road between two barren hills of sand, the plain of Damascus at once opened before us.

How shall I tell the beauties of this plain, celebrated as the 'garden of Eden' of 'peerless fame,' the 'safe and peaceful retreat of Rebwa,' 'ever green and fresh,' by the 'crystal wave of its gurgling fountains,' the 'land of roses and violets,' the 'most beautiful of the four gardens of the earth'? Here the choicest fruit-trees and evergreens of the East formed one mass of luxuriant leaf, in the midst of which lay, as I beheld it then, 'the bright eye of the East,' this, the fairest city of Syria. Its sparkling minarets and

white cupolas were glowing in the rays of the setting sun, like a 'rose of Damascus' embosomed in its own foliage. Planted in a rich soil, under a mild sky, and sheltered by hills from the north, Damascus knows no winter; and watered, as it always is, by the running streams of Abana and Pharpar, and other abundant springs, it fears no burning heat, but enjoys an eternal spring; while the boundless plain on which it stands seems to blend it to the eastward with heaven, from which it receives all the year round the choice gifts of an abundant produce and a healthy climate. Truly the 'tents of Shem' were pitched in a pleasant land, and Uz chose for himself a goodly heritage.

A few minutes brought us into the plain; and the sun was setting as we took the road to the city through a forest of apricot-trees and almonds in full bloom, among which echoed the sweet songs of birds and the murmur of a thousand rills. We entered the gate of the city at dusk, and after being jostled through narrow streets and endless bazaars, empty at this time of day, we came at last to the door of our khan (for one cannot talk of 'an hotel' in the city of Damascus). There was, happily, no sign-board; it was only known as a house kept by a native where strangers lodged. We alighted, and, having entered at the low and narrow door, we found ourselves in a court paved with marble, in the centre of which played a fountain surrounded by orange-trees covered with fruit and flowers; and from that court we were ushered into a room, also laid with mosaic, and fitted up in true eastern style, where we lay down and rested on a soft and spacious divan. What a contrast to our hut and wretched fare at the village of Qabb Elyas!

M.

(To be continued.)

THE NECESSARY EXISTENCE OF GOD.*

THE issue of a new edition of this highly valuable work affords us the opportunity of laying before our readers an account of it. Coleridge is said to have kept by him a list of the illustrious obscure, on whose ample stores he was accustomed freely to draw. Be this as it may, as we happen to know that the present is a work much more used than acknowledged, we cannot but think that we shall be rendering a service to the cause of religion and literature, as well as striving to render the meed of justice due to the talented and estimable author, in thus presenting to the notice of our readers a work which, on the subject on which it treats, must be considered as leaving far behind it all others, and which must, we think, at no distant day become a textbook in the hands of all professors of natural theology.

Our estimate is founded both upon the intrinsic merits of the work itself and the very substantial services it has already rendered to the cause of Christian truth against its avowed enemies. Upwards of twenty years have passed since the '*Argument à priori*' saw the light, and upwards of ten since the entire work was given to the public, at which time the '*Argument*,' or rather the '*Reply*' to the attack made upon it, performed on behalf of Christianity the signal services already referred to, in completely demolishing and putting out of existence a society of atheists which held its head-quarters at Glasgow, and which styled itself the '*Zetetic Society*.' A *Zetetic Society*, gentle reader, unlearned in Greek, is neither more nor less than a society of seekers, who in this instance found in their search more than they sought for—an antagonist, or rather friend, who, if he did not convince them, confuted and silenced them. Unconsciously he imitated the great Israelitish lawgiver; for, coming upon them unawares, he ground their idol to powder small as the dust to which Moses reduced the golden calf around which he discovered the Israelites dancing in idiotic glee, and moreover made of the powder a bitter potion, of which, for their good, he compelled them to drink. From that day to this, atheism has not dared to show its face in those quarters; nor is it too much to infer, from the total and triumphant demolition of that atheistic society, the demolition of 'avowed, speculative atheism' itself, so widely as this work shall become known.

* *The Necessary Existence of GOD.* By William Gillespie, Esq. New Edition. Edinburgh, A. and C. Black; London, Longman and Co.

We therefore cannot but think that ignorance of the work in the public mind, to any extent, is liable to be productive of evil consequences; for let none suppose that atheism is extinct: secularism is atheism. For the truth of this we refer to the statement made by the Rev. Brewin Grant in his public controversy with Mr. Holyoake. 'In 1852 Mr. Holyoake said, "Secularism is the longer and more comprehensive term of atheists"' (*Discussion*, p. 246). 'Comprehensive' indeed it is: it comprehends all who are willing to ignore God and eternity, and work together on secular principles. Its name declares its origin. 'This wisdom descendeth not from above, but is earthly,' that is, *secular*; and if earthly, merely and entirely such as secularism is—'sensual'; and if sensual, 'devilish.' Truly 'this wisdom descendeth *not* from above,' but cometh up from beneath; and whence it comes, thither it leads. And yet this self-same secularism—in what must be considered one of its branches, if the child will but own its parent, secular education—has power to draw together, in pursuit of the same object, the leaders of the secularists, along with members of Parliament, and even some who are engaged in the work of preaching the Gospel. Of this secularism, this practical atheism, speculative atheism, is the real rallying-point. Let speculative atheism therefore be annihilated, and this atheistic secularism must quickly incur the same fate. It is true the atheist hopes we shall be civil enough to discard the name atheist, and adopt in its stead the mongrel term non-theist; nor does he scruple to inform us that his reason for desiring this substitution is that the term atheist 'associates guiltiness and dissent.' So it does, and so it ought; for to the view of mankind, atheism is a monster crimsoned o'er with the 'guilt' of unnumbered iniquities and atrocities; and this change of name is but attempted on the principle on which a notorious scoundrel once wished for a good character: 'He would give ten thousand pounds for it, for he could gain twenty thousand by it.' But for ourselves we mean to 'call a spade a spade,' and scoundrelism scoundrelism, and atheism atheism. The poet did but give expression to the treasured experience of mankind in all ages when he said—

'A foe to God was ne'er true friend to Man.'

And this resolution to call things by their right names is one which we maintain not only in mercy to the world and ourselves, but also in sincere compassion to the atheist himself, that, being ashamed of the name he bears, he may peradventure come to be ashamed of his atheism too; for, according to the sentiment of our British moralist, where shame lingers, virtue is not *quite* extinct.

Of the mischievous effects of the public ignorance of the work before us, we have a notable instance in the discussion between the Rev. H. Townley and Mr. Holyoake on the Being of a God, held in Fitzroy Square, London, May and June, 1852. Mr. Townley appears to be a most amiable man, and one who experiences the blessed results of the faith which not only 'believeth that God is, but that he is a rewarder of them who diligently seek him;' and we refer to the debate no further than to say that the usual *à posteriori* arguments were brought forward and well urged. What claims our special attention is the avowal of his antagonist:—

'I will tell my friend more than that: that if any man can put into my hand an argument in favour of the existence of Deity, which I can go with to the public, and defy their judgment, which is my custom with the arguments I adduce, then I will go and develop that with as much pride and pleasure as I now develop those views which I entertain. All that I require is, that some man will arm me, that I may dare other people. I cannot submit to go and supplicate people to think on my side of the case. I only care for that statement which I feel no man can disqualify—no man can explain away.'—*Discussion*, p. 55.

To convince men who are in such a state of mind as this extract reveals is out of the question. Moral evidence does not 'defy' man and compel his belief: it *invites* him to believe. But if we cannot convince them so long as they remain in this state of mind, the next best thing that can be done in the service of Christianity is to confute and silence them. The inquiry therefore arises, Does *à posteriori* reasoning effect this? We see in the case before us that it does not; whereas we have already seen, in the case of the West of Scotland atheists, that the arguments in the volume on the 'Necessary Existence of God' *did* accomplish this. *A posteriori* arguments have a value, but it is chiefly as illustrations and confirmations of the grand argument which *demonstrates* the Being of a God. They are as the furniture of a mansion, or as the apartments of a mansion, but the mansion itself must be built of other material, if it is to 'defy' assault.

We think Mr. Gillespie showed both his judgment and tact in requiring that the 'Refutation' of the 'Argument' should be on paper. Think of two mathematicians debating a mathematical question before a promiscuous assembly, or before any assembly, and we shall have a tolerable notion of the impropriety of debating a metaphysical question in public—a question which men must ponder in the silence of their closets, and at the bar of conscience.

At this stage it will be well to present, in the words of the

author, a statement of what is meant by an *à priori* argument, and also of what is meant by the phrase 'necessary existence':—

'§ 64. Necessity does not concern things in themselves; necessity is no predicate of a thing, any farther than it expresses a certain quality of our conceptions regarding the existence of the thing. In fine, necessity lies not in the *objective* reality, but in the *subjective* mind.

'§ 65. To illustrate this doctrine by an example taken from the science of magnitude. That the three interior angles of every triangle are equal to two right angles, is a truth which, if the demonstration has been followed, cannot *but be believed, when the subject is thought on*. It is therefore pronounced a *necessary* truth; but the necessity that is in the case is not to be found anywhere but *in the mind* of the demonstrator: one very good proof of which is, that not the visible representatives of the mathematical lines, and angles, and triangles, but the real mathematical lines, and angles, and triangles themselves, can exist nowhere but in our conceptions.

'§ 66. In the next place, what are we to understand by a necessarily-existing *being*? A necessary being is one whose existence is *necessarily believed by us*—a being, in a word, whose non-existence *we cannot conceive*. But is this all that is meant by a necessary being? It is indeed all: anything more is inconceivable.

'§ 67. It will now be very obvious what an *à priori* argument—that is, an argument from the necessity of the case—is. It is an argument drawn from those conceptions of the human mind *of which it cannot be divested*. In its essential parts it founds on nothing but those ideas which arise in the mind *in the very act of thinking*—those ideas which are the *sine quâ non* of all other ideas.

'§ 68. I shall conclude what I have to say on this topic by an extract from an article in the Quarterly Review, to which we have been already indebted:—"The arguments which have been adduced by theologians in favour of Deity have been generally considered to be of two kinds, viz. arguments *à priori*, and arguments *à posteriori*. In the strictly logical [or rather etymological] sense of these terms, neither of these modes of reasoning is applicable to the question; for to reason *à priori* is to argue from the cause to the effect: this evidently is to assume the cause, the existence of which is the very point which is here to be proved. To reason *à posteriori* is to argue from the nature of the effect to that of the cause; but this argument, if applied to the question, would assume the world to be an effect—a point equally necessary to be proved before the argument can be legitimately applied. Though this is the strict and logical [etymological] meaning of the terms, they are often employed, the former to denote *speculative* or *abstract* reasoning, the latter that which is founded on facts or experience."—*Examination*, pp. 35, 36.

A *posteriori* reasoning founds upon *φαινόμενα*, or things cognizable by the mind through the senses; *à priori* reasoning founds upon *νοούμενα*, or what is cognizable directly by the mind. In a certain sense, therefore, both sorts of reasoning have a common

basis ; for surely I have as clear and certain a perception with my mental eye of space and time, as through the medium of my physical eye I have of the paper I write on. Thus the former founds on physical facts, the latter on *metaphysical* ; but the latter mode of reasoning has this advantage, along with other advantages, over the former mode, that, whereas I can conceive matter as non-existent, I cannot even *conceive* space and time as non-existent, for, if I think at all, they are, as stated above, the necessary conditions of thought.

It is needful to consider the relation which the subject of the volume bears to religious truth and religious interests in general ; for there are not a few 'dwellers in Zion' who find it so pleasant and agreeable to talk with their friends in the 'city,' that they entirely overlook the duty and necessity of 'speaking with their enemies in the gate,' and even regard with unintelligent contempt those who are mindful of their duty in this respect. They have yet to learn that Religion must have not her 'temple' only, but also her 'bulwarks.' In time of peace the ramparts of a city are apt to become a disregarded and ivy-clad ruin ; but when war menaces, the importance is felt of strong and sufficient walls. While, therefore, we would gratefully say with the Psalmist, 'We have thought on thy loving kindness, O Lord, in the midst of thy temple,' we would also say with him in the self-same Psalm, 'Walk about Zion, and go round about her ; tell the towers thereof ; mark ye well her bulwarks ;' for that the bulwarks be maintained impregnable is indispensably requisite, that our 'eyes may see Jerusalem a quiet habitation,' and that the worshippers who throng her temple-courts may raise their swelling anthem of hallowed joy, undisturbed by the rude clash of arms and the shouts of the invading foe. We therefore prize highly those who are able to 'speak with our enemies in the gate,' and to speak 'sound speech which *cannot be condemned*,' that 'he that is of the contrary part may be ashamed ;' and when we thus 'walk about Zion,' and survey the towers with which the 'city of our solemnities' is begirt, we would mark with gratitude and confidence the 'Bulwark' in presence of which the perusal of this volume places us, as, towering high in adamant strength, it reflects from its sun-lit battlements the beauties and glories of an eternal day.

In giving an account of the work, we avail ourselves of the opportunity of allowing the author to speak for himself in his own lucid language :—

'The various pieces which compose this volume were never before brought together within one pair of boards. Each piece or work is complete in itself : nevertheless the works may be said to have a relation to each other. They severally handle the different departments of the

subject. The one follows the other in a regular order: and the consecutive treatises may, not without reason, be held to constitute one entire compact body of information respecting the *à priori* or synthetic method of arguing for the existence of God.

'First of all, there are exhibited the defects of mere *à posteriori* arguments for the being and attributes of a Deity; and the inherent imperfections of the *à posteriori* plan are exposed for this reason principally—that an impression favourable to the pretensions of the rival method may be begotten.

'In the next place, the reader is presented with the failures of my predecessors in the field of *à priori* argumentation, manifesting, as those failures do, the room and need there is for something better, should it be possible to supply the *desideratum*. Amongst the circumstances which have brought the synthetic method into discredit, not the least prominent place ought to be reserved for the inefficiency of the labours of former demonstrators. The whole method generally has been charged with an impotence which is exclusively chargeable on the attempts of certain persons who purposed better things than their fates enabled them to accomplish. To point out the errors of former reasoners is to proceed one step in the right direction.

'Thirdly, the reader is shown the connection betwixt necessary existence and infinite extension, in order that an argument which makes infinite extension an attribute of the Being it seeks to reach may be viewed with a favourable eye by all those who admit the existence of a necessary Being, the intelligent Author of the universe—infinite extension, a necessarily existing mind, the cause of all the things of nature. If these are inseparably related, he who allows the one cannot reject the other. In short, the third work is a sort of *argumentum ad hominem* to be used with the generality of theists.

'It is obvious that none of the three treatises already referred to can be considered as adapted to the case of atheists, as atheists.

'In the fourth place, "The argument *à priori*, for the being and attributes of a Great First Cause," comes in sight.

'And fifthly and lastly, in the "Examination" of *Antitheos* there is a defence against the assaults of the chosen champion of atheism—of one of the two precisely situated foundations of the "Argument."

'Since the talented and skilful author of the "Refutation" is unable to reply to our "Examination," it may be confidently predicted that no atheist, be he who he may, will ever be capable of doing so successfully. In fine, by means of the "Examination," the "Argument *à priori*" is shown to be, in very deed, an *irrefragable demonstration*. The *desideratum*, alluded to above, will be perceived to be supplied.

'The "Examination" contains within it two sub-treatises. One of these gives, within the limits of a part, a full proof of "the non-infinite divisibility of extension and of matter." The other, though it takes the humble guise of a digression running through several parts, is in reality a complete and separable treatise "Of the Sentiments of Philosophers concerning Space"—a piece which will perhaps be esteemed

not the least valuable, as it is likely to be the most generally interesting, portion of the work wherein it occurs.

‘It need hardly be said that these two productions—the “Argument” and the “Examination” to wit—are to be held as especially intended for atheists. Without doubt, some classes of theists might read the works with profit to themselves, were the truths insisted on to be sufficiently pondered and duly digested. Nevertheless the works are adapted and addressed to atheists primarily.

‘It is our fervent prayer, that, by the perusal and consideration of these productions, many who are infidels, as touching the great fundamental doctrine of *One infinite and eternal Being, the Cause of all the phenomena and of all the matter in the universe*, may be converted from the error of their portentous disbelief.’—*General Preface*, pp. xi-xiv.

‘It will be perceived that the foregoing statement gives no detailed account of the “Argument” itself, and proceeds on the supposition that the reader, having the volume in his hand, will read the “Argument” for himself, comprised as it is within the limits of thirty-five octavo pages. To attempt to condense it would be as futile as an attempt to condense one of the books of Euclid’s Elements. Nevertheless we shall endeavour to give a brief statement of it.

‘The “Argument” consists of three divisions. The first division has reference to the existence of God, the second to his natural attributes, and the third to his moral attributes.

‘In the first division the existence of an infinite and eternal Being is shown to be necessarily deducible from infinity of extension (or space) and infinity of duration. In the first part of this division it is shown that, if infinity of extension be admitted (and none, not even the atheist, can pretend to deny its existence, and to deny its existence is what *Antitheos*, the leader of the Zetetic Society, scorns), the following dilemma results:—Either it is a substance or a mode. If it be perversely contended that it is a substance, then it is manifest that an infinite substance is thus shown to exist. If, however, it be admitted that it is a mode, then that mode implies a substance—an infinite substance or being. So that, let the atheist choose which horn of the dilemma he may, he finds his atheism impaled thereon, and writhing in mortal anguish. Again: infinity of extension is necessarily indivisible, else not infinite. If indivisible, then immovable; if immovable, there is an extension distinct from that of the material universe, which is movable, divisible, and therefore finite—that is, there is an infinity of expansion distinct from the finite extension of matter: wherefore the world, the universe, is not God. Again; since infinity implies indivisibility, the being of infinity of expansion is necessarily of unity and simplicity, and there is but one such Being. Further, it is shown that the being of infinity of expansion coexists with the material universe—a showing which casts an important light upon that expression of sublime and solemn grandeur, “*In Him we live, and move, and are,*” and brings home to our “business and bosoms” the thought we so much need to bear in continual remembrance, that “He is” indeed “not far from every one of us.” The

second part deals in a similar manner with the argument deducible from infinity of duration. The third part, in which the two preceding arguments coalesce, shows that there is necessarily a Being of infinity of expansion and duration; that He is of unity and simplicity; and that He is One, and "there is none beside Him."

'The second division demonstrates that the infinite and eternal One is all-knowing, all-powerful, and entirely free.

'The third division demonstrates that He is completely happy and perfectly good.'

On completing our survey of the Argument, we feel somewhat as Goethe felt after gazing in admiration upon the Minster of Strasburg. He perceived at length, or thought he perceived, that the tower arising above the magnificent pile was incomplete. On mentioning this to a friend, his friend replied, 'Who told you so?' 'The tower itself,' said Goethe; 'I have observed it so long and so attentively, and have shown it so much affection, that it at last resolved to make me this open confession.' 'It has not misinformed you,' answered he; 'I am the best judge of that; I am the person officially placed over the public edifices. We still have among our archives the original sketches which say the same thing, and which I can show you.' In the same manner we cannot forbear thinking that the argument before us is susceptible of further development, which it requires to give it completeness. The goodness of God, in which the Argument terminates, is to be taken, as we are informed, 'as comprehending in it all relative moral perfections' (*Exam.*, p. 6). If so, it must be considered as equivalent to the declaration of St. John that 'God is love,' or to the ascription of the seraphim, 'Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts,' since holiness is not the purity of God, but the commingling lustre of all his attributes—his outbeaming 'glory.' It is true we are not now arguing on Scripture grounds, yet we are arguing in unison with Scripture principles; and it must never be forgotten that the truths of revelation, on the supposition that they are truths, a supposition which no Christian can hesitate to grant, are truths which, though received in the first instance by faith, are nevertheless in accordance with reason, and therefore to be comprehended by human reason, so far forth as the mind of man becomes prepared to comprehend them; and it must also be remembered that the mind so receiving those truths in simple, childlike faith, becomes by their reception nourished and prepared to comprehend them, and thus advances to what St. Paul terms '*the riches of the full assurance of understanding*'—a principle which is likewise implied in his declaration that '*by faith we understand*,'—that is, it is not by understanding we believe, but by believing we come to understand, though afterwards faith and knowledge act

and react upon each other to their mutual confirmation and increase. In so far as natural things may shadow forth spiritual, we would say that the Christian must stand in presence of Divine revelation as our British Raphael stood in presence of the treasures which adorn the Vatican. At first he gazed on them in blank disappointment; but studying them day by day, he thus allowed them to make their full impression upon the susceptibilities of his nature; those susceptibilities quickened the powers of his understanding into new life and vigour; and thus receiving by faith impressions, the source of which he was unable to comprehend, he arrived at length at the comprehension of the principles whence flowed those impressions of beauty and grandeur; and as his first look was one of disappointment, his last look was one of despair—despair that he should ever be able to ascend to the lofty summit on which stood the great masters of Italian art. Hence we draw the inference that it is only a mind nurtured and disciplined in the everlasting verities of our most holy faith which could have constructed the Argument before us. Not even the ‘divine mind of Plato,’ dwelling amidst the darkness of paganism, would have been equal to the task. He only into whose mind the belief of a God has sunk to the depths of his nature—a result impossible in the absence of a direct revelation—can become equipped for a successful encounter with the Philistine *on his own ground*. His sure and steadfast belief in Divine truth is to him as the three smooth stones drawn from the brook with which David laid the vaunting Goliath low; and then the head of him who had so insultingly defied the armies of the living God is severed from the trunk *with his own sword*.

To return. Taking goodness in the comprehensive sense assigned it above, a sense assigned it also by Cudworth (see *Exam.*, p. 6), we think that the full development of the Argument requires the evolution of the attribute of righteousness; for since God is infinite in power, and wisdom, and goodness, and entirely free, and ‘cannot’ therefore ‘be tempted with evil,’ and since goodness ceases to be good, and mercy becomes ‘cruel kindness’ (‘a God all mercy is a God unjust!’), the moment the limits of truth and right are disregarded, is it not necessarily deducible that he is ‘a God of truth and without iniquity, just and right is he’? We would respectfully commend the consideration of this to the author.

In conclusion: regarding the work, as we do, as an offering of consecrated genius laid on the altar of Christianity, and with our convictions of its importance, we should like to see a re-issue of it in the following forms, additional to that in the neat and convenient form of the volume which now lies before us:—An edition for the

working classes, intended especially for skilled workmen. We have particularly in view the class of artisans—men who, from their intelligence and powers of speech and action, are capable of exercising, for good or evil, no small amount of influence upon the community in general, and to whose case sufficient attention does not seem by any means to have been hitherto directed : we would even term it the Artisan's Edition. Also a superb library edition, which would find its way to the shelves of the peer and prince, and reach the atheism which has not unfrequently been found in 'high places of the earth.' In taking leave of the author we cannot refrain from adverting to that part of the general preface which warrants the public in expecting a second work from his pen, and expressing a hope that we shall again meet him in the field of authorship.

Airdrie.

P. P.

THE DISCIPLES.

THE region of Galilee was separated from the eastern provinces of the holy land, partly by the river Jordan, and partly by the fresh-water lake through which that river flowed. The sea of Galilee, or of Tiberias, as the lake was called, is encircled by hills, which descend almost to the water's edge, except at the northern and southern extremities, where the river enters and departs. The hills in which the lake is embosomed are intersected here and there by hollows, down which the wind at times rushes in sudden gusts, producing those squalls or brief storms, of which such frequent mention is made in the Gospels.

In these openings of the hills were situated villages where the fishermen dwelt, who plied their trade on the well-stocked waters of the beautiful lake. In the time of our Lord the surface seems to have been covered by the boats of these people, but now the place is almost abandoned by man ; the shores, in spite of the lovely scenery, are little else than a blank desert, and the lake itself is scarcely ever visited by even a single bark. But a very great interest will always be attached to it by those who know that on its banks the Redeemer passed the larger portion of his ministry. It was to the villages on the western side that the message of salvation first was sent ; from them the earliest band of disciples was chosen ; and they distinguished themselves by their obstinate rejection of him, who offered them nothing but blessings. On these villages the Lord denounced the fearful sentence that they would fare worse than the idolatrous Tyre and the depraved Sodom. And as though in fulfilment of these threats, we seek in vain, in the present days, for any traces of their former existence.

The lake itself was not very extensive ; its length not being more than about twelve or fourteen miles ; and its breadth only about five or six. And it was to a small part, even of this, that the Saviour confined his ministry ; as though to illustrate his own lesson, that the kingdom of God must have an insignificant beginning. The town of Tiberias, the principal of these fishing stations, was placed at a point on the western side of the lake, nearly midway between the two extremities. Of all the cities and villages that once were here this alone has remained till the present day, and it most probably owes this preservation to its never having been privileged to witness Christ's personal presence ; and never therefore having incurred the malediction which fell upon its meaner neighbours. When, in a subsequent age, Jerusalem was destroyed, and even residence within the holy city forbidden to the Jews, Tiberias became the head-quarters of the nation ; and it was here that the celebrated school of doctors flourished, from whom issued the first Talmud.

In the space of very few miles — from Tiberias to the angle where the Jordan flows into the lake — were to be found the villages of Gennezareth, Magdala, Chorazin, and Capernaum ; and on the eastern coast, near to the river, the better known Bethsaida, or house of fishing. In these villages Jesus mostly lived during his ministry ; and from them he drew the small band of adherents, whom he commissioned to attack the strongholds of Satan, and to prepare the world for the final prevalence of righteousness, and for the establishment of the kingdom of Heaven.

At first, it seems tolerably manifest, the disciples who believed in Christ's mission were taken from the hearers of the Baptist ; they assented to the testimony of their master that a greater than himself had come. It does not, however, appear that they left John as soon as he had indicated 'the Lamb of God ;' for the Saviour's public ministry did not properly commence until after the termination of his predecessor's labours ; and the evangelists tell us of a more formal call of them after John had been cast into prison. The Lord, however, was accompanied by some disciples before the formal call took place ; for they are mentioned in St. John's narrative as going with him to the marriage feast of Cana ; — as residing with him in Capernaum ; — and as travelling with him as he passed from Jerusalem into Galilee. It is agreed also that these events must have occurred before the Baptist was cast into prison ; and therefore before he bade Simon, Peter, and Andrew, and the two sons of Zebedee, to leave all and follow him.

It is remarkable that on these occasions the disciples are not named by the evangelist ; which omission might suggest the

opinion that, although some of the twelve, as Philip, and Andrew, and Simon, and perhaps others, were among them, yet they did not exclusively consist of the apostles. Indeed, the call of the brothers on the sea of Galilee, so carefully described by the first three evangelists, does not in any way accord with the belief that these were in the number of the nameless disciples of whom St. John speaks in his 4th and 5th chapters. And we know, as this last-named narrator expressly assures us, that some of them went back, *and walked no more with Him*, when his mission was taking a turn they did not comprehend (Joh. vi. 66); and that the twelve then distinguished themselves, and stood along with him. They would not depart, as the other disciples had done.

Let us also notice that at this early season of his ministry his mother and his brethren are said to have been associated with the disciples; although at a subsequent time the brethren did not believe in him, and Mary does not appear afterwards (during his life) in the number of the faithful few. We find also traces in the earlier part of his ministry (that is, from his baptism until the ordination of the twelve as apostles) of his course being comparatively smooth and unimpeded. It is true that the doctors in Jerusalem could not stoop to cooperate with a Galilean carpenter, but one at least of them acknowledged him in secret, and came by stealth at night to receive his instructions. And, though the Pharisees were growing jealous of the Nazarene's spreading reputation, there is no intimation of his being persecuted and reviled, as he afterwards was. He entered the holy city and left it in public and with freedom; as he travelled the people showed a disposition to receive him gladly, and his fame pervaded a large part of the sacred territory.

But if we read St. John's 4th and 5th chapters with due attention, we shall not fail to perceive that a most important purpose of these chapters (supplementary as they were to the accounts furnished in the other gospels) was to point out the reasons for the decay of the Redeemer's popularity, and for the offence given to the disciples. It was while journeying through Samaria to Galilee that he told his followers of the work he had to do, which they could not comprehend (Joh. iv. 32-34). Whatever views they had formed of Messiah's kingdom, they were altogether unprepared for a king who should refuse to reign till sin should be destroyed. The exclamation of Jesus on his return to Galilee, in answer to the popular demand for miracles, 'Except ye see signs and wonders, ye will not believe' (Joh. iv. 48), seems to indicate his knowledge of a rising disinclination to receive the Gospel from him, otherwise than according to the vulgar ideas of it.

At this point of his life he began to teach openly upon what

principles his kingdom was to be founded, and made the first discourse upon it in his own city, Nazareth. Rejected by his fellow townsmen, and it is probable by his kindred also, he took up his abode at Capernaum and the adjoining villages, and narrowed the circle of his adherents to those who were ready to follow him at any cost and with all difficulties. Now it was that he called on Peter and Andrew, James and John, to give up their employments, and follow him constantly. The fishermen of Capernaum and Bethsaida were his best and truest disciples; and when the people generally were beginning to fall *away* from him, and even his fellow-townsmen and his relations spurned him, he drew these faithful men from their ordinary occupations, and promised that they should catch better things than fish. In all probability likewise it was from this district that Matthew (a receiver of toll upon the fishing-boats) was taken; and the rest of the twelve seem also, in great part, to have been inhabitants of the same. These twelve, who signified their readiness to follow the Lord at every hazard and with every disadvantage, were called *Apostles* or *Commissioners*; for they were sent forth with his authority, and they were in his future kingdom to govern the twelve tribes of Israel.

With these for his ministers he entered on his great work, and he charged them to preach the glad tidings through the length and breadth of the land. They were admitted to witness his greatest miracles;—the feeding of the multitude with a few loaves and fishes;—the healing of the woman's issue of blood by virtue that emanated from him;—the raising of the ruler's child;—the walking on the troubled waters;—and the transfiguration.

These last two, especially, seem to have been intended for the twelve alone; to strengthen their faith, to reward their constancy, and to afford a glimpse of the glory that should afterwards be revealed to the pure in heart. It is indeed true that these twelve had originally shared in the common opinion of the age respecting the Messiah, but they differed altogether from those who rejected Jesus by thankfully receiving what small display of glory he was pleased to afford (such, for example, as was manifested at the marriage-feast of Cana), and being content until his own time came for openly asserting his royalty, and fully developing his higher nature.

It was almost immediately after the feeding of the thousands, while the minds of the disciples were still intent on the power and grandeur of the work, that he showed himself to them while they struggled on the boisterous lake. As he moved over the surface, spreading calm and peace around him, his demeanour was majestic and even superhuman; for the disciples were troubled at his presence and took him for a spirit, and his subsequent pro-

ceedings in no way tended to remove this impression of splendour from their minds. Multitudes from distant regions came flocking about him, desirous only of touching the border of his garment. The people received and worshipped him. The miracle of the loaves and fishes was repeated, and his fame must have been the more augmented from his thus prevailing over the cavils and opposition of the Scribes.

The disciples, as we have intimated, were willing to wait till their master's sovereignty and latent divinity could be fully displayed. But even with them the original fault of that generation remained. They would not understand that Christ's kingdom could not be established while sin kept its hold upon men. Until that sin should be crushed, every kingdom must of necessity be under Satan's dominion. They were totally unprepared for the announcement which at this season for the first time came to them : that the Son of Man must suffer and die. And he spake that saying openly, with no reserve or figure. They could not misunderstand what he meant ; can we then conceive the stunning effect which that saying must have produced ! What connection was there between the recent miracles and his spreading reputation on the one side, and the contempt and death on the other. It was natural that Peter, still savouring of the things of men, should rebuke his master. Peter's belief in the Lord's whole claim and character, so boldly uttered when others were falling away from him, and so emphatically applauded by Christ, made this prediction of death all the more bewildering. And yet the chief disciple's remonstrance was of precisely the same nature as Satan's great temptation ;—a suggestion that the kingdoms of the world might be occupied, while Satan remained the ruler of men. And it was in allusion to this similarity that our Saviour called his chief disciple by the name of the great adversary.

In the disappointment which came upon the disciples when this announcement was so plainly made, we cannot but admire their simple and noble faith, which made them still cling to him who predicted so terrible a termination to their hopes, and it was in anticipation of any rising despair, and in order to prove to his followers that he who refused to reign was yet a being of majesty and grandeur, that he vouchsafed to them that overawing exhibition of the Transfiguration, which was the kingdom of God, with power ; and intended as a satisfaction to those who, receiving the king in his humble form, might look forward with assurance to his future glorification.

Between Nazareth and the sea of Tiberias mount Tabor abruptly raises its head from the plain, in the immediate vicinity of the places most often visited by the Redeemer. Tradition has

uniformly declared this remarkable hill to have been the scene of the Transfiguration: and a more suitable spot for the transaction cannot be conceived. On the summit of this, or of some other of the high peaks with which Galilee and the region of Cæsarea-Philippi abound, Peter and the two sons of Zebedee, who had accompanied their master up its steep ascent, suddenly saw a great change pass over him, and his aspect became divine and awful. They beheld him no longer as the humble prophet of Nazareth, but glistening as the sun, with Moses and Elias in attendance upon him. It is not wonderful that the three disciples, amazed, and partially confused by what they witnessed, should desire to erect dwelling-places for the manifested Jehovah and his friends; or that the awful voice, bearing witness to the power given to the Son, should strike them to the ground with terror. These disciples had no doubt now of their Lord's nature: and they could not fathom his meaning when he spake of rising from the dead; or why he, now strengthened by the testimony of Moses and Elias, should charge them not to mention the vision, until after this resurrection should have taken place. The Transfiguration was, in fact, the sign from Heaven which the hardened scribes demanded; but which could not be given to them while they were so sinful a generation.

The three disciples who witnessed the transfigured glory must have been more deeply impressed with the power and divinity of their Lord than the others; and it is remarkable that these three, who usually appear as most prominent in the conversations with Christ, are not mentioned as joining in the faltering questions put by Philip, Jude, and Thomas, on the sad night preceding the crucifixion. The sons of Zebedee especially were full of expectation of the splendour of Christ's kingdom. They would have called down fire from Heaven upon the inhospitable Samaritans, who drove away the honoured king: and they made particular request that they might sit by his side when he should occupy his throne. Peter also must have formed no conception of the awful nature of Christ's death—must have regarded it as only an unreal death, to be succeeded immediately by honours—when he so rashly vowed that he was ready to die with him. We fail altogether in understanding these Apostles, if we forget that they were following Jesus up to Jerusalem, whither he was going with the avowed purpose of claiming the kingdom that was rightly his. He had declared at Capernaum that neither he nor they need pay tribute in this kingdom; and he had distinctly promised them that they should sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

With all this plainly predicted glory, how difficult of comprehension must have seemed the announcement of persecution, of

contempt, of suffering, and of death. They followed him, but they were amazed by so many inconsistencies. The whole of them, it is probable, did not share in the unalloyed hopes of the privileged three. They would even—some of them—have dissuaded him from exposing himself to the malice of his enemies in Judea. Thomas, the most desponding, while still clinging to the Redeemer as to one in whom all his trust was placed, went as though going to die. And Judas, the traitor, kept in the company, because his plans of treachery were not yet matured.

The triumphal entry of Jesus into the holy city,—his public reprehension of the Scribes and Pharisees,—his boldness in the streets and in the temple,—must have removed many of their fears, and must have augmented the disciples' belief that their Lord would quickly establish his kingdom. Doubts may have crossed their minds when he still either mentioned or alluded to his approaching death: but such doubts, even if they existed, never assumed any consistent shape, or could be made to cohere with the notions they had derived from his lately manifested glory, and his present authoritative proceedings.

But on the last evening of his life he removed all uncertainty from them. His words filled them with sorrow and disappointment, not alone for the frustration of their hopes, but for the loss of their beloved master. He showed them that his service would be a humiliating one; that his disciples must be ready to perform menial offices for one another; and that as he, their chief, washed their feet, they must do the same for their fellow-disciples. He pained them by the information that he should be betrayed by one of their number; and that they might now look upon his death as a stern reality, he commanded that that Last Supper should be continued among them as a memorial of it.

He promised, however, that, although absent in the body, he would ever be spiritually present with his friends, while he indicated that their future course would be in striving to love him who had so deeply loved them, and in struggling along the same path as he had himself trodden; he yet assured them that he would give them power to persevere and prevail, if only they would abide in him. He had been oppressed and despised by ungodly men, and they must, as his friends and servants, look for no gentler treatment. But they were to console themselves with the knowledge that he had preceded them, and would give them power to pass safely through the ordeal.

It was expedient, he said, for them that he should go away. Were he not to do so, the particular influence of the Holy Spirit would be wanting, that should eventually train them into holiness and happiness. The Comforter would convince the world of sin,

—only if he departed,—because that departure would prove that men's sinfulness was so stubborn that they could not and would not believe in Christ. When convinced of *sin*, they would be further led to understand Christ's *righteousness*; for they would know that he was gone to the Father, that he might receive gifts for men; and that he had preferred suffering and death to Satan's temptation of sinful happiness. The *judgment* that shall follow when he returned would thus be ever present in men's minds, and would form the subject of hope or of dread.

After this conversation no doubts any longer remained with the disciples. They keenly felt the meaning of what he told them, and they trembled and wept as he declared that they would all be scattered, and leave him alone—alone with the great Father of Spirits. Tribulation, as far as Satan's power could inflict it, was to be their lot. But, could they only trust in him, he assured them of peace and joy in the midst of their afflictions. For he,—scorned, and outcast, and murdered by the world,—had proved his own superiority over it. Satan could not harm him, and must fall before him. He had overcome the world.

Weary, weary ages were to revolve, before the Lord should return to proclaim his sovereignty, and the Apostles, from whom a knowledge of the duration of this absence was kindly withholden, were to exhort men to keep themselves in readiness at any moment to meet their king. The world, however, is still under Satan's grasp, and is not yet convinced of righteousness and of judgment, because not yet convinced of sin. Tribulation is still the disciple's lot, for his master has not yet restored the kingdom. Is not his absence prolonged because the disciples have forgotten his parting words, and, growing impatient at his delay, have become persuaded that his presence was not needed, and that they could exercise all the functions of a theocratic church. Rob all forms of priestcraft of their specious pretences, and you will find them to belong to disciples who would set up the kingdom without waiting for the king. And even here the need of Christ's bodily presence has been acknowledged, and bread and wine have been made substitutes for the body of Jesus, whose priests pretended to speak in his name.

Hardest of all to bear was the relation of the disciples to the world, that world which was lying in wickedness, but which yet belonged to Christ, and must not therefore be abandoned by Christ's servants. Satan's thralldom has been so wide-spread—his usurpation so prominent—that Christians have often forgotten that they were, of right, in a world that belonged to their master. *They* have frequently deserted it, and founded sects, and monasteries, and churches, under the deceitful notion that, if they loudly

asserted their own adherence to the true Lord, they might leave his domain under the control of an intruder.

Those who would do Christ's work must remember that the fair face of creation does not belong to Satan; and, though they may not drive the great *adversary* from his strongholds, they may—and they must—protest against his occupancy of them. And they must (this is their mission)—they must encounter and oppose the prince of darkness, sap the foundations of his fortresses in the name and the strength of the great king, until he in majesty and power dislodges the usurper, and promotes them from the tribulation of an ungodly world to be ministers and viceroys in his triumphant kingdom.

W. H. J.

THE METHOD OF THE DIVINE GOVERNMENT.*

WE need not remind our readers of the general purport of the book to which we propose to call their attention. On its first appearance it was received with almost unanimous approbation, and hailed as one of the ablest defences of our holy religion. It speedily passed through several editions, both in this country and in America, and procured for its author the highest academical distinctions. Yet withal, and though it be a painful task we discharge, we do not hesitate openly to disavow some of the principal arguments upon which Dr. M'Cosh rests his conclusions. We have felt reluctant to protest against what is deemed by many an able defence of the truth, remembering that the mass commonly confound a cause with its defence, and infer from it the goodness or badness thereof. But the more widely spread and generally accepted the work in question, the more necessary it is to expose what is not only erroneous but positively dangerous to truth in it.

As the title indicates, Dr. M'Cosh infers the being and character of the Lord and our relation towards him, first from his physical, and secondly from his moral mode of governing the world and its inhabitants. From a consideration of nature on the one hand, and man on the other, Dr. M'Cosh would have us rise to a view of the glorious character of that Being who created, who rules, and sustains us and all. Such contemplation, it is anticipated, will lead man to a humble adoration of Jehovah God in and through Christ. We do not at present stop to inquire whether the plan of the work is either well devised or sufficiently carried out; nor will we enter upon a critique of the *first* part of the book,

* The Method of the Divine Government, Physical and Moral. By the Rev. James M'Cosh, LL.D., Professor of Metaphysics, &c., Queen's College, Belfast.

in which an investigation of nature and its laws is carried on. Our strictures will be confined exclusively to its *second* part.

Dr. M'Cosh has read much and to purpose, and, in as far as he applies his acquaintance with the laws of nature to the illustration of his great subject, we may, indeed, sometimes differ, but we have never to oppose him, and are satisfied to leave this portion of his book untouched. Nay, more; in the present state of society, when a superficial acquaintance with natural science is so widely diffused, and so many hasty and insufficient inductions are popular, we would even recommend it to the attention of the general reader. But when our author, in the second and most important part of his investigations (p. 270 to the end), proceeds to describe our mental and moral constitution, in order to exhibit 'the human mind in its relation to God as its governor,' he not only fails entirely, but enunciates principles which we believe to be equally opposed to sound Christianity and philosophy. We proceed to review that part of the subject. Taking a survey of the human soul, he arranges its faculties somewhat unsatisfactorily, as the reader will allow, into those of conception, imagination, reason, the moral faculty, the emotions, and the will or the optative power (pp. 270, 271). As our author's views on the last of these faculties are not only novel, but lead to those errors which we shall point out in the sequel, we proceed to notice them more particularly. In opposition to the opinion commonly entertained, Dr. M'Cosh asserts that wish, desire, and volition are all constituent elements of one and the same faculty, the optative or the will, differing not in kind, but in degree. For the truth of this proposition an appeal is confidently made to our consciousness (p. 273). But are wish and desire subordinate, only inferior in degree, to volition? May not our volition run contrary in a particular case to our desires? Yea, more, is it possible to bring wish and desire into the same category with volition—to draw a parallel between them? Is the term faculty appropriate to the exercise of the will? To the last queries we can only reply in the *negative*. The will is rather a *condition* than a faculty of the soul. The idea of a faculty confines us to *one* particular and limited sphere; but the will is the *energy* of the soul—its activity—and as such co-extensive not with *one*, but with *all* its faculties. *To will* joins itself to all the exercises of the soul, just as *to breathe* to all those of the body. Involuntary and passive, voluntary and active, are synonyms in reference to our inner man. Volition is not a conception, imagination, judgment, dictum of the conscience, emotion, wish, or desire, and yet it may and does in some way or other connect itself with all of them. Through whatever phase or mood the soul pass, if it be active, it wills. The will is therefore not so

much an optative faculty, as rather the necessary adjunct in the exercise of the various faculties. Dr. M'Cosh has probably observed that volition *manifests* itself most clearly in connection with wish and desire, and from this he has hastily inferred that wish represents the positive, desire the comparative, and volition the superlative degree of the optative faculty. But the phenomenon in question arises from the fact, that the *activity* of the soul—its tension, if you like—appears most distinctly when under the influence of these emotions. Finally, to distinguish between will and wish, we would say that the former is the soul's power of activity—its life—and every individual volition an exercise thereof, which may, indeed, join itself to the exercise of any faculty, but in itself is equally distinct and separate from all. A *wish*, on the contrary, is an emotion so intense in its hold on the inner man, that it tends towards an endeavour after realization, or, in plain language, an emotion which ordinarily leads to an exercise of the soul's activity in its own direction.

We proceed to examine the inferences which Dr. M'Cosh draws from his principles on the nature of the optative faculty. 'It is the will,' he continues (p. 274), 'which determines what is to be preferred or rejected—what is good and what is not good.' The plain rendering of this sentence is, that the will determines what 'is to be,' or what *ought* to be done. But this has generally, and we believe rightly, been deemed the province not of the *will*, but of the *conscience* and *judgment*. We bear, however, in mind, that, as Dr. M'Cosh makes the will the *optative* faculty, and volition the superlative of it, wish and desire being the positive and comparative, he may *possibly* mean in the above that, agreeably to the determination of the will, the mind resolves on a certain course, which it sets before itself as its choice, irrespective of the question whether it *ought* to be preferred or not. But even this is erroneous, for the mind chooses not according to the determination of the will (for choice and determination are identical), but both the determination of our will and our choice depend on the state or our inner man; and we maintain that, whenever we act freely (in the true sense), we act in exact accordance with our inner man. Again, a few lines further our author continues—'So far as the true is preferred to the false, or the right to the wrong, or the pleasurable to the right, it is by the exercise not of the reason, or the conscience, or the sensibility, but of the will.' Had Dr. M'Cosh simply said that when a man spoke truth or acted honestly, &c., he did so by the exercise of his will, he would have given utterance either to a truism or to an absurdity; for he might have meant, either that in speaking the truth, &c., volition precedes action, and this is a truism; or else that a man spoke the truth,

&c., simply because he *willed*—alleging the mere '*I will*' as the man's motive or ground of action—and this is an absurdity. But to say that a man *prefers* the true to the false, &c., simply by the exercise of the will, means that, if we speak truth rather than falsehood—if in our trust we be honest rather than betray it—all this happens neither from a view of the rightness of these things, nor from a sense of our duty to God and our neighbour, but simply because we will it! Any attempt at refutation is here unnecessary: every person will instinctively disown such philosophy. But waiving for the moment all graver objections, let us press the point a step further, and ask our author *why* the will in any given case prefers the true to the false, &c.? Dr. M'Cosh seems to have anticipated so obvious an inquiry. He replies—'Nor is it saying anything to the point to declare that the will always chooses the greatest good, for it is the will that determines it to be good, and the greatest good.' What *can* Dr. M'Cosh mean? Does the will determine a thing to be morally good? Surely a thing is right or wrong, no matter what my will may determine in connection with it. But even if, by a singular looseness and perversion of terms, the expression 'good' is only meant to convey 'what is deemed agreeable,' Dr. M'Cosh is still in error. He adds—'The will, no doubt, does prefer the pleasurable in itself to the painful, but it is because it wills to do so.' We would advise that this doctrine be propounded to the inmates of our hospitals or workhouses, and that they be informed that a man prefers comfort and ease to wretchedness and disease, simply because he *wills*, and, accordingly, that they may *will*, and hence prefer the opposite. But in sober earnest, philosophy like this, which reduces everything to mere subjectivity, can only lead to proud and heartless, if not atheistical, stoicism. One more quotation on this subject from our author. 'We hold the will to be a general attribute of the mind' (formerly it was a separate faculty), 'and its operations are manifested under various forms. It says of this object, It is good—I desire it; it is evil—I reject it. In its feeblest form it is simply wish, or the opposite of wish; and according as it fixes on the object as more or less good or evil, it rises till it may become the most intense desire or abhorrence. In its most decisive form it is resolution or positive volition.' From this two inferences necessarily result—First, man is under the absolute tyranny of an undefinable faculty, the will, the only ground for whose exercise lies within itself; secondly, apparently good and evil are identical with what at the time is felt to be desirable or undesirable—opinions more akin to those of infidels than of Christian philosophers.

Dr. M'Cosh's fundamental principles being false, their applica-

tion will of course involve a corresponding amount of error. But we venture to predict that our readers could scarcely anticipate such a combination of glaring fallacy with confidence in assertion. The first subject to the elucidation of which Dr. M'Cosh addresses himself, with the results of his investigations, is in itself somewhat knotty. It is none less than the long-agitated question of the compatibility of the responsibility of the agent with the laws which regulate the exercise of the will. The *condition* of a man's responsibility is the freedom of his will, *i. e.* the power of self-choosing, or of fixing, 'proprio motu,' on one definite course, while the opposite one was equally within our reach. But this freedom seems impugned by the fact, that as every effect presupposes a cause, so individual volitions also (being subject to the same law) may at last be traced back to something very different from this self-choosing—ay, to a kind of necessity. There are, as Dr. M'Cosh rightly states (p. 286), two facts here, both equally true: first, that the will is free; second, that 'it has laws according to which it is regulated,' and the difficulty lies in reconciling what in these two statements seems contradictory. Now, according to *our* principles, we would attempt to solve the question as follows: volition being the exercise of the activity of the soul, is, *when free*, always in agreement with the state of our inner man; for freedom, as distinguished from licentiousness, consists not in lawlessness, but simply in independence of any force or constraint *ab extra*. A country is free, not when it is without laws, but when it is under no control *from without*, and simply governed from *within*; a man is free when, without restraint or constraint from without, he is able to act in accordance with his own views and feelings; and the will is free when, without subjection to anything *ab extra*, we choose a particular course, not certainly without motive (for that would be to act irrationally rather than freely), but on grounds internal, or in accordance with the state of our inner man. We know, indeed, that while fixing on any given course, we are at the same time conscious of the *possibility* of having determined on the very opposite, or of the absolute power of willing; but we maintain that, had we done so in the circumstances which actually led us to adopt an opposite course, we would not, in the strictest sense of the term, have acted freely, if we had acted rationally, *i. e.* not in accordance with our inner man. Let us now see how Dr. M'Cosh grapples with this question. The fundamental error which he commits lies in defining the will as the 'true determining power' (p. 278) instead of the *executing* power. But determination or resolution is very different indeed from volition. Waiving all other exceptions, determination refers to the *future*, volition to the *present*. We will to deter-

mine, and then determine to will ; but the volition which precedes, and that which succeeds our resolution, are equally distinct from the determination itself, which, if free, is always in harmony with our inner man. 'The particular volitions,' says Dr. M'Cosh (p. 279), 'have all a cause, but the main part of the cause is to be found in the faculty of the will and in the nature of the will. We maintain that these volitions are not determined by mere sensations from without, . . . nor by the last act of the judgment, or by emotions within the mind, . . . but by the very nature of the will itself as an independent and self-acting faculty.' Now, to say that 'the main part of the cause' of my volition is the nature of my will, is simply to reason in a circle ; it is an accumulation of words, and at the same time involves a principle itself utterly destructive of all freedom of the will, and hence of all responsibility. For if the main cause of one man's acting viciously and of another's acting virtuously lies in the nature of their will, and not in the state of their minds, hearts, and affections, then vicious conduct, the almost necessary result of the particular nature of the will, is rather to be pitied and deplored than blamed or punished. We can scarcely hold the man responsible whose acts or realized volitions are mainly the legitimate consequences of the nature of his will ; he is, in a measure, shut up to this fatality, and acts as he must, in consequence of the state of his will. Were this will, as we believe it to be, only the exponent of the inner man, and not, as Dr. M'Cosh asserts, 'an *independent* and self-acting faculty,' we could fasten guilt, first, on a mind and heart which love sin better than righteousness ; second, on a will which is the guilty exponent of a sinful state ; but, as Dr. M'Cosh has it, both liberty and responsibility are at an end. But look still further at the tissue of contradictions here involved. Above, Dr. M'Cosh has acknowledged that the will is, in its exercise, regulated by laws. But if he now establish that the main cause of a volition cannot be traced further than the nature of the will itself, any real causation has evidently become impossible. To complete the confusion (p. 285), Dr. M'Cosh confesses his inability to reconcile this law of causation with the freedom of our will, but challenges us to prove that they are contradictory. We reply, that upon Dr. M'Cosh's principles such is undoubtedly the case ; for every effect has a cause ; a volition is an effect, and therefore has its cause. But, according to Dr. M'Cosh, this cause is mainly to be traced to the nature of that 'independent and self-acting faculty,' the will. But it is not very difficult to anticipate the farther query as to the cause of this nature of the will, and to add that, if (according to Dr. M'Cosh) the will alone determine between good and evil, and determine in any given direction

simply because of its nature, or, in other words, according to an inherent necessity, then virtue and vice are a play of chance, and both man's freedom and his responsibility are at an end.

Passing over a variety of matter which we had marked for stricture, we transport the reader at once to the *practical* part of our author's moral investigations. There are, we hold, certain fundamental principles—we might call them almost laws of the mind—which the Creator's hand has implanted within us. Within the circle of these moves our inner man. Call them categories of the understanding, ideas of pure reason, laws of thought, or by any other name—certain it is they exist and act. With Dr. M'Cosh we add, that there are principles of this kind which regulate our decisions, not only on intellectual, but on moral subjects also. These simple and unresolvable moral principles in us are almost instinctively brought into action, whenever anything is presented to our inner man which involves merit or demerit, in a manner analagous to that by which, for example, our belief in the reality of outward objects joins itself to our apprehension of them. As the corresponding intellectual principles are axiomatic, and indispensably necessary to the acquisition of knowledge, so, in their sphere, these moral ones also. As the former regulate the intellectual, so the latter the moral faculty; and just as it would obviously be erroneous to confound those laws which regulate, with the intellect itself which is regulated by them, so likewise would it be a mistake to designate as the conscience those principles upon which its dicta are based. We distinguish, 1st, the moral principles which regulate the exercise of the conscience; 2ndly, the conscience or moral faculty itself, which proclaims and enjoins the supremacy of these laws; 3rdly, the judgment and emotions called forth (not 'possessed' as Dr. M'Cosh has it, p. 306) whenever conscience asserts her supremacy—a supremacy which commands the assent of the mind and the consent of the feelings. We do not now stop to inquire whether our analysis might not be simplified. We believe it might. But we forbear, for brevity's sake, to attempt this, and proceed to take up Dr. M'Cosh's positions. He understands 'by conscience, the exercise of the mind when voluntary acts of responsible agents are submitted to it.' (p. 299.) This definition is faulty, for conscience is not '*an exercise of the mind*,' but, even according to Dr. M'Cosh (p. 271), '*a faculty determining the morally right and wrong*.' But we waive this. Our author continues: 'It may be viewed first as a law on which the mind proceeds.' Mark: 'the exercise of the mind' may be viewed as the '*law* on which the mind proceeds;' 'secondly, as a faculty pronouncing a judgment on certain acts presented to it.' Mark: the said '*exercise* of the

mind' is now 'a *faculty* which pronounces judgment;' or, more wonderful still, conscience is both the 'law' *according to which*, and the 'faculty' *by which*, judgment is pronounced; 'and, thirdly, as a sentiment or sense.' Conscience is an exercise of the mind, a law, a faculty, and 'a sentiment, or sense'!!! What confusion, what absurdity! But the charge we have to prefer is graver than that of a display of mere incompetence. For observe: if the conscience of the individual be 'the law on which the mind proceeds' 'in pronouncing judgment on certain acts,' two conclusions are forced upon us: 1st, the standard of morality must vary with the different consciences to which an action is submitted; 2ndly, right and wrong, virtue and vice, are merely subjective, being in each case what the exercise of the mind of the individual, which is both the law and the judge of morality, makes them. To single out one of the many errors in Dr. M'Cosh's statement, we would say, that he fails to distinguish between the conscience and the laws of which that faculty is the depository and herald, and for which it claims supremacy. But it is evident that these laws of the conscience must themselves be superior to the conscience. In fact, they are the *remainder* of those moral truths which the Lord had implanted into the heart of man in the day in which he created him after his own image—an echo within, which, as far as it goes, responds to the voice of the judge without. Whether our consciences be quick and tender, or blunted and seared; whether the eternal truths concerning right and wrong, and the categorical imperative of duty, with its certain moral concomitants, be faintly or distinctly apperceived; whether our moral senses be dim or sharp to read it,—the handwriting on the wall is ever there—these truths remain always the same, and always the same to us and to all mankind. Hence two results. Let moral truth be presented, and it will command the immediate assent of all mankind in all ages of the world—the truths, though not always their application—provided it be not superior to the truths in the conscience, as fallen man cannot rise above a certain level. Secondly, even where the moral senses have grown dim, providential occurrences, thoughts of the judgment, or any other momentary or prolonged quickening, may lead to as clear a perception of the relation subsisting between actions and moral truths, and in connection with it, to as keen a sense thereof as ever was felt by the healthiest conscience. This proves both that moral truths are *continuously* located in the conscience, and that the law on which the moral judgment is based is distinct from and higher than the conscience: in a word, that it is a *law*, stable, certain, and superior to change or fluctuation.

Following on in the same track, Dr. M'Cosh next discusses the

comparative value of an outward heaven-given law, and of that of the conscience. He acknowledges indeed the necessity of a revelation, but vitiates that admission. We present his statement (p. 302): 'Why are we bound to obey this law?'—the revealed law.—'If it is answered, because it is good, the further question is now raised—How do we know it to be good? Or, is it answered that we are bound to obey it because of the very relation in which we stand to God? . . . the question suggests itself, Why are we bound to obey God? We are bound to obey God because of a moral relation, and there must be an internal law to inform us of that relation.' These are opinions which we should scarcely have expected either from a Christian Divine, or from a sound philosopher, and which, if we mistake not, all parties will equally repudiate. We would say it emphatically, that the authority of God's law cannot be derived from man's conscience. If it be *God's* law, and specially if our moral state be one of sin, the sanction of that law cannot depend either upon the Christian—or, as divines term it, the renewed—far less upon the non-Christian, unrenewed—conscience. Dr. M'Cosh concludes the above-quoted passage, 'It thus appears that every outward law conducts to an inward principle, from which it receives its sanction.' We would exactly reverse this statement, and say, that inward principle ever points to an outward law, from which *it* receives its sanction.

We have now arrived at the most important question to be discussed, viz. that concerning the nature of virtue. Virtuous actions may, we think, be defined as *right with merit*, and vicious actions as *wrong with demerit*. An action may be right—*i. e.* there may be the correspondence of fact with duty—and yet no merit be involved; if done, for example, from improper motives, or unconsciously, &c. Again, similarly, an action may be wrong without involving demerit; but in the terms virtue and vice the ideas of merit or demerit are involved. But to sum up Dr. M'Cosh's view in few words, a virtuous action takes place whenever the will is in agreement with the conscience, and a vicious action where the opposite is the case. To this we object, 1st, that it presents an erroneous analysis of virtue; 2ndly, that it confines virtue and vice within what Dr. M'Cosh designates as the exercise of the will; 3rdly, that it makes the agreement of the will with the conscience the criterion of virtue. But we proceed to quote from our author. 'What is a virtuous action, but an agent acting virtuously; it is a virtuous state of the mind. The common quality of virtuous action must therefore be some quality of the agent,' &c. (p. 311.) A virtuous *action* is an *agent* acting virtuously! And again, both the action and the acting agent are resolved into a *state of the mind!!* Such reasoning,

we hope, is not exactly that of all Professors of Metaphysics. But what, after all, have we gained? What means *virtue* and *virtuous*? And yet, gentle reader, Dr. M'Cosh assures us, 'This proposition needs only to be announced to command universal assent. Though self-evident, when formally stated this proposition has been overlooked by a vast number of ethical and metaphysical writers.' We do not begrudge Dr. M'Cosh his discovery. But to proceed: 'There are two essential mental elements in all moral action; there is the will, and there is righteousness; there is the will obeying the moral faculty. A responsible act must always be an act of the will, and, when virtuous, it is an act of the will in accordance with the fundamental faculty which decides between right and wrong. It is a voluntary action done because it is right.' (Pp. 312, 313.) Happily the time is past when we require to refute a philosophy which makes conscience 'the fundamental faculty which decides between right and wrong,' and virtue an act of the will in obedience to conscience, with the express declaration that in such a case an 'action is done because it is right.' We add only, that the dicta of the moral faculty, or of conscience (however honest), are not necessarily identical with 'right,' nor is virtue synonymous with obedience to them. A man may conscientiously act very wrongly. So did the Romans when guilty of suicide, the Jews when crucifying the Saviour, Paul when persecuting the Church, the Indians when burning widows, the Popish bigots when extirpating heretics, &c. &c. The standard of morality is not *subjective*, it is not *within us*—it is *objective*, *without us*, even the absolute and eternal right. To this standard, not only our actions, but our thoughts and feelings also, yea, the state of our faculties itself, must be brought, and in accordance therewith must all be judged. Erect a subjective standard of morality, and every sin will not only be approved by some, and hence regarded as deserving of approbation, or as right at least to those whose conscience assents thereunto, but in the measure a man sinks in the moral scale (his conscience becoming more and more seared) he will necessarily become less vicious, as his actions will be less in discordance with his moral faculty: yea, *absolute* morality would be impossible, for what may appear to one as wrong will seem right to another.

Dr. M'Cosh acknowledges indeed (p. 338) that 'there may be . . . positive error in the judgments of conscience;' an admission which would seem sufficient to refute all his former assertions. But he vitiates that statement by adding, 'because given upon false representations.' This limitation implies that the judgments of the conscience are not *really* false, but only *seem* to be such. In fact, a little farther on, our author states this in so many

words : 'Two different individuals, or the same individual at two different times, may *seem* to pronounce two different judgments on the same deed. We say *seem*, for in reality the two deeds are different, and the judgments are different because the deeds presented to the conscience are not the same.' (Pp. 338, 339.) So then there is no such thing as an essential difference between virtue and vice. What seems virtue to one may appear vice to another ; both are right, both mean the same thing, and only look on one and the same object from different stand-points. The only thing which we have to do is to give the people education, that they may view matters from the right stand-point, and vice will soon disappear from the earth. And mark, these are not *our* inferences only, but Dr. M'Cosh himself fully applies his principles in this manner. He informs us, for example, that, while we may reprobate theft, yet to the Spartan, who approved of it, it appeared only 'the heroism of the Spartan youth who succeeds in compassing a difficult end.' In fact, both judgments are equally right, and it remains only to be ascertained how we may get at the right way of presenting a matter to the conscience, or how we shall be able to decide whether a matter has been rightly presented to our moral faculty. But here lies the puzzle. Are we to be regulated in our inquiry by an outward law ? But we are told that this law requires again for itself the sanction of that same conscience, and our old difficulty recurs, whether that law has been rightly presented to the conscience, in the infidel, for example, who rejects, or in the Christian, who receives it ? Or are both right, only occupying different stand-points ? But away with such empty verbiage. Theft is committed. The conscience of the Christian Briton condemns, that of the heathen Spartan approves of the act ; nor can we believe that the latter saw nothing in the act but 'the heroism which succeeds in compassing a difficult end.' But waiving this point, it will at any rate appear that to these men the consideration of *moral* truth appeared only a secondary element when compared with the importance of cleverness and of bravery ; that the former, as less important, was swallowed up in the latter, as more weighty ; and hence, that approbation was accorded to what in itself was wrong. In short, the consciences of those men were blunted, the end sanctified the means, or right was sacrificed to advantage.

But to return to our subject. Above, we defined virtue as right with merit, and vice as wrong with demerit. The condition of merit or demerit, *i. e.* of deserving praise or blame, is responsibility, which in its turn implies freedom of the will, or the accordance of mind and heart—of the inner man—with the particular volition. In ordinary cases, then, two things are necessary to virtue

—1st, that fact agree with duty; 2ndly, that that fact agree with our inner man; in other words, there must be *external and internal moral truth*. With these principles we compare those enunciated by Dr. M'Cosh. 'We regard,' says he (p. 313), 'the will as the seat of all virtue and vice;' and immediately afterwards, 'wherever there is none of these'—wish, desire, or volition—'there we hold there can be no moral action. There is nothing, either moral or immoral, in a mere intellectual act, or in a mere sensation, or a mere emotion.' And again (p. 314), 'There is nothing meritorious in the mere exercise of intellectual faculties nor is there anything morally approvable in the mere operation of the instinctive feelings and affections, such as the love of pleasure, the love of offspring, and the common likings and attachments which exist in the world. These may be in the highest degree becoming, just as proportion, as order, and beauty are becoming, but in themselves they are neither virtuous nor vicious. . . . They are vicious only so far as they are allowed by the will to flow out contrary to the dictates of that internal law which God hath prescribed for the regulation of the conduct. On the other hand, there may be virtue or vice wherever there is will,' &c. In other words, nothing is sinful but what is contrary to the dictates of the conscience. In opposition to this we maintain that right is right, and wrong wrong, irrespective of any dictum of the conscience. Nor is it correct to limit virtue and vice to the exercise of the optative faculty. Thoughts, imaginations, and feelings, may be sinful or the opposite, even though neither wish, desire, or volition stand directly connected with them. Would it not be wrong, for example, not to love our offspring? The climax of corruption, indeed, is rightly described in the Bible as being 'past feeling.' In confirmation of his views, Dr. M'Cosh quotes from Dr. Chalmers. 'Nothing is moral or immoral which is not voluntary.' This indeed is almost an axiom; but can Dr. M'Cosh be so ignorant of the first rules of reasoning as to imagine that the above is equivalent to his, 'the will is the seat of all virtue or vice'? If Dr. Chalmers had said, Where there is no respiration there can be no life, could Dr. M'Cosh have inferred from it that respiration is the seat of life? No: as the exercises of the optative faculty, if in connection with things indifferent in themselves, may be neither virtuous nor vicious, even so, on the other hand, thoughts, imaginations, and emotions may be virtuous or vicious, if they bear any relationship to the standard of morality—the absolute right.

To illustrate his views, Dr. M'Cosh attempts the analysis of a particular virtue—love. Adopting and quoting Dr. Brown's view (Lect. 59), he states: 'The analysis of love presents us with two

elements—a vivid delight in the contemplation of the object of affection, and the desire of good to that object. Now we do regard it,' continues Dr. M'Cosh (p. 316), 'as of great importance to separate these two elements. The one may exist, and often does exist, without the other. There is often, on the one hand, the delight in the object, the selfish delight, without the desire of good; and there may, in virtuous minds, be the desire of good to persons in whom no special delight is felt. . . . The first is merely emotional, and, except in so far as it is used or abused by the voluntary powers, there is nothing in it virtuous or the reverse.' Let the reader attend to this specimen of reasoning. Either Dr. Brown's analysis was correct, and love consists of two elements, &c., and then the benevolence of the virtuous man, who seeks the good of those in whom he does not delight cannot be true love, or else love does not consist of these two elements, and then our author's reasoning falls to the ground. But let us distinguish things which are really different. There is indeed a benevolence which simply seeks to relieve in present necessity, without having any ulterior end in view. We may compare it to the treatment of a physician who attempts to relieve the symptoms without removing the disease itself. But this benevolence is not Christian love. The latter *has* an object in view, in which it delights. Besides the mere kindly endeavour above described, such love delights in the restoration of the fallen, and with it in the glory of God, as the rule and guide of its philanthropy. Here, then, is a source of delight to a truly virtuous mind, serving as the substratum of any 'desire of good' even 'to persons in whom no special delight is felt.' Without such delight in the object, any 'desire of good' must be irrational and spasmodic, bearing a relationship to second duties only, in the immediate circumstances of the individual with whom we are brought into contact, but no conscious one to the absolute right. We do indeed concede moral value to the second element of love—the desire of good, but we look upon the first, 'delight in the object,' as the grand moral fact in love. Nor is there any 'selfishness' in the delight which constitutes that element. Is it not delight in God which forms the prime element in love to him, the highest of all attainments? Is it not the characteristic of the godless—the climax of his guilt—as expressed in the Scripture question, 'Will he *delight himself* in the Almighty?' (Job xxvii. 10). Finally, when Dr. M'Cosh speaks of 'selfish delight without the desire of good,' he uses the term 'delight' in a sense totally different from that in which Dr. Brown had employed it. We grant there is a 'selfish delight,' but this is not so much in the '*contemplation* of the object' as in that of our possession

thereof, and forms the first element of *lust*, as contradistinguished from *love*.

We now address ourselves to the last topic to be noticed in this review. 'An action is holy,' says Dr. M'Cosh (p. 323), 'not because God wills it, but he wills it because it is holy.' Again: 'We found virtue, not on the mere will of God, but on his holy will, his will regulated by righteousness.' We are so old-fashioned as to dislike such expressions, and we submit that they are, to say the least, needless. 'The will of God is the expression of his character, which is holiness, and we are satisfied to found our morality *simply* on it. A little further on our author continues. 'To man, as shut out from supernatural revelation, this law in the heart is the ultimate arbiter. They who have no written law are a law unto themselves.' We have no wish to discuss with Dr. M'Cosh the interpretation of the Scripture passage here referred to, although we confess it conveys a different meaning to us. We have, however, dwelt already sufficiently on the fallacy of erecting conscience into the moral standard, and add only, that if conscience was ever a competent rule of duty, then no revelation was necessary; but if it was incompetent, it could not in any case be an '*ultimate arbiter*.' Yet, p. 324, we read that 'the conscience has become deranged and bewildered,' and hence stands in need of a revealed law 'to guide it back to its right position.' If this statement is true, how can such a conscience be an '*ultimate arbiter*'? Surely what in itself was wrong did not become right because the heathens possessed a disordered conscience, which told them that it was right. Finally, the relations between that revealed law and the conscience are examined. 'It is another of its beneficent effects (referring to the law in the Bible), that, being used as an instrument for this purpose (the rectifying of the law of the conscience) by a higher power, it restores to the conscience its primitive discernment and sensibility when it becomes a constant monitor against evil, and a means of prompting to all excellence.' We leave others to discuss the *theology* of this passage: we object, on other grounds, to making the moral standard of the Christian, or at least his moral directory, a *subjective* one. Were it even true that revelation restored the conscience to its primitive discernment (which we deny), we would still object to something within the individual being erected into the moral directory. History, if not philosophy, has sufficiently demonstrated what dangers spring from a reference to Christian conscience, and consciousness as the '*ultimate arbiter*,' in questions of either faith or duty. But further: if Dr. M'Cosh refers the question of the authority of the law to the supreme decision of the conscience, he thereby establishes the superiority of the

latter over the former. 'Why are we bound to obey that written law? Plainly because of the law written in the heart, which declares this is right' (p. 324). It appears to us that, if the written law has *any* claims, these must be altogether independent of and superior to anything within man. Its *authority* rests, not on the approval of our conscience, but on the *fact*, 'Thus saith the Lord.' Besides, that same written law informs us that 'the natural man *receiveth not* the things of the Spirit of God,' and 'the carnal heart is enmity against God—it is *not subject* to the law of God, neither indeed *can* be.' If so, how does it stand with the sanction of the conscience to the written law? In fact, Dr. M'Cosh has here wholly reversed the right order of matters. He subjects the law to the individual, instead of subjecting the individual to the law. The law of God is not binding *because* my conscience owns it; but my conscience must own it because it is binding, being the law of God. Dr. M'Cosh continues. 'Should some one assert that we are rather bound to obey it because it is the will of God, we follow him with the further question, Why are we bound to obey the will of God? And his answer must bring us back to the law in the heart declaring this is right.' No; it brings us rather to the eternal righteousness of obeying a holy Jehovah, and to the relation between the creature and the Creator. In fine, the standard of morality is one and the same to all, whether they possess a revelation or not. It is the eternal moral truth, *that which in itself is right*. According to the Bible, the fall has deprived man of this by cutting off communication between him and God, who is the source of all truth, virtue, and beauty. The law of God, *i. e.* the expression of his will, and hence of his character, and, as such, holy, immutable, and eternal, was given in order to supply the defect. In the case of the heathens, we should suppose, such considerations might have led them earnestly to seek after a revelation to guide and direct them: in fact, we know that this actually was the case with some of them. Thus, as in the case of the Jews, the *felt perfection* of the revealed law, so in that of the heathen, the *felt imperfection* and insufficiency of natural light, might have been 'a schoolmaster to bring them to Christ.'

We have singled out these errors of Dr. M'Cosh, not that they are solitary, but that they are fundamental and important. In performing our task we have, in every case, satisfied ourselves with explaining the meaning of the author, and then either shown the impossibility of his principles, or else, in refutation, appealed to those grand mental and moral truths which constitute the basis of our thinking and acting. And this indeed is, in general, the province of all philosophy, 1st, negative or critical,

and, 2ndly, positive, i. e., not discovering, or rather inventing and producing truth, but pointing out the mental and moral axiomata, as pervading and grounding certain propositions. We hold that it is her noble task to bring to consciousness those heaven-implemented axiomata which we all, as men, possess, to show the agreement of truth with them, and to derive from them those principles of thought and action which constitute the basis both of science and of life. In one concluding sentence, the fundamental defect of Dr. M'Cosh's philosophy lies in its one-sided subjectivity. This error pervades the whole book. It is a serious one, and, if consistently carried out, will not only entail results contrary to all sound reasoning, but shake also the foundations of belief and of hope. We give Dr. M'Cosh, personally, credit for intentions vastly different, but we impugn his *philosophy* as both dangerous and false. Let the reader decide.

A. E.

IDENTITY OF CYRUS AND THE TIMES OF DANIEL.*

THE history of Persia, preserved by the people themselves, may be collected from that of Mohammed Ben Emir Khoandschah, commonly called Mirkhond, who is a frequent authority to Dr. Hyde on subjects of Persian antiquity (Hyde, *rel. vet. Pers.* c. 8-152). This writer gives the history of the Pishdadian dynasty, which is conceived to have preceded the existence of the Assyrian empire. The antiquity of this dynasty is carried by some of the Persians up to Adam himself. Its first king was named Adam—more modest chroniclers are satisfied with making him the son of Aram, the son of Shem, and that he erected the first seat of his empire not far from Mount Ararat. He is by some held to have been an idolater, and is supposed to have instituted the worship of fire, ascribed to the Magians, by the burning of his son's body at his funeral. His life was one thousand years, of which he reigned five hundred and sixty. This outline may be taken to describe the family of Terah, and their first settlement in the country of Chaldæa, and the change from idolatry to the Chaldæan Teraphism would have accompanied that revolution in which Abram forsook his parent and fled to his own land.

Sir W. Jones refers the origin of the Hindoo nation and government to a great monarchy in Irun or Persia, which existed before the Assyrian, called, he says, by the Oriental historians, the

* Concluded from vol. vi. p. 465.

'Pishdadian dynasty.' The first of these ancient monarchs, according to this authority, was called Mahabad, or Menu, who received from the Creator a sacred book in the heavenly language called the 'Vedah.' (*Dis. relat. to Asia*, vol. ii. p. 111.) From this Persian people the Hindoos proceeded, who forsook their own country on account of an innovation on their religion by the third monarch of the Pishdadian line. This was by casting away the polytheism of the ancient system, and retaining only the worship of the sun, moon, and stars, with that of fire.

In giving the origin of this Pishdadian race of kings, the Persian historian, though he dates back to a great antiquity, gives the same line of kings as belongs to the history of the Medes, and it is probable that this last kingdom was in the same way formed by some alliance with the Abrahamic stock—either the captured Jews who were taken by Nebopolazar into Assyria, or some sept of the Keturine people. The points of resemblance are very distinct, and I will draw a short synopsis of this Persian history of the Pishdadian monarchs, which we have treated as synonymous with the Persian.

The dynasty of the Pishdadians, according to Mirkhond, is thus :—

1. Kejomaras.

2. Siamek.

Kejomaras resumes the kingdom.

3. Hershangh, or Houschenk.

4. Tahmurash.

5. Giemshid, or Giamshid Dahac, or Zahac.

6. Aphridin, or Pheridoun.

7. Manugjahr, surnamed Phirouz.

8. Nodar.

9. Aphasiah, or Afrasiah.

10. Zab, Zaab, or Zoub.

The second race of Persian kings loses the title of Pishdadian, and takes that of the *Dynasty of Kainites*.

1. Kaikobad.

2. Kaikaus.

3. Kaikhosru (qu. Chosro).

4. Lohrash.

5. Gushtasp, or Gustasp.

6. Avdshir, surnamed Bahaman.

7. Queen Homai.

8. Darab I.

9. Darab II.

By other writers the third name of the first table is called Hushang, or Pischdad, which signifies a righteous judge, from

whom the whole dynasty takes the name of Pishdadian. In this etymology of the Pishdadian name we find a striking resemblance to the incidents related by Herodotus of the founding of the Median monarchy. He says Deioeces was chosen king for having exercised the office of judge over the people very justly during their anarchy on the decline of the Ninevite power. The first king of the Pishdadians is related to have been chosen king for the very same cause, and in the same manner, and it cannot be doubted that the account of Herodotus is the very same tradition as is here related by Mirkhond, but whether applied to a different age is yet to be discovered. Herodotus states that several provinces, following the example of the Medes, put themselves under Deioeces; and the Persian historian says, to the same effect, that the high reputation of Pishdad invited other neighbouring people than his own countrymen to put themselves under his protection. He sent his brother to view these newly-acquired dominions, then went himself on the same errand, and, having met his brother in Chorasán, built the city of Balk to perpetuate '*the Embrace*' (which the word means) on their happy union. Herodotus, however, states that the first confederacy of states, which were six in number, and probably small districts only of the Assyrian dependencies, was augmented by conquest; for the Medes having first subdued the Persians, and then becoming powerful by this union of territories, the Median brought the surrounding nations in subjection to its power. The Persian history relates the same of the first king. Siamek reigned and died in the father's lifetime, and his funeral, as we have said, gave rise to the Chaldaean fire-worship, or Persian Guebres.

The third king, Hushang, or Pischdad, was celebrated through all the East for his learning and heroic actions, and is said to have given a regular body of laws to his subjects, and hence was called Pischdad. This agrees with Sir W. Jones's Menu. He divided his country, and gave governors to its provinces, and made his kingdom flourish in arts, and extended its territories by his arms. This third king answers to Phraortes in the Median descent, who was the Arphaxad of the story of Judith. It is said there is hardly any prince of antiquity whose name is more famous in romance than that of Hushang. Whether this agrees with Arphaxad we will not decide.

The fourth king—Tahmurasb, surnamed Diubend, or The humbler of the devil—finding the wars of his predecessor had reduced his people to poverty, remitted the taxes for three years. He fortified the frontiers of his kingdom, to prevent sudden invasion, and showed such wisdom that several nations voluntarily submitted to him. But he died of pestilence at Balk. The Median Cyaxares answers to this prince in the line of descent. In his

reign the Scythians invaded Media, and were expelled by him, to which the fortifying of his borders seems to allude.

The fifth king—Giemshid—answers to the Astyages of Herodotus, whom Cyrus supplanted. He encouraged all wise men to visit his court, amongst whom were two celebrated for their wisdom—one being a Jew, the other a Greek called Tithagoras, or Pythagoras. Commentators say this must be a mistake, because Giemshid lived sooner than Pythagoras; but may it not be taken that the tradition shows that he did not live so early as is supposed by the commentators. The age of Astyages may certainly be taken as agreeing with that of the Samian philosopher; for though their deaths are separated by an interval of sixty-three years, Pythagoras might, in that case, have visited the Median court as a young man, for he died at a great age; but his death is not accurately known, and it may have occurred a few years sooner than the date usually received—B. C. 497.

This King Giemshid held a long reign, and built Persepolis or Schiras, as is supposed, and was devoted to the arts of governing well. His end is attributed to a sedition in one of his provinces, which, except in the name, agrees with that which ended the kingdom of Astyages; for having become mad, and thinking himself immortal, he sent pictures through his empire, and commanded them to be worshiped with divine honours; so that the people of Siggistan, by the persuasion of a certain great captain (qu. Harpagus), who was related to the King, and whose name was Ahad (qu. Cyrus), took arms, and, having formed themselves into a regular army, marched under the command of Zoak (the next-named king) towards Schiras, where Giemshid was defeated and taken prisoner. He was sawn asunder, according to some accounts, and, according to others, fled from the battle, and wandered about. He left a son, whose name was Phridun, of three years old, whom his mother concealed till he was enabled to claim his inheritance.

To this Zoak I do not find any parallel in the Median line; but the next stage affords a striking resemblance to the fact of Cyrus's accession, and his faithful Arpagus, whom he appointed ruler of Asia Minor, according to Herodotus. Zoak is a monster of romance, an enemy of the race of Phridun, whose mother's father he put to death under a suspicion of concealing the child. He is held to be an Arabian by birth, of the tribe of the Adites, was skilled in occult sciences, and a completely wicked man, whose abilities were equal to the extreme depravity of his soul, and whose person was formed in a mould equally hideous. His whole appearance was terrible, and struck beholders with horror, for his visage was meagre and cadaverous, his eyes wild and fiery, his air

fierce and cruel, and his body deformed. The natural savageness of his temper was increased by two incurable ulcers upon his shoulders, the anguish of which resembled that which proceeds from the bite of the most envenomed serpent ; so that the romance-writers of his history relate of it, that the devil, in recompense for having served him many years, demanded as his reward that he might kiss his shoulders, which being granted, an ugly serpent instantly appeared on each shoulder, and gnawed itself a den in his flesh. To cure these Zoak had recourse to the warm blood and the brains of men newly slain ; and though the tyrant refused to substitute the blood of other animals, yet the executioners of his cruel orders often did so, and those who thus escaped fled to the mountains to preserve themselves from detection, and these formed themselves into a people since called the *Curdés*. Such is the character of the persecution of Phridun, which, if at all connected with the story of Cyrus, must have grown up in the Persian nurseries as the type of the Median monarch, whose daughter or granddaughter Mandane may be understood by it to have been accessory to the concealment of her son.

The tyrant Zoak was led to this persecution of the 'Persian heir,' as Astyages was to that of Cyrus, who stood in the same relation, by a dream—not, it is true, such as Herodotus relates, but to the same effect. Zoak's dream was that three men came and attacked him, and threw him down and bound him : afterwards one gave him a mortal wound on his head, and the other two loosened his girdle, bound his feet with it, and bore him away to Damavand. This dream was held to portend the loss of his kingdom, and Zoak, believing that this could only happen through the restoration of Phridun, sought the young child's life in order to obviate the danger which threatened him.

At length having put to death the sons of a certain smith, among his other inhumanities, whose name was Gao or Kaoh, the man, *driven to madness at the sight of his children's blood*, ran about the streets crying for justice against the tyrant, and holding up a leathern apron in his hand as a standard. Having by this means got an army together, he made himself master of various forts and cities, and amongst others of the city of Herat, the capital of Chorasán. There he completed his preparations, and *his speech* to his army is preserved previous to his attack upon Zoak, in which he declares that he had not taken arms with a view to any private advantage, but when they had recovered their liberties he would leave them to choose whoever they would for their king. The people offered him the sovereignty, but he declared again he would not falsify his own purpose, which was solely to vindicate the common justice, by usurping the right of the lawful heir to the throne ;

that Phridun, the son of Giemshid, was their lawful prince, and that they ought to bring him from his obscurity, and put him at their head. This was instantly done, Phridun at once marched against Zoak, whose troops forsaking him, he was taken prisoner and sent according to his dream to the mountains of Damavand, and imprisoned in a cave.

This story is essentially the story of the Persian revolt from Astyages. The points of similitude are obvious. The origination of it proceeded from the cruel sacrifice of the son of Kaoh, as that of the Medes proceeded from the murder of the child of Harpagus by Astyages. There is even an analogy observed in the trade assigned to Kaoh, which was that of a smith, with the name of Harpagus, which denotes an iron hook or halbert. The people are first incited at home, and then in the province of Chorasán, from whence the liberating army proceeded. As in the story of Cyrus, Harpagus urged the leading men of the Medes, who groaned under the tyrannical government of Astyages, to take up arms against him; and then communicated his success on this point to Cyrus, and the intention to raise him to the throne; encouraging him to stir up the Persians to revolt. Cyrus, having assumed a feigned authority, discloses the designs of Harpagus (for though they were the purpose of Cyrus by adoption, they were the original design of Harpagus), in which the story of Kaoh's being the party who incites the provincial people to the revolt is satisfied. The endowment of the lawful heir with the command was the original purpose of Harpagus, and the people adopt that purpose, through the incentives held out by the original leader of the revolt, who was Harpagus, as the provincials were led to adopt Phridun by the persuasion and honest loyalty of Kaoh. The speech of Cyrus is preserved by Herodotus, and so is that of Kaoh by the Persians. The loyalty of Harpagus is particularly preserved, for Astyages after his fall told him he was a fool for not having taken that power to himself which he had by his own undertaking wrested from him. The defection of the troops of Zoak is another point which concurs with the story of Cyrus; for the chief officers of the Median army, being gained by Harpagus, passed over to the Persian general in the heat of the battle, and so consummated the downfall of Astyages. The imprisonment of Astyages by Cyrus is indeed said to have been without severity, but it is possible, or even probable, that Astyages is not the true subject of that lenity which is so referred to, but his son Cyaxares, the brother of Mandane and uncle of Cyrus, who in the sacred Scripture is called Darius the Mede. As to Astyages, if he survived his fall, it is more than probable a severer fate would be awarded him, since the cruelties of his reign had given a common offence, and Cyrus had been the subject of his peculiar persecution.

This Phridun fully answers to the character of Cyrus the Great. He became one of the greatest and most successful monarchs that ever ruled in the East. He appointed Kaoh the smith to be general of his armies, and sent him to the *western parts* of his dominions in order to reduce such provinces as during the troubles of the kingdom had shaken off the Persian yoke. Kaoh was engaged in this enterprise twenty years, and reduced many provinces to his empire. At length Phridun recalled him and made him governor of Aderbayagian in Media, where he reigned ten years, and died to the great grief of Phridun. Now Herodotus relates that Cyrus appointed Harpagus his lieutenant of his western provinces, and the period of those wars which occupied him in the west, and were finished in the capture of Babylon, was twenty-one years, so that in this particular the histories also concur.

The whole story of this race refers to the Median history, as related by Herodotus. The province in which the origin of the dynasty took its commencement by the election of the 'righteous judge' Kejomaras was that of Aberbayagian, which is a province of ancient Media, exactly corresponding therefore with that of the election of Deioces, which Herodotus recounts. That Hushang, who stands as third king and answers to the Arphaxad of Judith, is mentioned as engaged with a race of barbarians, who invaded his kingdom, and points evidently to the Scythian invasion. This Arphaxad answers to Phraortis in the list of Herodotus, who it was that was slain in an attack upon Nineveh, but to Cyaxares his successor in being the monarch under whose reign the Scythians entered Asia. But a confusion exists as to these two kings' reigns, for Hushang by other eastern writers is called the third king and not the second; so that a blending of events of the second and third reigns of this dynasty may very well have happened. Hushang answers to the character of Arphaxad by his reputation of possessing extraordinary valour and knowledge, by his great fame throughout the East, and for making a new division of provinces through his empire, and by giving a regular body of laws to his subjects, from which he took the name of Pishdad. In this age it was then that the Hindoo migration took place out of his territory, according to the Indian tradition preserved by Sir W. Jones. He also is said to have first made the province of Chusistan the seat of his empire by erecting the city of Susa, or Shushan, called in Scripture Shushan the Palace. To him is ascribed also a certain book called Giavidan Khird, that is 'The Wisdom of all Times,' but perhaps his title to this work is rather attributable to the adulation paid to his name and posterity; for it appears that there is no ancient prince in the world whose name has been more celebrated in romance than that of Hushang, and, no doubt, much that is due to others of his own times has been attributed to him.

Whether then this is not the same book as Sir W. Jones refers to in his Hindoo tradition as the sacred *Vedah of Menu* may very justly be questioned. Taking the antecedent *Gia* from *Giavidan*, the name of the Hindoo work appears in the final 'Vidan.'

The identity of Phraortes and Arphaxad with this hero of Persian romance is, however, involved in some difficulty; for Arphaxad was a defeated monarch, and slain by the Assyrian Nabuchodonozor. Could he be this hero, then? Now the book of Judith introduces Arphaxad as a king of great undertakings, by the account it gives of him. This Arphaxad, it says, is he who reigned over Ecbatane, and built its walls, and set its towers, and made its gates of seventy cubits high, for the going forth of his mighty armies. It says he reigned in Ecbatane, and built its walls, but not that he built the city. He was evidently therefore completing the work of its builder, who was in fact his predecessor and father, Deioces. It was in that still imperfect state of defection by the provinces from the Assyrian rule, which led to the establishment of the new sovereignty in Deioces, that this war took place, because Nabuchodonozor sent forth his commands to all the old provinces of his empire, including Egypt and Persia, to come to his aid; and these, we are told, 'made light of these commands, for they were not afraid of him; but he was before them as a single individual, and they sent away his ambassadors.' (Judith i. 11.) 'The king of Nineveh was not yet awake to the true extent of the defection from his authority: so that here again we find reason for concluding that it was in the early stage of the Median power; and if not the first king, as it could not be, that it was certainly the second. Of him Herodotus relates, that he was not content to rule over the Medes alone—but, having levied war against the Persians, and subdued them, in which we find a reason for his praises among the later romancers of the united kingdoms, he joined them to himself, and overran the whole of Asia with his armies—but that he attacked the Assyrians in Nineveh, and was by them defeated and slain. Judith says Arphaxad was slain in the mountains of Ragan. Of Hushang it is said he was slain in the mountains of Damavend. It is true they add, this was done by an army of barbarians, who came to invade his territories; but may not this have been some barbarous allies of the Assyrian king, who, when his own provinces refused him allegiance, could have no better resource than such auxiliaries? Do we not in fact find a reason in this account for the Scythians' appearance in Media in the early years of his successor, Cyaxares, who, having been first invited by Nabuchodonozor to assist him in this war, found their way into the same pleasant land afterwards on their own account, as the Saxons did

when invited to aid our own countrymen from the attacks of the Picts? May not these barbarous allies of the Ninevite king be comprehended in the muster-roll of his forces, in the 'very many nations of the sons of Chelod,' of whom no account can be given, and whose description is that of a nation who dwelt in hordes or clans, as the Scythians did.

Thus in all three of these kings—Hushang, Phraortes, and Arphaxad—we find the same characteristics of a conquering and politic monarch, who in the midst of his glories is cut off in war; in two of the accounts that this was done by the Assyrians, and in two that his destruction took place in the mountains of Media.

Up to this point, the establishment of Phridun, the son of Giemshid, the history of this Persian record squares in almost all its particulars with that of the Median dynasty, preserved by Herodotus; and the characters of Phridun, and his restorer Kaoh, agree also with that of Cyrus and Harpagus. The subsequent monarchs of that first dynasty, however, do not agree with the successors of Cyrus.

It is to be observed, on this point, that the whole of this record refers to the eastern districts of what subsequently formed the Persian dominions in its fuller development. The first establishment of the dynasty commences in Media proper, but the story afterwards refers all its incidents to Balk, and Chusistan, and Persepolis. Hushang is supposed to have made the provinces of Chusistan, and the city of Shushan, his seat of empire. Giemshid remained in Segjistan till affairs in the East were settled; then he changed his residence to Persia Proper, where he built the city of Estechar, supposed by some to be Persepolis, by others Schiras. The Arab tyrant, Zoak, alone appears to have held his power in the north and west, if we may infer so much from the flight of his victim to the mountains of Curdistan; while the army of Phridun was organized at Herat in Chorasán, the extreme eastern point of the whole Persian empire, adjoining the mountains that separate it from Tartary and Affghanistan. In the old maps this town is called Aria, or Artacoana, and near it is the town of Susa, from which it is probable the Susa, near the head of the Persian Gulf, which was Shushan, the palace of the later kings, derived its name.

The inference arising from these circumstances is, that the establishment of the Median empire was connected with the sovereignty in this territory of Chorasán, and that the union of power brought the histories into communion during that period which extended from the founding of the Median monarchy to the time of Cyrus; and that what we have in this Persian account is the local tradition of those events, of which the principal impulses

proceeded from the Median or Pishdadian government. The fables mixed up with the true circumstances would be accounted for in the imperfect information that such a dependent people, barbarous and romantic by nature, would receive of the true events which happened in the distant seat of their government, and the establishment of provincial courts in their country would answer sufficiently to their reports of the Median monarchs having dwelt among them. For so undoubtedly they would have done; since it was the custom of these ancient kings to visit their different provinces at certain seasons; and in times of difficulty this residence in the remote and barbarous districts of their empire may have been protracted to more than the usual seasons of their customary resort there.

But after the death of Cyrus, who embodied all Asia under one sovereignty in himself, this union of the eastern and western provinces did certainly become separated; and from him, in the person of Phridun, a race of kings appears, who are not found in the historical list with which we are acquainted, and belong exclusively to the eastern portion of his empire. This division of the empire is stated specifically, both in this Persian account, and in the history which we have of Cyrus. We are told that Cyrus appointed his son Cambyzes to succeed him, who took possession of his vast empire; but to his other son, Smerdis, he left several considerable governments. The last years of Cyrus, and his end, however, are left in utter obscurity, except that he probably lived in Persia wholly, for he was, it seems agreed, certainly buried at Pasargada, in Persia. His Scythian enterprise and death by the hands of its queen, Tomyris, seem utterly unworthy of credit, and little or nothing that can be relied upon is known of the state of his family. Cambyzes himself was not a legitimate son of Cyrus, but the son of an Egyptian concubine, Nitetis, daughter of Vaphris, the last of the descendants of Menes, who was deposed by Amasis the usurper; and it is surmised that the expedition of Cambyzes to Egypt was undertaken to avenge his mother, and by her incitement. Can we believe that this eastern hero (Cyrus) was not the possessor of a wife, or even that he was satisfied with a single one? Why are the historians of the West silent upon this so generally interesting topic in the history of this celebrated prince? No doubt, however, if Cambyzes were derived from the concubine, there was reason enough for silence on the subject; for to discuss his birth, and register the families of other wives, would have derogated from that monarch's title and estimation in his western kingdoms. Perhaps, then, in the Persian account of what befel this great Phridun, we shall obtain some information on this point; for if any branch of the descendants of Cyrus suc-

ceeded to the eastern part of his dominions separate from the western territories, the state of his family may be expected to be found there. Let us see.

Phridun, it is stated by these accounts, after his wars was desirous of restoring peace and good order through his dominions, and he sent persons, eminent for their ability and integrity, to govern all the provinces of his dominion. He married also, with a view of interest and to establish his power, the daughter of his predecessor Zoak, the Arabian, but he also married a Persian lady as the object of his choice. By the first he had two sons, Salm and Tur, who inherited the disposition of their grandfather, and were cruel and haughty princes. By the second he had another son, named Trege, who was the exact reverse of the former, and became the idol of his father and the people. Phridun, feeling himself to be declining, called his nobles together, and, intimating his desire to be relieved from the burden of government, required of them to choose a successor from among his sons, whereupon Trege was selected. To prevent the two brothers from taking this choice to heart, *he gave all the eastern provinces to Tur, and to Salm the provinces on the other side*, and restrained Trege within the limits of Persia, Assyria, and Mesopotamia. From this division, it is said, was derived the names of Turon and Iran, the former denoting the great districts which lie to the east of Persia, and form the modern Turkistan, and the other, Persia itself and its contiguous provinces. The two sons, however, proved refractory, and conspired together against their father and Trege. Having united their forces in Media, they sent a joint protest to Phridun against the preference shown to Trege, whom they styled a bastard, and declared their resolution not to lay down their arms till he was deposed from his sovereignty, and his territories divided between themselves. The issue of this contest was, that Trege undertook a personal mediation with his rebellious brothers, against the wish of his father, and fell a sacrifice to his temerity, being put to death by his rivals for power, and his head sent upon a pole to his father. Phridun persisted in carrying on the war with Salm and Tur, and gave the command of it and the dominions of Trege to his son Manugeber, probably Cambyses, who marched against the rebel brothers and routed and slew them. The territories of Tur descended to his son, and from this Turkish family we may certainly believe these accounts to be derived, and leaving this eastern branch to its exclusive empire in Chorasán, or Turkistan, the son Manugeber was that Cambyses to whom Cyrus left the bulk of his Persian empire.

The account proceeds with a relation of long wars between Manugeber and Apherasiah, the son of Tur, but all the incidents

again refer to the eastern countries of Persia; and when Zalzer, the renowned vizier of Manugeber, wages war upon the territories of Aphasiah, it is the country of Sigjistan, the eastern province bounding the mountains of Affghanistan, that is the object of his great attack. Manugeber himself made the city of Sigjistan his royal seat for a period, but afterwards settled his vizier Soham, the father of the yellow-haired Zalzer, and grandfather of the hero Rustan, as his substitute over that territory. In the extreme old age of this faithful servant (Soham), Nudar, the son of Manugeber, was again engaged in war with the successors of Tur, who took him prisoner and put him to death; but Zalzer, the son of Soham, retained his dominions against the Turkish invader, and, refusing to exalt himself to the throne, sought out the true heir of the house of Kejomaras, the first of the Pishdadian kings, and placed him on the throne. This prince was advanced in life when he was graced with the tiara, and associated with himself Gherschasp, his nephew, in the throne. This was the son of Kischtas, and he lost his life in battle with the Turks, and the kingdom was united to that of the conqueror Afrasiab, a descendant of Tur: Kischtas held his abode at Istachr or Persepolis.

In all this history no reference is ever made to the western provinces, or to Babylon, the great mistress of the Assyrian and northern kingdoms. Either, then, the former part of this history, which comprehends the affairs of Media, is a fable, or else the line of succession from the first kings must have divided in some part which is not noticed in these accounts, by which the western territories were separated from the eastern. The history proceeds with a new line of kings, which brings down a regular succession to Darius, who lost the empire to Alexander, and these kings consist of nine persons only, amongst whom the persons of our own history are plainly recognisable. The first of these is called Keycobad or Caicobad, and was nephew of the last king Nudar: under him the famous Rustan lived. Having succeeded in beating the old enemy the Turks, he fixed his court at Spahawn (Ispahan), which had been built by his great predecessor Hushang, but he is made contemporary with Samul the prophet. The succession follows thus:—

1. Kaicobad.
2. Kaikaus.
3. Kaikosru.
4. Lohrasp.
5. Gustasp (Gustavus).
6. Ardshir, surnamed Bahaman.
7. Queen Homai.
8. Darab I.
9. Darab II.—Darius—who lost the throne to Alexander.

Now there is no difficulty at all in assigning all the last six names to their corresponding names in our own histories, for thus they follow :—

Lohrasp—Darius Hystaspes.

Gustasp—Xerxes.

Ardshir—Artaxerxes.

Queen Homai—Queen Esther, one year interval only.

Darab I.—Darius Ochus.

Darab II.—Darius Codomannus.

The course of this descent shows that the Persian and western, or Babylonian empires, were reunited in this line by Darius, but no notice is taken of this in the account of the Persian history. It is clear their narrative regards only Persia Proper, and the association is not specially recorded. Thus Lohrasp is called Hystaspes, the father of Darius, and Gustasp is called Darius; but it is obvious that the known pedigree will not admit that adjustment, and Ardshir assimilates even in name to its equivalent Artaxerxes (*Ardxir*). Moreover, it is related historically that the father of Darius was governor of the province of Persia at the very time Darius engaged in the conspiracy against the magian Smerdis. Darius was of the royal stock of the Achæmenides, which, Herodotus says, formed one of the Persian septs, and was the family from which all the royal scions were taken. Hystaspes, his father, was of this race, and had been engaged in all his wars with Cyrus, and followed him in all his wars.

Here, then, we again gain the connection between our own histories and these Persian records. Let us see what they say of Lohrasp and his successors, from which we shall form a correct judgment of the attributes of self-dependence and antiquity which are assigned to the first or Pishdadian line. The Persian authors, it may be observed, differ in no part of their accounts relative to these two races of kings so much as when they speak of the actions of this prince.

Lohrasp was said to be the nephew of a brother of king Kai-kans, the father of the last king, which, if that brother were a friend and follower of Cyrus, might well be the case; and who so certain to have been such as a brother of one of the native princes of Persia? Lohrasp was elected king, it is said, but not without considerable opposition; but he prevailed, and was declared king in spite of all obstacles, which, again, is precisely in keeping with the story of Darius, whose election was opposed by his confederates in the conspiracy against Smerdis, and prevailed by a ruse in preparing his charger for the ordeal by which the lot was to be decided. As soon as he was seated on the throne, says the Persian chronicle, he determined to earn a reputation, and to extend his empire by carrying war into both extremities of it. In

this the reign of Darius Hystaspes is exactly characterized, for the first years of his reign were signalized by his expedition into Scythia, when he led his armies over the Thracian Bosphorus and advanced into the heart of that country; after which, having freed his hands from his northern undertaking and refreshed his troops, he proceeded into his eastern provinces, and, thence having gained the upper streams of the Indus, he built a fleet and sent it down that river to make its way to the westward and return to Persia. The commander of this expedition found his way into the Red Sea and landed in Egypt, whence, having regained his original destination, he communicated his discoveries to Darius, who thereupon entered India with a large army and reduced a considerable part of it.

But the Persian history says nothing of the Scythian expedition, and only intimates his presence in the eastern provinces; for after stating that he resolved to extend his empire on both sides, it continues, that he fixed his court at Balk, and took all proper means to set things in the best order in the eastern provinces of Iran. Balk is in the extreme parts of the old Persian Empire, but now in the territory of the Usbeck Tartars, situated in the upper streams of the Oxus, and between the provinces of Bokhara and Afghanistan. The position was precisely that which Darius would have occupied in preparing for his invasion of India.

Lohrasp, it is said, sent his General, Gudarz, with a powerful army into Syria, with orders to reduce that country, which he effected as far as Damascus, and took Jerusalem, which he plundered and treated with extreme cruelty.

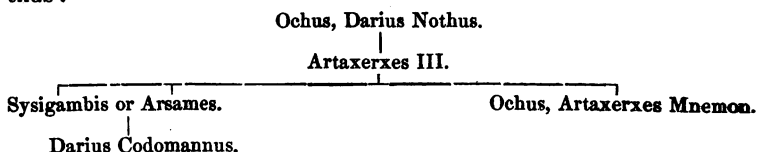
This does certainly not agree with the history of Darius, for it was this prince who confirmed the decree of Cyrus to the Jews effectively for the building of their temple, and put them in complete safety by his favour towards them. The incident is no doubt borrowed from some other event, and mixed up with the story of Lohrasp for its adornment; but as this point is of some importance, we must proceed to show the utter impossibility of this account, whether we take Lohrasp to be Darius Hystaspes or not.

The account of this race of kings—which I think it will be very evident is altogether a spurious account, fabricated out of imperfect traditions and rumours, with about as much regard to the order of events, and the truth of them, as the ‘Arabian Nights’—comprises a list of nine sovereigns, ending with him who lost his empire to Alexander the Great. These kings are described as lineally descended from Lohrasp, who is the fourth from the beginning, leaving five descents only for our examination, to that Dareb who is clearly Darius Codomannus, the last of the Persian family. It is true they attribute to these kings, except the two last, reigns of

extraordinary length, varying from one hundred and twelve to one hundred and fifty years, which it is to be presumed proves nothing but the barbarism of the original stories; but taking six Persian monarchs antecedent to the overthrow of the empire, which extends up to Xerxes, is there any one to whom this account of the sacking of Jerusalem can possibly be applied, or can such an account be true within any period to which this race of kings can possibly be extended, derivative from one another, through only five or six generations before the conquest of Alexander? We need hardly answer the question; but in order to show the nature of this history, we will proceed to compare it with that which we have with better authority, and the nature of its construction will be easily perceived. The historical and Persian tables follow thus:—

| HISTORICAL. | PERSIAN. |
|---|---|
| Hystaspes. | Kaihosru. |
| Darius, his son. | Lohrasp. |
| Xerxes, his son. | Gustasp. |
| Artaxerxes, his son Longimanus. | |
| Ochus, called Darius Nothus, illegitimate son of Artaxerxes. | Ardohvi Bahaman, Longhanded. Queen Thomai. Dareb I. |
| Artaxerxes Mnemon, his son. | |
| Ochus, called Artaxerxes III., his son. | |
| Darius Codomannus, his cousin. | Dareb II. |

In looking at these tables we should begin from the bottom, because there the identity of persons is clear in the two. Dareb II. is he whom Alexander subdued, and who fell in that war: he is therefore the same as Darius Codomannus. Of Dareb I. it is stated that he was the father of Dareb II.; but it is clear this could not be, for Darius Codomannus was in the degree of first-cousin once removed to his predecessor, the pedigree standing thus:—



This error in the Persian story arises from confounding the person of Ochus, who is called Artaxerxes, with the Ochus who is called Darius two generations higher. The historical Ochus slew the father of Darius Codomannus, and one hundred of his descendants, at his first entrance upon his reign; but the name of Ochus,

connecting the ascending line with that Darius who stood in a higher generation, the predecessor of Dareb, is called by the same name of Dareb or Darius, and his sonship is assumed. The mistake is in confounding the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus with the birth of Darius Ochus, and not *vice versâ*; for the history of his reign is identified with that of Artaxerxes Ochus, by its association with Philip of Macedon and the events of that period. On this point the Persian narrative states that on some account or other he found it necessary to turn his arms on Philip (Filikous), King of Macedon. This is not true, but alludes to the former wars of Persia, for none of the Persian kings since Xerxes had been engaged in war with the Macedonians. It is true a war with Persia had been decided upon in Philip's lifetime by the Court of the Amphictryons, of which Philip was to be the leader, but died before it could be brought to pass. This will not satisfy the account attributed to this war by the Persian history, for that goes on to say that he carried on his war against Philip with such success that he drove him to extremities, and obliged him to accept such terms as the Persian chose to impose. These terms were, to pay a tribute of forty thousand pieces of gold, and to give his daughter, one of the handsomest princesses of Greece, to Dareb for a wife, which was accordingly done; but having married her, her breath proved so offensive to the heroic Dareb that he sent her home again to her father in Macedon. The daughter proved with child from her Persian marriage, and the offspring was no less than Alexander the Great: thus the Persians showed the conqueror of their country to be the true descendant of its kings, and their proper sovereign. The nature of this *morceau* is sufficient to stamp the whole as a mere story for the amusement of the common people, and as useless for all purposes of history as waste paper.

But Dareb I., whose historical character is found in the second Ochus or Artaxerxes III., being confounded with the first Ochus, who was Darius Nothus, his grandfather, a corresponding obscurity is observed in the Persian fable. The interval required by this anachronism in the descendant kings is supplied by Queen Homai, who is represented as the wife of Ardshir Bahaman, the long-handed, who is unquestionably the Artaxerxes Longimanus of history, the predecessor of that Ochus who is confounded with the Latin king of that name. The wife of Artaxerxes Longimanus, however, was not the mother of Ochus, for he was a bastard, and was called Darius Nothus, or Darius the Bastard; but the Persian legend tells us that Ardshir Bahaman left his kingdom to his wife Homai, who five months after his death produced a son of extraordinary beauty, whom, to satisfy an oracle that he would bring

great misfortunes on his country (no doubt the prophecy of Daniel that Persia should be brought to its end in consequence of his stirring up the Grecians), she exposed in a wooden chest on the river Oxus. Here we still see the story confined to the eastern and barbarous provinces of Persia, from whence no doubt these tales proceeded. The ark and its burden were found by a dyer, who conveyed the child and its treasures to his wife, by whom he was nurtured, and afterwards brought up in the humble occupation of his foster-father. The spirit of his birth revolted from this low calling; and, like the Scottish Norval, he 'longed to follow to the field some warlike lord,' which being granted to him, he engaged in a war then going on for the subjugation of Roumestan. Here he distinguished himself so pre-eminently that on his return he was introduced to the Queen, who, with well-timed curiosity, inquired and learned the particulars of his early voyage on the Oxus in the chest which she had herself provided. So heroic an offspring could not fail to be recognised, and Dareb was reinstated in his pretensions to the empire as her heir.

Now unquestionably between Artaxerxes Longimanus and this Dareb, who, as the immediate precursor on the throne to Darius who lost the kingdom to Alexander, answers to Ochus or Artaxerxes III., there reigned Darius Nothus, or Ochus Darius, and Artaxerxes Mnemon, or the second Artaxerxes. It is certainly possible that the empire might have suffered a division in this interval, for Ochus Darius was a bastard; and the widow of the deceased king, if *enceinte*, might have maintained the sovereignty of the eastern parts of the empire for her son. This is possible, and the great Persian authority says she did reign for thirty-two years; yet the author of another Persian chronicle altogether omits her from the line of sovereigns, and her story is supposed to refer to the older one of Semiramis, for she is said to have built the city of Semrim, or Semirah, which being commonly attributed to that more ancient queen, some of the Persians thought that Queen Homai and Semiramis must have been the same person.

It is observable that, amongst the conflicting accounts, all the authors agree that Dareb I. ascended the throne as the son of Ardshir Bahaman, or Artaxerxes Longimanus; but this common tradition may more properly be applied to the first Ochus, who, though born of a concubine, yet came to the throne by affecting to be the avenger of the death of Xerxes, the only legitimate son of his father, whom Sogdianus, another bastard son, had murdered on the very day of their father's funeral. By this behaviour of Ochus he drew the nobles of the empire to his cause; and Sogdianus being put to death, he was received as the true heir of Artaxerxes Longimanus. Whether, however, the fact were that

a queen-mother reigned conjointly with the two succeeding monarchs of Artaxerxes Longimanus, or the story be a pure invention to supply the interval of years which had elapsed, yet it is evident that the calling of Dareb I., the contemporary of Philip of Macedon, a son of Artaxerxes, who was great-grandfather to Ochus Artaxerxes, also the contemporary of Philip, must be a mistake; and as we find both the son and the great-grandson of Artaxerxes Longimanus called Ochus, it is very reasonable to conclude that the one line has been confounded with the other, and the blank made by the omission of Ochus Darius and Artaxerxes Mnemon from this list of kings filled up with the fable of Queen Homai.

The next in the ascending line from Queen Homai is Ardshir Bahaman, called 'the long hand,' and so recognised as the Artaxerxes Longimanus; for the Persians, like the Greeks, attribute this name to two causes—one because he had one hand longer than the other, and the other from the extent of his territory. He is called the grandson of Gushtasp, which is not in accordance to the Greek historians, who make him the son of Xerxes.

Here we must admit that we find a valid objection to our own hypothesis that Gushtasp is the same as Xerxes, and Lohrasp the same as Darius Hystaspes; but if that objection be correct, we find still greater inaccuracy in the Persian annals, for they must omit wholly the reign of Xerxes in their account. It is certain, however, that the modern Persians regard these persons in that way—Gushtasp as Darius, and Lohrasp as his father Hystaspes. The Persian descent of Ardshir Bahaman, as grandson and not as son to his predecessor, gives countenance to this; yet to our own mind the other inaccuracies shown in this history induce us to rely upon the tables in their actual order, and to regard Gushtasp as Xerxes, and Lohrasp as Darius Hystaspes. Upon this point we do not see how any great degree of certainty can be attained. It does not, however, affect the general question we are discussing: namely, that the Persian annals are incorrect and fabulous as regards the western provinces of the old Persian dynasty; and if true at all, are so with reference only to some separate districts of the eastern countries of that empire.

Nothing is to be collected from the Persian history of Gushtasp to induce an opinion on this point, for that relates wholly to the affairs of the eastern empire, and the wars there with the Turks. It applies in no way either to the events of Darius Hystaspes, to whom the Persians attribute it, nor to those of Xerxes, which appears its proper application.

Hitcham.

H. M. G.

ON THE DATE OF THE NATIVITY.

WHILE so many, by the chart of prophecy, are endeavouring to explore the dark ocean of futurity, it is important that the position of the landmarks by which they steer should be accurately determined, otherwise the investigators will soon get out of their reckoning.

If one piece of the dissected map be misplaced, the other pieces cannot fit in. It is important, therefore, that the principal dates in Scripture chronology should be well determined.

Two of these dates are those of the birth and baptism of our blessed Saviour. For the determination of these dates no obscure data are furnished in Holy Writ. Nevertheless, it is remarkable how various have been the opinions of chronologers respecting them. All agree in condemning the date assigned to the nativity by Dionysius Exiguus; yet, while all agree in condemning this date, all are by no means agreed about the date which ought to be assigned to the birth of our Lord. Most people, it is true, blindly acquiesce in the opinion that our Saviour was born at the expiration of the four thousandth year of the world—that is, four years before the date of the Christian era as calculated by Dionysius. Men acquiesce in this date, partly, perhaps, because it is a round number, and partly, also, because the supposed difficulty of ascertaining the true date deters them from investigating it for themselves. Of those who have investigated the matter it is wonderful how various are the conclusions. Mr. Benson, for instance, thought that our Lord was born from March to June of the year 4709 of the Julian period; that is, B.C. 5. Mr. Greswell places the birth of our Lord on the 5th of April B.C. 4.

These and other schemes labour under this great difficulty, that, in order to reconcile them with Scripture, it is necessary to suppose that Luke iii. 1, is not to be understood in its obvious meaning.

The propounders of these schemes assume that 'the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar' does not mean the fifteenth year after the death of his predecessor, but the fifteenth year after some period in the lifetime of Augustus, at which they suppose Tiberius to have been invested with a share of the imperial power. There is, however, one scheme which does not labour under this disadvantage. It is that which places the birth of our Saviour two years before the vulgar era, that is, about Christmas, B.C. 3, or Epiphany, B.C. 2. That this was the date of our Sa-

viour's birth was the opinion of Eusebius and of other ancient Fathers, it is asserted in the Paschal Chronicle (as corrected by Mr. Clinton), and in more recent times it has been maintained by the high authority of Scaliger. An opinion sanctioned by such high authorities surely claims more notice than it has met with in modern times. It is remarkable how few writers of the present day advocate this apparently obvious scheme. Let us see what can be said in its favour.

The chief Scriptural datum for determining the date is in Luke iii. 23, where it is stated that Jesus, at the time of his baptism, 'began to be about thirty years of age'—ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάχοντα ἀρχόμενος. Now we need not stop to inquire whether this expression means a little *more* than thirty, as Scaliger^a maintains, or a little *less* than thirty, as Mr. Greswell^b labours to prove.^c

It will be near enough for our purpose if we take it to mean about thirty years of age; for a few days, or even weeks, one way or the other, will not affect the main argument. There is margin enough for any such deviation. Our Lord, then, was about thirty years old at his baptism. If, then, we can determine the date of the baptism, it is easy to calculate the date of his birth.

Now, we are told, Luke iii. 1, that John began to baptize in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar. Augustus, the immediate predecessor of Tiberius, died on the 19th day of August, A.D. 14. The reign of Tiberius would therefore begin on the following day, according to all the common principles of reckoning, and the fifteenth year of Tiberius would begin August 20th, A.D. 28. Consequently John the Baptist would begin his ministry some time in the interval between August 20 A.D. 28, and August 20 in the following year. It has been surmised—and that, too, with a great show of probability,—that John would begin his ministry at or immediately after the Feast of Tabernacles. We may suppose, therefore, that he began to baptize about the end of September or the beginning of October A.D. 28.^d

It appears from the tenor of St. Luke's account of John's ministry that some little time elapsed before Jesus was baptized by him. Say that three months elapsed. This will bring us down to the end of the year A.D. 28, or the beginning of A.D. 29. In order to avoid fractions, we will suppose that our Lord was baptized on the 1st of January A.D. 29, and that he was precisely

^a De Emendatione Temporum, lib. vi. p. 545, &c. Genev. 1629.

^b Dissertations, vol. i. diss. ix.

^c Mr. Clinton thinks that this expression allows of a latitude of two years either way.

^d Mr. Greswell calculates that the Feast of Tabernacles in this year began on the 23rd of September.

thirty years of age on that day. If so, our Lord was born on the 1st of January B.C. 2. The dates of the nativity and of the baptism, it will be observed, are connected, with an interval of about thirty years between them. If the date of the one can be established, the date of the other can easily be calculated by adding or subtracting thirty years.

St. Luke has given us one plain datum for calculating the date of the baptism. There are several circumstances which afford a remarkable confirmation of it.

One of these confirmatory circumstances is, that a new week of years began at the Feast of Tabernacles A.D. 28.^f The seventh year of a Sabbatic cycle ended then, and a new week began. Now, the language of Daniel's prophecy of the seventy weeks seems to indicate that the 'anointing of the Most Holy' (Dan. ix. 24), and the coming of the Anointed One (Messiah, v. 25), would be soon after the termination of one of those seventy weeks. The anointing of our Lord with the Holy Ghost at his baptism, if it was about the 1st of January A.D. 29 that he was baptized, actually did take place soon after the termination of one seventh, or Sabbatic year, and early in the first year of another cycle.

Moreover, under this arrangement of the dates, there would be none of that difficulty about the procuratorship of Pilate which is experienced by those who place our Lord's baptism at an earlier period. St. Luke tells us that John began his ministry in the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate. Pilate seems to have become procurator about the year A.D. 26 or A.D. 27.^g This will agree very well with St. Luke's statements. If John did not begin his ministry until the autumn of the year A.D. 28, Pontius Pilate had already been procurator for a twelvemonth or more.

Another remarkable confirmation of the statement of St. Luke is afforded by that remark which the Jews made at the first Passover which our Lord attended after his baptism (John, ii. 20), 'Forty and six years was this temple in building.' They evidently reckoned these forty-six years from the time that Herod commenced his renovation of the temple. Now, in calculating the commencement of these forty-six years, it is to be remarked that

^f It is only for the purpose of avoiding fractions that this day is named. A few weeks, either before or after, will make no difference to our argument. December 25th would suit very well, if it did not involve a small fraction of a year.

^g Greswell's *Dissertation on the Harmony*, vol. ii. diss. vii., and vol. iii. table iii.

^h Josephus (Ant. xviii. ch. iv. § 2) tells us that Pilate tarried in Judæa ten years, and that on his return he reached Rome after the death of Tiberius. Now, as Tiberius died March 16, A.D. 37, we may conclude that Pilate began his procuratorship in the year A.D. 26, or possibly in the beginning of the year A.D. 27. This corresponds very well with what Josephus says (Ant. xviii. ch. ii. § 1) about Valerius Gratus, who, being sent out early in the reign of Tiberius, remained eleven years, and was succeeded by Pilate.

there is no question as to whether they were years current or years complete. They must have been just about forty-six years, neither more nor less. This may be established from Josephus, *Ant.* xv., ch. 11, § 6, from which it appears that the temple itself was completed in a year and six months, and that the completion of it was celebrated on the day of the King's inauguration. Now, the inauguration was evidently in the autumn. Whether we date the commencement of Herod's reign from his appointment at Rome, B.C. 40, or from the taking of Jerusalem, B.C. 37, it makes no difference. Each of these events took place in the autumn. The inauguration and the completion of the temple were evidently in the autumn; consequently the commencement of the temple eighteen months before its completion must have been in the spring—probably about the time of the Passover. The remark of the Jews was likewise made at a Passover; therefore we may safely conclude that the building of the temple commenced just about forty-six years before the first Passover which our Lord attended after his baptism. Now, if our Lord was baptized on or about 1st January A.D. 29, the Passover of that same year would be the point from which we are to begin to reckon backwards. Forty-six years, reckoned backwards from that time, will bring us to the Passover of the year B.C. 18; that is, the Passover in the nineteenth year of Herod's reign, as calculated from the date of the taking of Jerusalem, B.C. 37. Josephus, *Ant.* xv. ch. 11. § 1, tells us that it was in the eighteenth year of his reign that Herod proposed to rebuild the temple; but, in order to allay the alarm of the Jews, he promised not to begin to pull it down until he had got everything ready for rebuilding it. Allowing a twelvemonth for these preparations, and for pulling down the old buildings, it is not likely that he would lay the foundation of the new buildings before the Passover of the following year, B.C. 18. Now, forty-six years, calculated from this date, brings us down to the Passover of the year A.D. 29—that is, to the Passover in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar. So admirably does the statement of Josephus tally with the dates collected from St. Luke.

If the Divine Word of God required any confirmation at all, such confirmation would be afforded by the data which Josephus furnishes for calculating the commencement of the renovation of the temple, and of the procuratorship of Pilate, and also by that remarkable coincidence of the year named by St. Luke with the commencement of a new Sabbatic cycle. All these circumstances afford ample confirmation of that statement of St. Luke, that John the Baptist began his ministry in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar. If from the baptism we look back thirty years to the nativity, we shall find other confirmatory evidence at that

end of the argument; and what is a confirmation of the one date is a confirmation of the other date also. Like the two sides of an arch, these two dates afford mutual support to each other.

The general voice of the early Church places the birth of our Saviour about the time that we have mentioned. Augustine,^b indeed, seems to have thought that the early Fathers knew nothing more about it than what is stated in Scripture. Perhaps Augustine is right. Nevertheless, if so many of the early Fathers assigned this date to the birth of our Saviour, it is at least a proof that they knew of nothing adverse to this opinion.

Tertullian, though in some places he gives dates at variance with our theory, yet in one passage (*Adv. Marcionem*, Lib. i. ch. 19) supports it; for he places the baptism of our Lord in the fifteenth year of Tiberius; for, as Mr. Clinton remarks, it must be the baptism to which he alludes, when he says 'Anno xv. Tiberii Christus Jesus de cœlo manare dignatus est, spiritus salutaris.'

Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* lib. i. ch. v.) says, Ἦν δὴ τοῦτο δεύτερον καὶ τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος τῆς Ἀυγούστου βασιλείας, Ἀιγύπτου δ' ὑποταγῆς καὶ τῆς τελευτῆς Ἀντωνίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας, εἰς ἣν ὑστάτην ἡ κατ' Αἴγυπτον τῶν Πτολεμαίων κατέληξε δυναστεία, ὅγδοον ἔτος καὶ εἰκοστὸν ὀκνήνικα ὁ Σωτὴρ καὶ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐπὶ τῆς τότε ἀπογραφῆς, ἡγεμονεύοντος Κυρηνίου τῆς Συρίας, ἀκολουθῶν ταῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ προφητείαις, ἐν Βεθλεὲμ γεννᾶται τῆς Ιουδαίας. The forty-second year of Augustus is evidently counted from the death of Julius Cæsar, who was assassinated on the ides of March B.C. 44. The forty-second year of Augustus would therefore be from the ides of March B.C. 3, to the ides of March B.C. 2. We arrive at nearly the same result if we calculate from the other epoch mentioned by Eusebius. It was August in the year B.C. 30 that Antony and Cleopatra committed suicide, and that Egypt was reduced into the condition of a Roman province. The twenty-eighth year after this was therefore from August B.C. 3, to August B.C. 2. Hence, according to Eusebius, our Saviour was born some time between August B.C. 3, and the ides of March B.C. 2. Thus his account (always excepting the difficulty about the census of Cyrenius) fully bears out the date of our Saviour's birth as calculated from the statements of St. Luke and of Josephus. Nor is this the only passage of Josephus which bears out this date. Valesius, in his observations on the above passage, states that in the most ancient manuscripts of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius the forty-second year of Augustus is mentioned as the

^b De Doctrinâ Christianâ, ii. 42. 'Ignorantiâ consulatûs, quo natus est Dominus,' &c.

year of our Saviour's birth. From another passage also of Eusebius (*H. E.* vii. ch. 32), Valesius shews that it must have been in the forty-second year of Augustus that that historian meant to place the birth of our Lord: for in that passage (ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν γενεσέως ἑπὶ τὴν τῶν προσευκτηρίων καθάρσεις, εἰς ἔτη συντέίνουσιν πέντε καὶ τριακόσια, κ. τ. λ.) it is stated that there were 305 years from the birth of our Saviour to the destruction of the churches. The argument derived from this passage of Eusebius, and from other ancient Fathers, is stated as follows by Mr. Clinton: "This term of 305 years ended in the nineteenth of Diocletian. Idem, *H. E.* viii. 2. ἔτος τοῦτο ἦν ἐννέα καὶ δέκατον τῆς Διοκλητιανοῦ Βασιλείας, Δύστρος μὴν λέγοιτο δ' ἂν οὗτος Μάρτιος κατὰ Ρωμίων—March A.D. 303. But 305 years (current) in March A.D. 303, will place the nativity in B.C. 2. Photius (cod. 265, p. 1405) has the same numbers, probably derived from Eusebius. Ἐννέα καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς Διοκλητιανοῦ βασιλείας, τῆς δὲ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας πέμπτου καὶ τριακοστοῦ ἔτους. Eusebius therefore placed the nativity in B.C. 2, although in his tables (*Chron.* lib. ii.) he erroneously makes the forty-second year of Augustus coincide with Ol. 194, 4, instead of with Ol. 194, 3. Epiphanius, *De Hær.* lib. i. tom. i. p. 48 B, τῷ τεσσαρακοστῷ δευτέρῳ (ἔτει) Ἀυγούστου βασιλείως γεννᾶται ὁ Σωτὴρ. He repeats this date, lib. ii., item lib. iii. Idem, *De Hær.* lib. ii. pp. 444-445, γεννᾶται μὲν ὁ Σωτὴρ τῷ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ δευτέρῳ ἔτει Ἀυγούστου βασιλείως τῶν Ρωμαίων—ἐν ὑπατείᾳ Ὀκταυίου Ἀυγούστου τρισκαίδεκατὸν καὶ Σιλουάνου ὑπάτου. Epiphanius therefore placed the nativity in the forty-second year of Augustus; and the forty-second year of Augustus is B.C. 2, U.C. Varr. 752. Zonaras, x. p. 544 D, follows Eusebius: ἐν δὲ τῷ τεσσαρακοστῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς Ἀυγούστου μοναρχίας ἐτέχθη—κατὰ τὸν Παμφίλου Εὐσέβιον, ὃς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ ἱστορίᾳ πεντήκοντα μὲν καὶ ἑπτὰ ἔτη αὐτὸν ἱστορεῖ μοναρχῆσαι. Orosius (vi. 22, vii. 23) refers the nativity to this year: 'Cæsaris emenso propemodum anno quadragesimo secundo natus est Christus: natus est autem vii. Kalen. Januarii. Igitur anno ab urbe conditâ DCCLII. natus est.' The *Paschal Chronicle* likewise (as corrected by Mr. Clinton) bears still more particular testimony to these dates of the birth and baptism of our Saviour (Clinton, *Inst. Rom.* A.D. 32). It places the nativity on the 25th Dec. B.C. 3, and the baptism Jan. 6, A.D. 29.

With such strong evidence in favour of these dates, it seems wonderful that any writer should have hesitated to accept the statement of St. Luke in its plain and literal sense. By the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar all pagan writers understand the fifteenth year from the death of Augustus. Josephus also evidently reckons the year of Tiberius from the day

of the death of Augustus.¹ Why will not Christian writers accept the same simple truth from the pen of their own inspired evangelist? Yet almost all chronologers reject this simple interpretation of his words, and date the fifteenth year of Tiberius as if it were the fifteenth year after some imaginary period at which they suppose that Augustus conferred on Tiberius some minor share of the imperial power.

Now the grounds are but slender for supposing that any share of the imperial power was ever conferred on Tiberius during the lifetime of his predecessor. Still more slender are the grounds for supposing that the years of Tiberius are reckoned from any period prior to the death of Augustus. In fact, the only reason for antedating the fifteenth of Tiberius is a wish to reconcile St. Luke's statement with the supposed date of Herod's death, as gleaned from the pages of Josephus. Most chronologers suppose that Herod died a little before the passover B. C. 3; but then, since it is evident from St. Matthew's Gospel that Jesus was born before the death of Herod, they suppose that Jesus must have been born before the passover of the year B. C. 3; and, in order to make the Scriptural statements fit in with the supposed meaning of Josephus, poor St. Luke is twisted and turned about in a very unceremonious manner.

Now the first thing that strikes us is the absurdity of preferring the authority of a Jewish historian to that of an inspired evangelist. If the two really are at variance, by all means accept the authority of St. Luke, and say, that either Josephus or his transcribers have made a mistake. There would be the less hesitation in supposing Josephus to be wrong, since he is convicted of a palpable chronological error² in his history of this very Herod. By all means, then, condemn Josephus, and take the authority of St. Luke, if the two really are at variance. But they are not at variance. Let us see what data Josephus furnishes for calculating the date of Herod's death. We shall find that, instead of contradicting St. Luke, he *confirms his statements in a very remarkable manner*. We shall find that Josephus himself assigns the death of Herod to the spring of B. C. 2; and several 'undesigned coincidences,' as Paley would call them, tally so remarkably well with the Scripture account, that it is only wonderful how any

¹ e. g. Ant. xviii. ch. iv. § 6.

² Ant. xiv. ch. ix. § 2. Josephus tells us that Herod was but fifteen years old when he was appointed governor of Galilee. Now this was soon after the departure of Cæsar from Galilee in the year B. C. 47. If, then, he was only fifteen years old in B. C. 47, he would not have been more than fifty-nine or sixty years of age at the Passover B. C. 3, the time at which these writers suppose him to have died. Yet, instead of being sixty only at his death, he was nearly, if not quite, seventy (Ant. xvii. ch. vi. § 1).

writer could have thought it necessary to wrest St. Luke's words from their obvious meaning, in order to make them fit in with Josephus. Josephus (*Ant.* xvii. ch. 8, § 1^k) says that Herod died, 'having reigned, since he caused Antigonus to be slain, thirty-four years; but, since he had been declared king by the Romans, thirty-seven.' Now Herod was declared king by the Romans in the autumn of the year B. C. 40. We are not told the precise date of the death of Antigonus, but there is little doubt that he was put to death soon after the taking of Jerusalem, and that was on the great fast-day of the year B. C. 37.¹ Thirty-four years after this time, and thirty-seven years after the autumn of B. C. 40, brings us down to the autumn of B. C. 3. Now it is evident that it was not in the autumn that Herod died, but early in the spring: he must have died therefore in the spring either of the year B. C. 3 or of the year B. C. 2. Most chronologers assume that it was in the spring of B. C. 3 that Herod died; but there is no reason whatever why that event should not be placed in the spring of B. C. 2. Indeed there is, as we shall presently see, a great astronomical reason for believing that Herod means the latter date—that he places the death of Herod in B. C. 2, and, if that be the date which Josephus assigns to it, he agrees remarkably well with St. Luke. The only question is, whether the thirty-seven years and thirty-four years of Josephus are years current or years complete: whether, in short, he means thirty-six years and a half and thirty-three years and a half, or (as he probably does mean) thirty-seven years and a half and thirty-four years and a half. If he means the larger number (thirty-seven and a half and thirty-four and a half), he will bring the date of Herod's death down to the spring of the year B. C. 2, and that will be *after* the birth of Jesus, as calculated from the statements of St. Luke.

It might indeed be supposed, since in Jewish reckonings each fraction of a thing is counted as an integer, that Josephus adopts the same method in reckoning the years of Herod, and that his thirty-seven years means thirty-six years and a half only, and his thirty-four years thirty-three years and a half only. But this is by no means the unvarying practice of that historian. For instance, in one place (*Ant.* xviii. ch. 6, § 5) he tells us that Tiberius was emperor twenty-two years; in another place (*Ant.* xviii.

^k This and all the other quotations from Josephus are given in the words of Whiston's translation.

¹ There is indeed some little doubt about this date, Dio (49, 22) telling us that this took place Coss. Claudio et Norbano, or B. C. 38, while all other authorities lead us to believe that it was in B. C. 37. Chronologers seem agreed in thinking that it was in B. C. 37 that Jerusalem was taken.

ch. 6, § 10) we find that this twenty-two years means twenty-two years five months and three days. If, then, in this case Josephus means *more* than the round number of years which he has mentioned, he may mean *more* than the thirty-seven years and the thirty-four years which he has assigned to the reign of Herod. He may mean that Herod reigned thirty-seven years and a half after his appointment by the Romans, and thirty-four years and a half after the death of Antigonus. If this be his meaning, then he brings down the death of Herod to the spring of the year B. C. 2. That this was the meaning of Josephus is evident from a remarkable statement which he makes respecting an eclipse. He tells us (*Ant.* xvii. ch. 6, § 4) that on the night after the execution of Matthias and his companions there was an eclipse of the moon. Now this was during the last illness of Herod. If, then, the date of this eclipse can be determined, we can come very near the date of the death of Herod. There was a lunar eclipse on the night of the 12th of March (for the longitude of Jerusalem, or early in the morning of the 13th for the longitude of London or Paris) B. C. 4; and this is supposed by most chronologers to be the eclipse which preceded the death of Herod. Mr. Clinton, without any hesitation, says 'this eclipse is found March 13th, B. C. 4,' and proceeds to argue from it that Herod must have died in March B. C. 4. Other chronologers, almost without exception, take this to be the eclipse to which Josephus alludes: there was, however, another lunar eclipse on the night of the 19th of January B. C. 2. This is the eclipse to which Scaliger believes that Josephus alluded; and Mr. Greswell is compelled to say that 'if it had fallen out A. U. C. 751' (the year in which he places the death of Herod) 'instead of A. U. C. 752' (or B. C. 2), 'it would have been as appropriate in all respects to the context of Josephus' narrative, as the eclipse March 13th A. U. C. 750' (B. C. 4) 'is incongruous to it' (*Diss.* vol. i. p. 254). If, then, the year B. C. 2 really was the year in which Herod died, we have the authority of Mr. Greswell himself for saying that this eclipse is in all respects appropriate to the context of Josephus' narrative. Surely, then, we may assume that this was the eclipse to which Josephus alluded, and, if so, that he must in his statement (*Ant.* xvii. ch. 8, § 1) have meant to place the death of Herod in the spring of the year B. C. 2, not in B. C. 3, as Mr. Greswell thinks, or in B. C. 4, as Mr. Clinton assumes. We have already seen that Josephus *might* have meant to assign the death of Herod to the year B. C. 2. The date of the eclipse shows that he *must* have meant that year. If, then, the spring of B. C. 2 was the time of the death of Herod, it was subsequent to the time at which, on St. Luke's authority, we have placed the birth of our Saviour.

If our Saviour was born on (say^m) the 1st of January B. C. 2, there was space for more than the forty days which would elapse before he was presented in the temple, and there was time after the presentation for the flight into Egypt before the issuing of that bloody decree for the massacre of the innocents at Bethlehem. The very cruelty of this decree indicates that it was issued during the last gloomy days of Herod's life. It was quite of a piece with that cruel order which he issued on finding that there was no hope of his recovery. Determined that there should be mourning at his death, he ordered numbers of the chief people of Judæa to be cooped up in the hippodrome, ready to be slain by his soldiers as soon as his death was announced. The same remorseless spirit which dictated this order dictated the order for the massacre at Bethlehem. It was in all probability after the return from Callirhoe,ⁿ perhaps after the order for the execution of his son Antipater, that Herod ordered the massacre at Bethlehem. What was the precise day of Herod's death we do not know for certain. Supposing him to have died at the end of February, there would be ample time for all the events recorded by St. Matthew as taking place before the death of Herod; and there would also be time for the mourning, the funeral, and the other events which are said by Josephus to have taken place between the death of Herod and the Passover. In short, all the statements of Josephus with respect to Herod's death tally so remarkably well with the Scriptural accounts that it is surprising that any should ever have thought it necessary to warp the words of St. Luke from their natural meaning.

It is not to be concealed that there are some difficulties in our way, if we place the birth of Jesus in the beginning of B. C. 2, and his baptism at a corresponding period of the year A. D. 29. First of all, there is the great difficulty connected with the taxing of Cyrenius (Luke ii. 2). What is the proper solution of this difficulty it is hard to determine. It need only be remarked that the same difficulty is at least as great in the case of those schemes of chronology which place the birth of our Saviour at an earlier period.

^m Let it be remembered that the birth is not limited to this one particular day.

ⁿ The words of St. Matthew deserve attentive notice. When the magi came to Jerusalem, Herod 'was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him.' Hence it may be collected that Herod was at Jerusalem on the arrival of the magi. But Herod did not tell the magi to return to Jerusalem. He only said to them, 'Bring me word again.' Hence he might already have been contemplating the journey, which he afterwards took, to Callirhoe. Moreover, the wise men were not told 'not to return to Jerusalem.' They were bidden not to return to *Herod*. Herod might very well have been at Callirhoe on their return.

Secondly, some people will object that, if the baptism of our Lord be placed in the year A. D. 29, it will be more than sixty-nine weeks of years after B. C. 458, the date of the issuing of that decree, of which it is usually supposed that Daniel prophesies (ix. 25). Now, really this prophecy of the seventy weeks is of itself involved in so much obscurity that it can scarcely be the means of throwing *much* light on the date of our Saviour's baptism. It is by no means certain that the decree of the year B. C. 458 is that of which Daniel speaks; and there are many other matters connected with this prophecy which are floating in much doubt. Other people, again, object that, if the baptism and first Passover were in A. D. 29, the crucifixion, three years afterwards, must have been in A. D. 32, and that in that year the Passover did not fall on a Friday. Hence they agree that it could not have been in A. D. 29, or late in A. D. 28, that the baptism took place. Now, in the chain of this argument there are so many links, of which if any one be unsound the whole argument will fail, that the objectors have very much indeed to establish before they can use it in pulling down a date established on such positive testimony as that which St. Luke furnishes for establishing the date of the baptism of our Lord. In the first place, they must establish—not merely assume—that it was for three years that the ministry of our Lord lasted. Now this is a point about which there are various opinions. Many of the early fathers thought that the ministry lasted one year only; Mr. Benson believes that it lasted two years. The greater number of modern chronologers think that it lasted three years, while Scaliger thinks that he finds traces of five Passovers, and hence supposes that the ministry of our Lord lasted a little more than four years. Here, then, is a great variety of opinions, and the advocates of a three years' ministry have many opponents on their flanks, whom they must defeat before they can turn the weight of their arms against the position which we have taken with respect to the baptism of our Lord. Another weak link in their chain is in their calculation of the Passover. They assume, and they are bound to prove, A, that we know for certain what calendar the Jews used at the time of our Saviour; B, that this was a lunar calendar; C, that we know for certain whether the time of the new moon was ascertained by observation or by calculation; D, that the Passover was never before the vernal equinox; E, that the Jews were correct in their calculation of the time of the equinox; F, that the beginnings of the months were never so arranged as that they should not fall on certain days of the week; and, G, that the intercalation of Veadar (on which, of course, the beginning of Nisan depended) was never arbitrarily arranged according to the forward-

ness or backwardness of the barley harvest.^o All these questions must be settled before this link in the chain will be strong enough for much service in the work of chronology. Besides all this, Mr. Greswell has again started the question of a supposed error in the solar tables, so as that the days of the week have got out of their due course. All these questions must be settled before the argument from the crucifixion can be of much use in settling or unsettling the date of the baptism.^p

There is, however, one other objection, which calls for a more particular answer. We have various intimations respecting the length of the reigns of Herod's three sons, Archelaus, Philip, and Herod Antipas; and in order to reconcile the length of their reigns with other circumstances in their history, it is necessary to suppose that the years of each reign were dated from some earlier period than March B.C. 2, the time at which we have laboured to show that their father, Herod the Great, must have died. With respect to Philip, we find the following statement in Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. ch. 4, § 6):—‘About this time it was that Philip departed this life, in the twentieth year of the reign of Tiberius, after he had been tetrarch’ . . . ‘thirty-seven years.’ Now the twentieth of Tiberius was from August 19th A.D. 33, to August 19th A.D. 34. Even if we suppose this thirty-seven years to mean a little more than thirty-six years, and if we count back from the latest part of the twentieth of Tiberius, yet we shall be thrown back to some period earlier than March B.C. 2. July B.C. 3 would be the very latest period at which we could place the commencement of Philip's reign.

We find a like difficulty with respect to the reign of Herod Antipas. It seems that there is in existence a coin of that tetrarch, with the name of Caius Cæsar on the one side, and on the other side an inscription which shows that the coin was struck in the forty-third year of Herod the tetrarch. Now Caius Cæsar (Caligula) died January 24th A.D. 41. Even if we suppose the coin to have been struck in the first month of the forty-third year of Herod Antipas, yet we shall have to go back to the very beginning of the year B.C. 2, and that will bring us to a period anterior to that to which we have assigned the death of Herod the Great.

For ascertaining the duration and termination of the reign of Archelaus we have more numerous data; but they almost all combine to show that he dated the commencement of his reign from some period of time anterior to February B.C. 2. Josephus

^o Mr. Greswell, in his ‘*Fasti Catholici*,’ has laboured to establish some of these points.

^p It would not be difficult to point out at least one scheme of calculating the Passover, by which it might be made to fall on a Friday in the year B.C. 32.

(*Ant.* xviii. ch. 2, § 1) informs us that the valuation of the property of the Jews (which seems, from *Ant.* xviii. ch. 1, § 1, to have been begun immediately after the deposal of Archelaus) took place in the thirty-seventh year of Cæsar's victory over Antony at Actium, τριακοστῇ καὶ ἐβδόμῃ ἔτει μετὰ τὴν Ἀντωνίου ἐν Ἀκτιῷ ἡτταν. Now, since the battle of Actium was fought in September B.C. 31, the thirty-seventh year after that battle would be from September A.D. 6, to September A.D. 7. Therefore it was in that twelvemonth that Cyrenius began to value the property of the Jews; and it was probably in that twelvemonth, or even a little before it, that Archelaus was deposed. But Josephus (*Life*, § 1) speaks of the tenth year of Archelaus; and, *Ant.* xvii. ch. 13, § 2, he tells us that Archelaus was deposed in the tenth year of his government. Now, even if we suppose that it was at the end of the ^a first quarter of his tenth year, and in the latter part of the aforesaid twelvemonth, that Archelaus was banished, yet the beginning of his reign will be brought back to the beginning of the summer of the year B.C. 3, a period before March B.C. 2, the date of Herod's death.

All these three sons of Herod seem then to have dated the beginning of their reigns from some day in the year B.C. 3; and this would be inconsistent with our theory *if they dated the commencement of their reigns from the death of their father, Herod the Great*. But it is by no means evident that the death of their father was the epoch from which they dated the commencement of their reigns. It is indeed tolerably evident that they were never admitted to any share of the sovereignty in their father's lifetime. He was far too jealous over his authority to admit them to any share of it, as long as he could hold it himself. His treatment of Antipater, and many other circumstances, preclude any such idea. However little ground there may be for supposing that Tiberius was admitted to a share of the imperial power in the lifetime of Augustus, there is infinitely less reason for supposing that the sons of Herod ever participated in the sovereignty during their father's lifetime. Nevertheless, it by no means follows that Archelaus and the two tetrarchs might not antedate the beginning of their reigns. From the *Mischna* (Surenhusii *Mischna*, vol. ii. p. 300)

^a The circumstances of his deposal seem to preclude the supposition that it was very early in his tenth year that he was deposed; for it was in that year that he was accused in Rome; and time must be allowed for the voyages of the steward to Judæa, and of Archelaus back to Rome. These two voyages, however hasty, must have occupied some time. It is necessary to remark that (*B. J.* ii. ch. vii. § 3) Josephus tells us that Archelaus was banished in his *ninth* year. A similar inconsistency between the 'Antiquities' and the 'Wars' is found in the account of the dream of Archelaus. These inconsistencies shake our faith in the chronology of Josephus.

we learn that the first of Nisan was the beginning of the year for calculating the reigns of kings. Now, although it is the fashion to set at nought the authority of the Mischna, and although this be an authority which we ought not to follow blindly, nevertheless we may perhaps find in it the traces of many of the Jewish customs. It is not at all incredible that the Mischna may be correct in stating that the reigns of Jewish kings are to be dated from the first of Nisan^r preceding the death of their predecessors. This is the more credible, since we find a similar 'principium anni' (Thoth) used in Egypt and in other countries.* If the Mischna be correct in this particular, the sons of Herod would date the years of their reign from the first of Nisan preceding the death of their father. Now, if Herod died before the first of Nisan B.C. 2 (our assumption is that he died late in February, and this would be either Adar or Veadar B.C. 2), his sons would date the commencement of their reigns from the first of Nisan B.C. 3; and if the commencement of their reigns is to be calculated from that day, we shall not have much difficulty in fixing the conclusion of each reign at the period indicated by Josephus, and by other authorities.

Take, for instance, the reign of Archelaus. If his first year was from the first of Nisan B.C. 3, to the first of Nisan B.C. 2, his tenth year would be from the first of Nisan A.D. 7, to the first of Nisan A.D. 8. If then he were banished at any time between the first of Nisan A.D. 7,^t and the month of September in that same

* It is true that Josephus does not calculate the reign of Herod in this manner. But then he is writing historically; and he gives us the precise events, from which he calculates the length of Herod's reign. A historian, writing for general readers, would not necessarily use the technical language of the Jewish courts. The young tetrarchs would probably be glad to assume a little additional consequence by making their reigns appear as long as possible. Hence Archelaus and Philip might speak, the one of his tenth, and the other of his thirty-seventh year, although Archelaus did not reign nine years complete, or Philip thirty-six years complete. Antipas, too, would be almost sure to use this technical date on his coins. This difference between the historical and the technical methods of reckoning the years of the reigns of Jewish kings may possibly afford a clue to the explanation of the apparently inconsistent statements of Josephus with respect to the year of the banishment of Archelaus.

^r A similar though opposite custom prevails at this day in China. The reigning emperor does not date the years of his reign from the day of his predecessor's death, but from the first day of the year *after* that in which his predecessor died (Callery and Yvan, p. 34).

^t It must be admitted that Mr. Clinton, on the authority of Dio (lv. 25, 27), places the punishment of Archelaus in the year A.D. 6, coss. Æmilio Lepido, Lucio Arruntio. This statement, if correct, would be fatal to our argument, supposing Josephus also to be correct in saying that Archelaus was banished in the tenth year of his reign. But then we have seen that Dio was incorrect, or at least is usually supposed to be incorrect, in the year in which he places the taking of Jerusalem; and we have seen also that Josephus in the 'Wars' tells us that Archelaus was banished in his *ninth* year.

year, he would be banished in the tenth year of his reign, and also in the thirty-seventh year after the battle of Actium."^u

While on the reign of Archelaus, we may touch on another subject, which, though but remotely connected with the death of Herod, has by the industry of chronologers been hunted up for the purpose of throwing some light on the date of Herod's death. Josephus (*Ant.* xvii. ch. 9, § 5) tells us that, when Archelaus went to Rome to be invested by Josephus with the ethnarchy, Augustus summoned his friends, and 'with them Caius, the son of Agrippa, and of Julia his daughter, whom he had adopted, and made him sit first of all.' These expressions are thought to indicate that Caius had already entered on his office of consul when he was present at the hearing of Archelaus. Now it was in A.U.C. 754, or A.D. 1, that he was consul. Hence it is supposed that it was in that year, and probably in the very beginning of that year, that Archelaus was heard. If so, it is much more consistent with what Josephus says to place the death of Herod in the spring of B.C. 2, than to place it in the spring of B.C. 3, as Mr. Greswell supposes, or in the spring of B.C. 4, according to Mr. Clinton. The hearing of Archelaus might have been delayed twenty-two or twenty-three months. Indeed the events mentioned by Josephus (*Ant.* xvii. ch. 9, §§ 3-5) must have occupied many months; but the government would scarcely have been left vacant for three or four years.

The coin of Herod Antipas will no longer be a difficulty if he dated the beginning of his reign from the first of Nisan B.C. 3. His forty-third year would in that case begin from the first of Nisan B.C. 40. Now Caius Cæsar (Caligula) did not die until the twenty-fourth of January A.D. 41. The coin might therefore very well bear both his name and also the date of the twenty-fourth year of Herod the tetrarch. It is true that Herod Antipas was banished by Caligula, but then it is tolerably evident that it was quite in the latter^v part of Caligula's reign that he was banished. If he were not banished until the summer or autumn of A.D. 40, the coin would still bear the date of the forty-third year of Herod the tetrarch.^v

^u Observe that Josephus speaks of the thirty-seventh year *after the battle of Actium*—not of the thirty-seventh year of the Actiac period (which did not commence until Sept. B.C. 30). If we understand him to speak of the thirty-seventh year of the Actiac period, we shall have still less difficulty in making the tenth year of Archelaus coincide with that year.

^v Josephus (*Ant.* xix. ch. viii. § 2) tells us that it was in the fourth or last year of Caligula's reign that the tetrarchy of Antipas was bestowed upon Agrippa.

^v It has been remarked by Mr. Greswell, that the coin in question may have been struck even after the banishment of Herod Antipas, but before the tidings of his banishment reached Galilee.

On the same principle we shall find that the thirty-seventh year (current) of Philip coincided with the twentieth of Tiberius. If the first of Philip were from the first of Nisan B.C. 3, to the first of Nisan B.C. 2, his thirty-seventh year would commence on the first of Nisan A.D. 34; and, as the twentieth year of Tiberius ended in August of that same year, the first half of the thirty-seventh year of Philip would be concurrent with the latter half of the twentieth of Tiberius. If then the *Mischna* be correct; if the kings of Judæa dated the commencement of their reigns from the first of Nisan next preceding the death of their predecessors; if, in short, the sons of Herod dated the commencement of their reigns from the first of Nisan B.C. 3, then all this seeming difficulty will vanish. The technical length of their respective reigns will be no obstacle to our placing their father's death in the end of February B.C. 2. This is, as we have already seen, the date at which Josephus not only *may*, but *must* (as appears from his mention of the eclipse), have meant to fix the death of Herod. If then it was at the latter end of February B.C. 2 that Josephus meant to place the death of Herod, his statements correspond remarkably well with the statements of Scripture. There is no longer any contradiction whatever between Josephus and St. Luke. We may safely conclude that it was on or about the first of January B.C. 2 that our Saviour was born into this lower world, and that he was baptized on or about the first of January A.D. 29. These are the dates assigned to these important events by the voice of many of the early Fathers; they are distinctly laid down in the '*Paschal Chronicle*'; they are maintained by the high authority of Scaliger. Surely then it becomes chronologers of the present day to weigh their reasons very carefully before they pronounce against these dates, to which St. Luke so obviously points.

Burton Pedwardine.

H. H. B.

ISRAEL IN EGYPT.*

THE work of which the above is the title has, the author informs his readers in the preface, a definite end in view. The discovery by Champollion of the method of reading the inscriptions that cover the remains of ancient Egypt was first brought under the author's notice more than thirty years ago; and it at once struck him that, if this discovery be real, and if the Bible be a statement of facts, the one *must of necessity* illustrate the other. Under this conviction he has since devoted his life to the pursuit of further light upon the subject, '*wisely or not, is no part of the question now under discussion.*' There is yet, however, another conviction,' the author continues, 'which has aided him in making this somewhat costly sacrifice: he writes thus because such is the fact. He has always held it for certain that the history narrated in the Bible must be true, strictly true, a record of things as they were, and of facts as they did occur, if its doctrines are from God, and therefore worthy to be received as religious teaching. If it be not true in this exact sense—if the men, for example, named therein be nations, not individuals—if its positive dates be vague numbers, if its miracles be mere metaphors, then is the Bible a lie! "and every lie, O that men would believe it, is at best a whited sepulchre."^b However fair such a structure may be externally, it contains nothing but dead men's bones, and all uncleanness, and therefore nothing can issue from it but that which is noisome and pestilential. The reality of the Bible history is a condition indispensable to the genuineness of its moral teaching.'

Thus far, with the exception of protesting against the correctness of the assumed necessity, and against some very questionable sentiments connected with the words we have printed in italics, thus far we are able to follow our guide without discussion, nor do we doubt that our readers will prove equally docile; yet must our approbation at this point cease, since the next sentence penned by the author in his Preface in our opinion neutralizes, *in toto*, every sentiment which preceded it. The reader will bear in mind that the author has affirmed that, 'if the Bible be a statement of facts,' Holy Scripture and hieroglyphical records 'must of necessity illustrate each other;' that 'the history narrated in the Bible must be true, strictly true, a record of things as they were, and of facts as they occurred;' and that 'the reality of the Bible history is a condition indispensable to the genuineness of its moral teaching.' The author then proceeds to say that 'this latter proposition,

* Seeleys. 1854.

^b Archdeacon Hare's 'Life of Sterling.'

which appears to him very clear and self-evident, renders it absolutely necessary that the truth of the history should be fully established ;' and that 'in the ensuing pages the reader will find an attempt to establish its truth, in this strict sense, by the collateral evidence of the monuments of ancient Egypt.' In other words, if the Bible be true, sculpture and Scripture must illustrate each other ; but the Bible is true, therefore Scripture must be proved true by sculpture, which the author has accomplished. Q. E. D. A logical fallacy which only requires to be stripped of accidentals to be perceived, since the author omits to premise the infallibility of the hieroglyphical inscriptions, by the help of which he proposes to test the certainty of that which is in itself the truth itself—the Word of God.

The preface thus concludes :—'The author is well aware that this necessity is denied, and in quarters whence all opinions come forth with the authority and influence of oracles. He knows that by one of the great school of modern thinkers all such inquiries are denounced as "idle attempts to collect evidence ;" and that from another class his work will bring upon him the charge of maintaining "ignorant, uncritical, baseless assumptions concerning literal inspiration." He deeply regrets this antagonism, but it is not in his power to modify at all the conviction he has expressed.' Now, without giving in our adhesion to either of these two great schools of modern thinkers, we equally with them beg to be permitted to consider that the 'necessity' assumed by the author exists not otherwise than in his own fancy, and this for reasons which will be stated with due regard to brevity. Let us leave for the moment the question of inspiration ; and let us view the books of Moses—such portions as relate to the sojourn of Israel in Egypt—as simple chronicles of certain actors in those ages ; and the hieroglyphic sculptures—such parts as record the annals of the same period of time—as independent witnesses to certain actions in those ages : on *prima facie* grounds then, would not these contemporaneous accounts possess, with unbiassed minds, at the least an equal amount of historic value ? The scales are now balanced ; but if into that which contains the Mosaic records be thrown the overwhelming weight of inspiration, the balance becomes irrevocably and irremediably destroyed, to such an extent indeed, that to speak of 'an attempt to establish,' by the collateral evidence of the monuments, the truth of the truthful history, appears to be more than a misapplication of terms, and not less than a culpable confusion of ideas.

These observations apply only to the believer ; but how does the question stand with respect to the sceptic ? To such an one we are enabled to present, upon the authority of the hieroglyphic witnesses, than which he recognises no authority more decisive,

the partial history of certain ages and of certain persons. From this sculptured story we point to a written history of equal antiquity, and of greater minuteness of detail in those portions of the accounts in which the one can in any degree 'illustrate the other.' From a diligent comparison of these two records, we discover, in addition to uniformity in the broader features of the case, unlooked-for coincidences, minute and manifold agreements in cases where accordant might have been least expected. Hence an important point is gained. From the infallible evidence of inscriptions, the unbeliever is forced, in many instances, to accept the authority of Holy Writ, whilst the fact that some truth is confessedly found in the writings of Moses suggests to the sceptic the probability that more might be discovered; and the circumstance that error does not exist in those parts where a test can be applied, renders it possible that, where the same facilities for proof are not at hand, inaccuracy may not be present. These arguments are not the strongest that might be brought to bear upon our author's position; but if his theories succumb to the less powerful objections, they would clearly have no chance against the more weighty.

Notwithstanding these objectionable opinions, we find much in 'Israel in Egypt' to admire; but then it is generally when the author's practice and theory are in opposition that we can praise. This may appear paradoxical, but it is true. The author is not always firm to his principles, and when he wavers we applaud. He has emphatically 'illustrated by existing monuments' the books of Genesis and Exodus—he has elucidated them with learning, examined them with scholarship, commented upon them with devotion—but he has failed, we had well-nigh said he has not attempted, to establish their truth 'by collateral evidence;' and he has only in the Preface, and in a few isolated passages of his volume, given the rein to that dangerous doctrine and ensnaring creed, so captivating to human intellect, but so fatal to Divine trust.^c

We do not propose to analyse the volume before us. 'Israel in Egypt,' though a work of some research and some learning, is not considered, by those who have given much attention to the subject, remarkable for such profoundness or depth of thought as to require a lengthy article for its examination. It has, however, elsewhere received its meed of praise, and not unworthily; and it

^c We will not burden the text with examples. Let one suffice; and let our readers judge whether or not the author has not drifted out of his depth, and in his struggles lost his self-possession:—'It is impossible, therefore, for any fact to rest on a firmer basis of monumental evidence than that the Canaanite traders to Egypt were in the constant habit of bringing thither for sale slaves from among their own countrymen, whether enslaved as prisoners of war or by other circumstances. To a rightly-constituted mind, evidence like this to the truth of a narrative is the most valuable of all.'

is for this reason that we have ventured to warn our readers of some of the quicksands to be met with in its perusal, and to point out the absurdity contained in the position that truth is to be made dependent upon the evidence of sculptured monuments of art. We will therefore conclude our notice by extracting, from the chapter entitled the 'Plagues of Egypt,' some passages which will give the reader a not unfavourable idea of the author's style, and of the method in which the subject is treated.

Take, for example, some remarks upon the plague of flies. Speaking of the Nile, the author says,—

'The overflow has risen above the level of the canals and channels, and is rapidly flowing over the entire surface. The fine dust or powder into which the Nile mud of the last year's overflow is triturated, and with which the fields are entirely covered, now presents a very extraordinary phenomenon. Immediately on its being moistened with the waters, gnats and flies innumerable burst from their pupæ, and spring into perfect existence. The eggs that produce them were laid in the retiring waters of the former flood. They have matured in the interval, and they vivify instantaneously that the dust has absorbed moisture enough to discolour it. As the flood advances slowly onwards, a black line of living insects on its extreme verge moves with it. The sight of them, and of the birds and fishes that prey upon them, is a curious and a wonderful one. Once more the God of all the earth avails himself of the natural event actually occurring in the course of the year in Egypt. Aaron lifts his staff over the teeming dust, and the swollen germs of insect life that are mingled with it break forth into mosquitoes, a fearful pest in Egypt, but principally confined to the coast in the present day.'

Again, on the plague of boils and blains we read that,—

'The highest land in Egypt now is that on the brink of the river, and it is there that the burning takes place. It is a strange but beautiful sight in the thick darkness of an Egyptian night to see the river, as far as both horizons, rolling along between two broad belts of fire. It is a yet stranger sight in the daytime, when the smoke and ashes of these conflagrations drive in whirls and eddies over the land before the rude blasts of the Etesian wind. It was gazing at this sight, and seeing the clothes of all present covered with light and feathery particles of the ashes, that it first occurred to us that this was the agent of God's vengeance in the plague of boils, though we did not then understand that all the preceding plagues had in like manner been produced through the agencies of the successive phenomena of the overflow. It seemed to us then, and it still seems to us, to solve entirely a great difficulty connected with this miracle, according to the common interpretation of the passage. Fuel is scarce in Egypt, and in consequence fire for all purposes is used in the smallest possible quantity, and for the shortest possible time. This peculiarity in the present customs of Egypt we find from the paintings on the tombs to have always prevailed there. The fires used both for cooking and the arts

were very inconsiderable. Under these circumstances it is difficult to understand how a handful or two of ashes thrown up from one furnace could be diffused over an entire district to "become boils breaking forth with blains upon man and beast." But the difficulty vanishes altogether when we find it was the season for consuming the weeds and field-refuse of all Egypt, and that the white ashes of their burning were drifted in clouds before the north wind, which at this time blows very fiercely.'

We select but another specimen, and here we beg leave to differ altogether from the learned writer, and to suggest that his theory that 'the plague of darkness was a sand-storm' savours far too strongly of those opinions which would explain away all miraculous power by the light of human intellect and human knowledge :—

'In ordinary years,' says the author, 'the wheat would have ripened, and the harvest have been gathered, in the warm sunny month that had elapsed since the display of the power of God. In this disastrous year there was no harvest to gather. About the middle of April a west wind sets in strongly, and continues to blow from that quarter for about fifty days. It is named by the Arabs in Egypt *Hamseen*, from this circumstance. During the whole season of the prevalence of this wind the atmosphere is excessively dry, and loaded with the fine particles of the sand of Sahara, to the great discomfort of the inhabitants of Egypt; but occasionally the west wind suddenly freshens to a perfect hurricane, and, sweeping before it the light sands of the desert, precipitates them in columns and drifts upon the valley of the Nile. The sufferings of man and beast during these dreadful storms, in ordinary years, baffles all description. No man leaves his dwelling, for to face a violent gust would be certain death by suffocation. They who are overtaken by them wrap their faces in their mantles, and lie prostrate on the ground. It is their only chance of life. The light of noonday is but an angry twilight. At intervals, though brief ones, it is obscured, and the darkness is total whilst the heavy drifts pass the sun's disc. We testify that we have seen on this point. It is impossible by any expedient to keep the sand out of the houses. So saturated is the air with the sand that it seems to lose its transparency, so that artificial light is of but little service. The sand also gets into the eyes, producing ophthalmia, so that men "see not one another."

'We have described the sand-storm of an ordinary year, which seldom lasts more than a few hours. When the storm raged incessantly for three days, the amount of suffering, of disease, and death, amongst the aged, the weak, and the young of the subjects of Pharaoh, we are unable in any way to estimate. We speak from personal endurance when we say that for intense and universal misery the plague of darkness would surpass all that went before it; and that, as it was the last, so was it also the most fearful of the plagues which Jehovah inflicted on Egypt through the agency of the powers of nature.'

O. S.

THOUGHTS ON DATE OF THE APOCALYPSE,

AND THE TIME IT INDICATES FOR THE FIRST RESURRECTION.

THESE two points, though at first view not apparently connected, will yet be found to be very closely so, by the proofs to be adduced regarding them ; and therefore are they classed together as above, that as we proceed they may be mutually illustrated by such of our arguments as glance equally at both.

The time of the First Resurrection has not been made so much a question as that of the date of the Apocalypse, it being held to be less determinable than the latter ; and yet, if what shall be adduced relative to the latter hold good, that most momentous and interesting point will be found determined also, in reference, at least, to its exact place in the series of wonderful events that are to precede and follow it. Let us, then, treat first of the date of the Apocalypse, as introductory to and determinative of the other.

Since first reading Sir Isaac Newton's 'Observations upon the Apocalypse,' the question as to when it was written has always seemed to us unanswerably settled by that distinguished author ; anything we have seen (and we have seen very much) to the contrary displaying to us only either a captious spirit, a love of the distinction to be gained by disputation, or the desire to advance and fortify, by any means, a favourable theory of interpretation, with which the early production of the Apocalypse by John could not be brought to harmonise.

Had Sir Isaac exhausted the proofs adducible from Scripture on this subject, the question might have been allowed to stand as he dismissed it, without farther opening up on his side ; but as he has—no doubt inadvertently—passed over some of the very strongest proofs from this infallible source, it cannot but be interesting to point out and add these to his summary, and so render his argument still more conclusive than it already is. In order to do this properly, what Sir Isaac has brought forward on the subject must first be given ; and as these parts of his writings are now scarce, the quotation, though long, will not be deemed tedious, as it must appear to most readers in all the freshness of novelty, at the same time that the weight and soundness of the matter cannot but instruct and satisfy every truth-loving mind.

Irenæus, who flourished in the latter part of the second century, was the first who originated the theory of the very late origin of the Apocalypse. 'He,' says Sir Isaac Newton,

... 'introduced an opinion that the Apocalypse was written in the time of Domitian ; but then he also postponed the writing of some

others of the sacred books, and was to place the Apocalypse after them. He might, perhaps, have heard from his master Polycarp, that he had received this book from John about the time of Domitian's death; or indeed John might himself at that time have made a new publication of it, from whence Irenæus might imagine it was then but newly written. Eusebius, in his 'Chronicle' and 'Ecclesiastical History,' follows Irenæus; but afterwards, in his 'Evangelical Demonstrations,' he conjoins the banishment of John into Patmos with the deaths of Peter and Paul, and so do Tertullian and Pseudo-Prochorus, as well as the first author, whoever he was, of that very ancient fable, that John was put by Nero into a vessel of hot oil, and, coming out unhurt, was banished by him into Patmos. Though this story be no more than a fiction, yet was it founded on a tradition of the first churches, that John was banished into Patmos in the days of Nero. Epiphanius represents the Gospel of John as written in the time of Domitian, and the Apocalypse even before that of Nero. Arethas, in the beginning of his Commentary, quotes the opinion of Irenæus from Eusebius, but follows it not; for he afterwards affirms the Apocalypse was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, and that former commentators had expounded the sixth seal of that destruction.

'With the opinion of the first commentators agrees the tradition of the churches of Syria, preserved to this day in the title of the Syriac version of the Apocalypse, which title is this—"The Revelation which was made to John the Evangelist by God, in the island of Patmos, into which he was banished by Nero the Cæsar." The same is confirmed by a story told by Eusebius, out of Clemens Alexandrinus and other ancient authors, concerning a youth whom John, some time after his return from Patmos, committed to the care of the bishop of a certain city. The bishop educated, instructed, and at last baptized him; but then remitting of his care, the young man thereupon got into ill company, and began by degrees, first to revel and grow vicious, then to abuse and spoil those he met in the night, and at last grew so desperate, that his companions, turning a band of highwaymen, made him their captain; and, saith Chrysostom, he continued their captain a long time. At length John, returning to that city, and hearing what was done, rode to the thief; and when he, out of reverence to his old master, fled, John rode after him, recalled him, and restored him to the Church. This is a story of many years, and requires that John should have returned from Patmos rather at the death of Nero than at that of Domitian; because between the death of Domitian and that of John there were but two years and a half; and John, in his old age, was so infirm as to be carried to church, dying above ninety years old, and therefore could not be then supposed able to ride after the thief.

'This opinion is further supported by the allusions in the Apocalypse to the temple, and altar, and Holy City, as then standing; and to the Gentiles, who were soon after to tread under foot the Holy City and outward Court. 'Tis confirmed also by the style of the Apocalypse itself, which is fuller of Hebraisms than his Gospel. From thence it may be gathered that it was written when John was newly come out of

Judea, and that he did not write his Gospel till, by long converse with the Asiatic Greeks, he had left off most of the Hebraisms. It is confirmed also by the many false Apocalypses, as those of Peter, Paul, Thomas, Stephen, Elias, and Cerinthus, written in imitation of the true one. For as the many false Gospels, false Acts, and false Epistles, were occasioned by the true ones ; and the writing many false Apocalypses, and ascribing them to Apostles and Prophets, argues that there was a true Apostolic one, in great request with the first Christians,—so this true one may well be supposed to have been written early, that there may be room in the Apostolic age for the writing of so many false ones afterwards, and fastening them upon Peter, Paul, Thomas, and others, who were dead before John. Caius, who was contemporary with Tertullian, tells us that Cerinthus wrote his Revelations as a great Apostle, and pretended the visions were shown him by angels, asserting a millennium of carnal pleasures at Jerusalem after the Resurrection ; so that his Apocalypse was plainly written in imitation of John's ; and yet he lived so early, that he resisted the Apostles at Jerusalem in or before the first year of Claudius—that is, twenty-six years before the death of Nero—and died before John.

‘These reasons may suffice for determining the time ; and yet there is one more, which to considering men may seem a good reason, to others not. I'll propound it, and leave it to every man's judgment. The Apocalypse seems to be alluded to in the Epistles of Peter and that to the Hebrews, and therefore to have been written before them. Such allusions in the Epistle to the Hebrews I take to be the discourses concerning the high priest in the heavenly tabernacle, who is both priest and king, as was Melchizedec ; and those concerning the Word of God, with the sharp two-edged sword ; the *Sabbatismos*, or millennial rest ; the earth, whose end is to be burnt, suppose by the lake of fire ; the judgment and fiery indignation which shall devour the adversaries ; the heavenly city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God ; the cloud of witnesses ; Mount Sion ; Heavenly Jerusalem ; general assembly ; spirits of just men made perfect—namely, by the resurrection ; and the shaking of heaven and earth and removing them, that the new heaven, new earth, and new kingdom, which cannot be shaken, may remain. In the first of Peter occur these—“The Revelation of Jesus Christ,” twice or thrice repeated ; “the blood of Christ, as of a lamb foreordained before the foundation of the world ;” “the spiritual building in Heaven ;” “an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in Heaven for us, who are kept unto the salvation ready to be revealed in the last time ;” “the royal priesthood ;” “the holy priesthood ;” “the judgment beginning at the house of God ;” and “the Church at Babylon.” These are, indeed, obscurer allusions ; but the second Epistle, from the 19th verse of first chapter to the end, seems to be a continued commentary upon the Apocalypse. There, in writing to the churches in Asia, to whom John was commanded to send this prophecy, he tells them they “have a more sure word of prophecy,” to be heeded by them “as a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in

their hearts ; ” . . . and then, in the second, he proceeds to describe, out of this sure word of prophecy, how there should arise in the Church false prophets or false teachers, expressed collectively in the Apocalypse by the name of the false prophet, who should “ bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord who bought them,” which is the character of Antichrist : “ and many,” saith he, “ shall follow their lusts ; ” they that dwell on the earth shall be deceived by the false prophet, and be made drunk with the wine of the whore’s fornication, “ by reason of whom, the way of truth shall be blasphemed ; ” for the beast is full of blasphemy ; “ and through covetousness shall they, with feigned words, make merchandise of you ; ” for these are the merchants of the earth, who trade with the great whore, and their merchandise is all things of price, with the bodies and souls of men ; “ whose judgment lingereth not, and their damnation slumbereth not.” . . . “ These, as natural brute beasts,”—the ten-horned beast, and two-horned beast, or false prophet—“ made to be taken and destroyed,”—in the lake of fire,—“ blaspheme the things they understand not ; ” “ they count it pleasure to riot in the daytime, sporting themselves with their own deceivings while they feast with you, having eyes full of an adulteress ; ” for the kingdoms of the beast live deliciously with the great whore, and the nations are made drunk with the wine of her fornication. They “ are gone astray, following the way of Balaam, the son of Beor, who loved the wages of unrighteousness.” “ These are,” not fountains of living water, but “ wells without water ; ” not such clouds of saints as the two witnesses ascend in, but “ clouds that are carried with a tempest,” &c. Thus does the author of this Epistle spend all the second chapter in describing the qualities of the Apocalyptic beasts and false prophet ; and then, in the third, he goes on to describe their destruction more fully, and the future kingdom. He saith, that because the coming of Christ should be long deferred, they should scoff, saying, “ Where is the promise of his coming ? ” Then he describes the sudden coming of the day of the Lord upon them, “ as a thief in the night,” which is the Apocalyptic phrase ; and the millennium, or thousand years, which are with God but as a day ; the passing away of the old heavens and earth, by a conflagration in the lake of fire ; and our looking “ for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.”

‘ Seeing, therefore, Peter and John were Apostles of the circumcision, it seems to me that they stayed with their churches in Judea and Syria till the Romans made war upon their nation—that is, till the twelfth year of Nero ; that they then followed the main body of their flying churches into Asia, and that Peter went thence by Corinth to Rome ; that the Roman Empire looked upon those churches as enemies, because Jews by birth ; and therefore, to prevent insurrection, secured their leaders, and banished John into Patmos. It seems also probable to me that the Apocalypse was there composed ; and that, soon after, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and those of Peter, were written to those Churches with reference to this prophecy, as what they were particularly concerned in. For it appears by these Epistles that they were written in times of general affliction and tribulation under the heathen,

and, by consequence, when the Empire made war upon the Jews ; for till then the heathen were at peace with the Christian Jews, as well as with the rest. The Epistle to the Hebrews, since it mentions Timothy as related to those Hebrews, must be written to them after their flight into Asia, where Timothy was bishop ; and, by consequence, after the war began, the Hebrews in Judea being strangers to Timothy. Peter seems also to call Rome Babylon, as well with respect to the war made upon Judea, and the approaching captivity, like that under old Babylon, as with respect to that name in the Apocalypse ; and in writing " to the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia," he seems to intimate that they were the strangers newly scattered by the Roman wars ; for those were the only strangers there belonging to his care.

'This account of things agrees best with history when duly rectified ; for Justin and Irenæus say that Simon Magus came to Rome in the reign of Claudius, and exercised juggling tricks there. Pseudo-Clemens adds, that he endeavoured there to fly, but broke his neck through the prayers of Peter. Whence Eusebius, or rather his interpolator Jerome, has recorded that Peter came to Rome in the second year of Claudius ; but Cyril Bishop of Jerusalem, Philastrius, Sulpitius, Prosper, Maximus Taurinensis, and Hegesippus junior, place this victory of Peter in the time of Nero. Indeed, the ancients tradition was, that Peter came to Rome in the days of this Emperor, as may be seen in Lactantius. Chrysostom tells us that the Apostles continued long in Judea, and that then, being driven out by the Jews, they went unto the Gentiles. This dispersion was in the first year of the Jewish war, when the Jews, as Josephus tells us, began to be tumultuous and violent in all places ; for all agree that the Apostles were dispersed into several regions at once, and Origen has set down the time, telling us that, in the beginning of the Judaic war, the disciples and Apostles of our Lord were scattered into all nations—Thomas into Parthia, Andrew into Scythia, John into Asia, and Peter first into Asia, where he preached to the dispersion, and thence into Italy. Dionysius Corinthius saith that Peter went from Asia by Corinth to Rome ; and all antiquity agrees that Peter and Paul were martyred there, in the end of Nero's reign. Mark went with Timothy to Rome (2 Tim. iv. 11 ; Colos. iv. 10). Sylvanus was Paul's assistant ; and by the companions of Peter, mentioned in his first Epistle, we may know that he wrote from Rome ; and the ancients generally agree that in this Epistle he understood Rome by Babylon. His second Epistle was writ to the same dispersed strangers with the first (2 Pet. iii. 1) ; and therein he saith that Paul had writ of the same things to them, and also in his other Epistles (ver. 15, 16). Now, as there is no Epistle of Paul to these strangers besides that to the Hebrews, so in this Epistle (chap. x. 11, 12) we find at large all those things which Peter had been speaking of, and here refers to, particularly the passing away of the old heavens and earth, and establishing an inheritance immoveable, with an exhortation to grace, because God, to the wicked, is a consuming fire (Heb. xii. 25, 26, 28, 29).'

The historical proofs mentioned in the first part of the above extract are very strong; and as there is nothing of an equally direct nature that can be set against them from contemporary sources, it is surprising that the question they so evidently decide should have come to be debated in after times; but the secret of this is, that the authenticity of the Apocalypse itself came then also to be questioned, as the Church lapsed into that shameful state which the Apocalypse describes, and consequently desired to disparage the mirror which so clearly identified her thus to herself and the world. And then, when the Apocalypse came to be again generally recognised as true, that part of the inventions concerning it, which represented it as written so near the close of John's life, was retained and advocated, as tending, in the opinion of those who did so, to invalidate the theory of such as applied the most of it to the passing away of the Jewish polity, and old pagan state of the Roman empire. These two systems of interpretation prevail and contend with each other to this day. But the number of those who think them both alike wrong is now on the increase—the true date of the Apocalypse, as indicated by Sir Isaac Newton, being of late again asserted by many distinguished writers; and it is to cast our mite into their treasury of proofs that we bring forward what has occurred to us on the subject.

At the very outset we would remark the exceedingly striking series of internal evidences which Sir Isaac Newton has pointed out in the two Epistles of Peter and in that to the Hebrews, as evincing a reference to the Apocalypse, and consequently its existence before their letters. The second Epistle of Peter especially abounds in these; and may not this be the reason why this very second Epistle was, and yet is, impugned by the impugnors of the Apocalypse, because they saw, and yet see, in it such evident proof of what they have all along laboured to set aside? This suspicious hostility furnishes an incidental proof of no mean value in favour of the Apocalyptic references of the second of Peter; while the difference of Paul's style in the Hebrews from that in his other Epistles is satisfactorily accounted for only on the like ground, of the Apocalypse being referentially before him while composing it, as it was before Peter while writing to the same dispersion. But Peter seems to put the case beyond all doubt, when, in chapter 1st of this second Epistle, verse 16th to the end, he grounds his own authority and that of the other Apostles, to speak as he and they did of 'the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ,' by stating that they were eye-witnesses of his majesty, he, James, and John, having seen him in this majesty when transfigured on Tabor, and Paul when on the way

to Damascus ; while, in the more full revelation made to John in Patmos, and now before them all, they could all, with open face, as in a glass, behold the same glorious majesty, and thus be assured that they followed no cunningly-devised fables in making this foreshown power and coming of our Lord known to the believers, then dispersed and suffering under the brutish worldly powers that were to trample all things under foot until the Lord should realise his so foreshown glorious coming. And hence, to enforce his argument of no cunningly-devised fables being set before the believers on this subject, he says, in reference to James, John, and himself having seen the Lord on the Mount, in the glory in which he shall again come, 'We have also a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts.' Here Peter contrasts John's prophetic vision in Patmos with that which John, James, and he enjoyed on Tabor, and calls the Patmos vision the surer of the two, because in Patmos a full prophetic exposition was given, while on Tabor the Apostles heard only the 'voice from the excellent glory,' witnessing to the Lord's identity, and Moses and Elias conversing with him about 'his decease, which he should accomplish at Jerusalem;' so that 'his power and coming' shown to them on this occasion had not the pointed reference to another future advent and its circumstances, which the vision in Patmos expressly and articulately had, whereby Peter and the other Apostles found a light shed back upon their own previous experiences, which enabled them to explain and apply those experiences more discriminately than before.

This is a point of great moment ; for Peter is not here alluding to the prophecies of the Old Testament, and calling them the 'more sure word of prophecy' he mentions. No ; for in his first Epistle, chapter 1st, he speaks of those Old Testament prophecies in a very different strain, thus,—'Of which salvation the prophets have inquired and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace unto you. Searching what, or what manner of time, the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ and the glory that should follow. Unto whom it was revealed that not unto themselves, but unto us, they did minister the things which are now reported unto you by them that have preached the Gospel unto you with the Holy Spirit sent down from heaven, which things the angels desire to look into' (verses 10, 11, 12). Here Peter speaks of those Old Testament prophecies being dark concerning the Resurrection, Ascension, intermediate call of the Gentiles, and second glorious advent of our Lord, not only to the prophets themselves,

but even to the angels; exactly as St. Paul also speaks of the same subjects, calling them 'the mystery which was kept secret since the age began' (Rom. xvi. 25); so that it is not them, whose words were several, that Peter refers to in the passage already quoted from his second Epistle, but it is John, whose word in his Apocalypse is one, and shines as a light on those great subjects in the place yet dark so far as depends on any articulate understanding of the Old Testament prophets.

Mark, too, in what keeping with the language of the Apocalypse St. Peter speaks. In Apoc. i. 3, it is said, 'Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear, the words of this prophecy;' and Peter, as already seen, in calling it the 'more sure word of prophecy,' says, 'whereunto ye do well that ye take heed,' almost repeating the Apocalyptic recommendation. Again, the Lord, in the Apocalypse, calls himself, chap. xxii. 16, 'the bright and morning star;' and in chap. ii. 28, promises to give the morning star to such as overcome in the Church in Thyatira; while Peter, recommending the 'more sure word of prophecy,' as above, approves of the believers giving heed to it, 'until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts,'—in other words, until Christ, the true light, be so fully formed in them as to reveal these things fully in their own spirits. Such plain references and imitative analogies can be accounted for only on the ground of Peter being familiar with John's Apocalypse, and welcoming it as a great light and solace to the Church, vouchsafed at the moment of her first general dispersion and persecution on account of the Jewish war.

The Epistle of James strongly confirms this. It is addressed 'to the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad,' and is meant as an encouragement to them under the trials and temptations to which they were then peculiarly exposed. And one source of the encouragement he would have them to derive is the belief that he who watches over them for good is 'without variableness or shadow of turning;' whence he goes on to say, chap. i. 18, 'Of his own will begat he us with the word of truth, that we should be a kind of first-fruits of his creatures.' Now, when we read in the Apocalypse, chap. xiv. 4, of the sealed from among the twelve tribes being styled 'the first-fruits unto God and to the Lamb,' it is difficult not to believe that James is here pursuing the very same strain as Peter, in pointing the disciples to the hopes set before them in the Apocalypse of the yet glorious return of their Lord, and their then resurrection and reign with him.

In chap. iv. 4, he speaks of 'adulterers and adulteresses' in exactly the same sense as the Apocalypse; and in chap. v. 7-9, he warns the brethren to have 'patience' until 'the coming of the

Lord,'—that very virtue so strongly called for and recommended in different parts of the Apocalypse ; 'for,' says he, 'the coming of the Lord draweth nigh ;' 'behold, the Judge standeth before the door.' This last sentence is almost verbatim that spoken by the Lord in the Apocalypse, 'Behold, I stand at the door and knock ;' and these expressions are too analogous and studiously allusive to be explained in any other way than those of Peter, and of Paul in the Hebrews, as instanced by Sir Isaac Newton.

But we come now to the strongest point of all, and which it is surprising that Sir Isaac Newton should have overlooked—that, namely, which results from the combination of 1 Cor. xv. 51, 52, and 1 Thess. iv. 16, 17, with Rev. xi. 11, 12, where the second coming of the Lord in the air, and the first resurrection, are so clearly pointed out in all the three passages, and with such similarity of detail, as to make it self-evident that Paul knew and referred to the Apocalypse when writing to the Corinthians and Thessalonians. In the Apocalypse, chap. xi. verses 11 to 15, we are told that, after the slain witnesses had lain three days and a half unburied, and insulted over by their enemies, 'the spirit of life from God entered into them, and they stood upon their feet ; and great fear fell upon them who saw them. And they heard a great voice from heaven, saying unto them, Come up hither ! And they ascended up to heaven in a cloud, and their enemies beheld them. And the same hour was there a great earthquake, and the tenth part of the city fell, and in the earthquake were slain of men seven thousand : and the remnant were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of heaven. The second woe is past : Behold, the third woe cometh quickly ! *And the seventh angel sounded,*' &c. Six other angels had each of them sounded a 'trump of God' previous to this, introductory of judgments calculated to make way for the catastrophe of the seventh ; precisely as the Lord himself says, in Matt. xxiv. 29-31, to the effect that at that time 'the powers of the heavens shall be shaken ;' that 'then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven ;' 'and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory. And he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other.'

Now, but for the more detailed information given in the Apocalypse, it might be understood, from these words of our Lord in Matthew, that there would be but *one* trumpet sounded in connection with his second coming ; but the Apocalypse tells us there will be *six* others previous to the one more especially referred to by our Lord. It was from the Apocalypse, therefore, that Paul knew this fact—*which is revealed nowhere else in Scripture*—and

on its authority calls the seventh trumpet 'the last,' making the first resurrection cotemporary with its sounding, as the Lord also does in Matthew, where, as quoted above, he says his angels then 'gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other.' The language of Paul to the Corinthians, at the place already indicated, is as follows:—'Behold, I show you a mystery: we shall not all sleep; but we shall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump: for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed.'

And to the Thessalonians, where also already indicated, he says,—'For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and the trump of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first. Then we who are alive, remaining, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord.'

Now compare these two passages from St. Paul with that from the Apocalypse describing the resurrection of the two witnesses, and it will be seen that they relate to the very same time and event, and consequently fix also the moment of the first resurrection; because it is of the first resurrection that St. Paul is expressly treating, and he identifies it with the resurrection of the two witnesses by so many circumstantial details as to render dubiety on the subject wholly inexcusable.

'The Lord,' says St. Paul, 'shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and the trump of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first.' And the Apocalypse says of the witnesses dead in Christ, 'They heard a great voice from heaven, saying, Come up hither! And they ascended up to heaven in a cloud,' &c.; the Lord having now come in the clouds; the 'great voice' being that of 'the archangel,' and the 'shout' that of our Lord; a shout that shall make the whole frame of creation quiver, and death render up every one asleep in Him, from righteous Abel down to that moment—all these holy sleepers being to precede those who are alive to Christ and yet in the flesh, as St. Paul expressly tells us, and as the Apocalypse goes on to describe; for, immediately on the resurrection and ascent of the witnesses, it narrates the sounding of the seventh, or last trumpet, at which, as St. Paul says, the instantaneous change and ascent of Christ's remaining members on earth also take place.

This identity of view and of language between St. Paul and the Apocalypse on these great points can be satisfactorily accounted for on no hypothesis but that which all the other foregoing proofs of themselves demonstrate to be the true one. The Church at

first walked in the joy-inspiring light of all these mutually connected, mutually supporting, and mutually illustrating truths, before they were divorced from and set in mystifying opposition to each other, by the captious subtleties of blind worldly learning; and how this light would flow in upon the Church again, would she but faithfully reduce all such kind of learning to its proper Gibeonite place, and betake herself in simplicity to the only true Fount of Divine learning, given her at Pentecost, to be with her to the end—the holy, uniting, uncontentious Spirit of Christ!

B. W.



NOTICES OF BOOKS.

An Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament; with Remarks on its Revision upon Critical Principles: together with a Collation of the Critical Texts of Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, and Tischendorf, with that in Common Use. By S. PRIDEAUX TREGELLES, LL.D. London: Bagsters, 1854. 8vo. Pp. 390.

THIS is by far the most important volume on the criticism of the New Testament that has for some time issued from the British press. By taking a single subject from the extensive sphere to which it belongs, Dr. Tregelles has been able to give it a more thorough consideration than it could otherwise have. The mass of reliable information which he has furnished will make this a text-book for the student, saving him the trouble of searching in many separate volumes. This alone would give the work a strong claim on our attention, for synopses of all that has been written in any one department of knowledge become more valuable as books are more and more multiplied. The enthusiastic attention which has been given for many years by the author to the state of the text of the Greek Testament, and to Biblical criticism generally, give great authority to his opinions, and claim for them respect and attention.

It has often been the case that Biblical critics have entertained lax opinions on inspiration, or other fundamental points of theology; and thus, however sound their principles might be in their department of study, their conclusions have been suspected and undervalued. Dr. Tregelles is peculiarly fitted to gain a hearing, because of his sound, and as some may think, almost extreme views of the Divine character of the sacred record. The pains taken by him to expose and counteract what he conceived to be the neologisms of Gesenius, in his valuable translation of the Hebrew Lexicon of that great scholar, are a sufficient guarantee that none of his critical doctrines can lead to irreverent treatment of the text of the Bible. We consider this peculiarity in our author's position as of immense advantage to the interests of Biblical science. With a love for the *old paths* of our holy faith, he combines a logical perception of all the accidents to which the records of revelation have been subjected for centuries, and, we think, adopts the best principles for the nearest possible approach to their restoration to their pristine integrity.

The theory adopted by Dr. Tregelles, and shared with him by the most eminent scholars, is, that the critic should look for the *oldest* authorities, or, to use his own words,—

‘to use those documents which are *in themselves* ancient, or which, as a demonstrated fact, contain *ancient* readings; and thus to give a text which was current at least in the fourth century of our era. On the one side there are the mass of

MSs. written from the eighth century to the sixteenth; on the other side there are a few MSs. of great antiquity, together with a few of later date; and these are supported by the ancient versions in general, and by the citations of ecclesiastical writers. To those who delight in numerical display, the more ancient witnesses may seem to be a meagre array, and they speak of them as such, pointing with a kind of triumph to their own more ample list; but numbers do not always insure victory, as was learned by Xerxes and Darius Codomannus; much less is that the case in questions of *truth* and *fact* than in contentions of martial power; and here the real question is not what was read most generally in the sixteenth century, when the Greek Testament was first printed, but what was read commonly and widely in the earliest period to which we can recur.—p. 174.

We hope to attend to this subject shortly at greater length, but we felt it our duty to introduce this volume to our readers at the earliest opportunity.

The Inspiration of Holy Scripture: its Nature and Proof. Eight Discourses preached before the University of Dublin. By WILLIAM LEE, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College. London: Rivingtons, 1854. 8vo. Pp. 564.

WE do not believe that we at all exaggerate when we say that Mr. Lee has produced a volume of immense value at the present day, and we hail it as a sign of the existence of that solid learning which is too apt to be displaced by the flimsy theories of these times. We make this statement apart from our estimate of the exact views entertained by the author, from some of which we are disposed to dissent. What we mean is, that the writer has approached his task with a well-furnished mind, and discharged it in a scholarlike, careful, and earnest manner. One cannot open a page without feeling this. No sources of information, ancient or modern, have been neglected; and the result is a treatise which, unless we are greatly mistaken, will be long before it is superseded.

The following extracts from Mr. Lee's Preface will show the character of the views which his volume is intended to elucidate and unfold :—

'So long as the "mechanical" theory of inspiration was generally maintained, there was no want of distinctness or consistency in the views put forward. So long as it was believed that each word and phrase to be found in the Bible—nay, even the order and grammatical connection of such words and phrases—had been infused by the Holy Ghost into the minds of the sacred writers, or dictated to them by His immediate suggestion, so long must the opinions held respecting inspiration have been clear, intelligible, and accurately defined; but such a theory could not stand the test of close examination. The strongest evidence against it has been supplied by the Bible itself; and each additional discovery in the criticism of the Greek or Hebrew text confirms anew the conclusion that the great doctrine of the infallibility of Holy Scripture can no longer rely upon such a principle for its defence. The "mechanical theory" having been tacitly abandoned—at least by all who are capable of appreciating the results of criticism—and no system altogether satisfactory having been proposed in its stead, there has gradually sprung up a want of definiteness and an absence of consistency in the language used when speaking of inspiration, owing to which those who are most sincere in maintaining the Divine character of the Bible have not unfrequently been betrayed into concessions fatal to its supreme authority.

'With reference to the *nature* of inspiration itself, and to the possibility of reconciling the unquestionable stamp of humanity impressed upon every page of the

Bible with that undoubting belief in its perfection and infallibility which is the Christian's most precious inheritance, it may safely be maintained that in English theology almost nothing has been done, and that no effort has hitherto been made to grapple directly with the difficulties of the subject. . . . There is one principle too which forms a chief element of the theory proposed in the following "Discourses"—I mean the distinction between revelation and inspiration—that has never, to my knowledge, been consistently applied to the contents of Holy Scripture, even by those writers who insist upon its importance. At all events, the principle has never hitherto been made use of to the extent of which it is obviously capable.

There are two English treatises on the subject of inspiration to which constant allusions will be found in the following pages: Mr. Coleridge's "Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit," and Mr. Morell's "Philosophy of Religion." . . . It is not going too far to say that, of the many brilliant compositions with which he has enriched our literature, these "Letters" are the least worthy of Mr. Coleridge's genius; and that their subject (inspiration) was one upon which the extent of his information did not entitle him to pronounce an opinion. The other treatise, to which I have in like manner devoted considerable attention, is that of Mr. Morell, in which he professedly undertakes to recommend to English readers the theology of Schleiermacher. No stronger proof can be given of the unsettled state of opinion respecting inspiration, prevalent even with well-informed persons, than the manner in which the observations of Mr. Morell have been accepted by Dr. Peile. Dr. Peile, in his "Annotations on the Apostolical Epistles," when giving at length the passage of which I have cited a portion in Lecture I., introduces the quotation with the remark, "To borrow the words of Mr. Morell, who in his 'Philosophy of Religion' has devoted two invaluable chapters to the elucidation of this deeply interesting subject." The extent to which the system of Schleiermacher strikes at the root of all objective Christianity I have endeavoured to exhibit in the following pages. I trust, however, that while noticing Mr. Morell's adoption of Schleiermacher's views respecting Scripture, I have not expressed myself so as to appear insensible to the merits possessed by other portions of his remarks on the "Philosophy of Religion."

The field thus defined is one capable of bearing very rich fruit, and under Mr. Lee's treatment will not disappoint the reader. We must notice, *per contra*, a tendency to *à priori* reasoning, from which so few writers on theology are free, but which, as far as it prevails, has a powerful tendency to weaken their most valid arguments with readers of a sceptical turn, the very class for whose benefit such books as this should be especially adapted. We give, as an example of our meaning, a passage from the sixth lecture, on 'Scriptural Proof':—

'Without such supernatural guidance, it is inexplicable, considering the contents of the Bible, that just so much should have been placed on record, and no more. Were we to admit that any portion of Scripture has resulted from the unaided exercise of human judgment or of human faculties, it would always be possible to argue that the historian has omitted much information which it concerns us to know, or that he has preserved many facts that are trivial or unnecessary; that he has but partially or imperfectly handed down the communication from heaven; that such or such a fact has not been reported with accuracy; or, in fine, that some particular expression or doctrine has not been conveyed to us as God intended, especially in cases where the subject-matter of the narrative appears strange, or opposed to human preconceptions.'—p. 251.

We confess that all this is very unsatisfactory to us, for what we wish to discover is not what degree of inspiration Holy Scripture *ought* to have, but what it *has*. We will suppose, for instance, that the contents of the Old Testament had been merely trustworthy, relating facts and expressing doctrines or precepts honestly, and no more; and that

yet our Lord had given them his sanction, and avowed them to be intended by Divine Providence to bless mankind: in that case, what would become of those presumptions which Mr. Lee thinks of such importance? We think he has, in the quoted passage, been forgetful of the true inductive method alluded to in an extract from Bishop Butler made by him in the next page:—

‘We are in no sort judges by what methods, and in what proportion, it were to be expected that this supernatural light and instruction would be afforded us; . . . nay, we are not in any sort able to judge whether it were to have been expected that the revelation should have been committed to writing, or left to be handed down, and consequently corrupted, by verbal tradition. It may be said “that a revelation . . . which was not committed to writing would not have answered its purpose.” I ask, what purpose? It would not have answered all the purposes which it has now answered, and in the same degree; but it would have answered others, or the same in different degrees.’

The Messiah, as predicted in the Pentateuch and Psalms; being a New Translation and Critical Exposition of these Ancient Oracles.

By J. R. WOLFE, Author of the ‘Practical Hebrew Grammar.’

London and Glasgow: Griffin, 1855. 8vo. Pp. lxxxiv. 156.

THIS is only a contribution to a work contemplating a similar treatment of all the Messianic passages of the Old Testament. The author has before been favourably introduced to the readers of the ‘Journal’ as the author of a Hebrew Grammar,* and the present volume still further proves him to be well skilled in that language. It considers *seriatim* all the classic passages of the Pentateuch and Psalms which regard the Messiah. They are discussed with much pious feeling, and illustrated with a copious apparatus, philological and exegetical. The renderings of the versions and the expositions of the Hebrew commentators are given, and nothing is omitted which can enable the reader to form an independent judgment.

If we say that we think some of the arguments overstrained, we only impute to the author what we have on another occasion attributed to Hengstenberg in his “Christology.” There is a tendency in the human mind to exaggerate proofs of any favourite hypothesis, which should be sedulously guarded against, especially in Biblical science and theology; but we will extract a case in point, and leave our readers to decide for themselves. It is part of Mr. Wolfe’s treatment of the second Psalm:—

‘Not less striking is the appellation used by Jehovah, “Thou art my Son;” which appellation, although separately considered it will not prove much in favour of the Messianic interpretation, as the same predicate is used of Israel, and of the antediluvian Church, also of the leader of the theocracy as well as of heathen rulers, is yet of the utmost significance when considered in connection with the following parallel, “I have this day begotten thee,” and with the exhortation, “Kiss the Son.”

‘We rest our argument, therefore, that the Messiah, the Son of God alone, is here understood by the term *Son*, upon the *emphatic repetition* of the appellation.

‘This evidence we think impregnable, even by Hoffman’s objection, viz. “Why not take the same predicates in Deut. xxxii. 18, and in Jer. ii. 27, in the same

* Vol. vi. p. 473.

sense?" for the instances referred to bear no analogy to the Psalm in question. In Deut. xxxii. 18,—

"Of the rock that begat thee thou art unmindful,
And hast forgotten God that formed thee,"—

the language is unmistakably figurative. *Begat* is explained by the synonymous parallel *formed thee*. In Jer. ii. 27, the prophet reproves the Jewish nation for their idolatrous practices:—

"They say to a stock, Thou art my father,
And to a stone, Thou hast begotten me."

Who can mistake its meaning, that the prophet represents them as invoking the idol as if it were their *father*, i. e. their Creator?

'Far otherwise is it here, where the phrase *Thou art my Son* is explained by the parallel, *This day have I begotten thee*; and again, *Kiss the Son, &c.*, by which the Holy Ghost emphatically intimates that the Son of God, κατ'εἶκόη, is here understood."

'For the question, whether a phrase is to be taken in a literal or a figurative sense, must be decided by the connection in which the phrase occurs. Now, so far as language can make a thing plain, it speaks in favour of our version; for we cannot think of any case more strongly favoured by the connection than the word under consideration. The Sonship of Messiah is so emphatically stated and reiterated, as if to guard against such expositions as advanced by neologian writers. To have added to the emphasis would have degenerated it into tautology.'—pp. 58–59.

The introduction of eighty-four pages is occupied with observations on Hebrew poetry, the double sense of prophecy, and other kindred matters, into which we cannot now enter. We recommend the work as one deserving the support of all who wish well to an evangelical interpretation of the Old Testament.

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1. *Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount; in which it is attempted to unfold and present our Lord's Delineation and Enforcement of Personal Righteousness in that Discourse.* By the Rev. WILLIAM M'INTYRE, A.M., Maitland, New South Wales. Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter, 1854. 12mo. Pp. 292.
 2. *An Exposition of Chapter Seventh of Paul's Epistle to the Romans.* By ALEXANDER M'KIDD. Ib. 12mo. Pp. 488.
 3. *Miscellaneous Discourses and Expositions of Scripture.* By GEO. PAXTON YOUNG, A.M., one of the Professors of Theology in Knox's College, Toronto, Canada West. Ib. 12mo. Pp. 350.

It tells well for the taste of the religious part of the community that Messrs. Johnstone and Hunter are able to issue these three works at one time, treating as they do on some of the abstruse parts of revelation, and in a style by no means less weighty than the subjects deserve. Two of them are transatlantic performances, the other is produced in the Scottish metropolis, and all are, we presume, the growth of the Presbyterian Church. We may say in general that they are highly creditable to all parties concerned, and form valuable additions to our practical religious literature.

The 'Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount' is distinguished by great originality of treatment. In a few words the author conveys a clear conception of the plan he attempts to follow out.

'In the Sermon on the Mount our Lord presents a singularly comprehensive and profound though brief view of personal righteousness, setting forth its distinctive character, the necessity of it, and the blessedness attached to it; and in the following pages it is attempted, in a series of chapters, to unfold and exhibit his teaching on this fundamental subject. If this attempt has been at all successful, the object to which it is directed must reflect some value upon the result.

'In the detailed interpretation of the text, entire confidence has been placed in the language subjected to that process; and the course has been accordingly pursued of simply marking and estimating its own announcement of its meaning, without offering, on the one hand, officious exegetical aid, or even resorting, on the other, to exegetical emendation or criticism. The language, however, has been regarded as deriving its significancy not wholly from the words employed, but also, and in some cases to a very great extent, from the scope and connection. A due regard to modifying circumstances—whether more general and implied in the scope, or more particular and immediate and implied in the connection—and a just appreciation of their influence, are in no case more necessary than in the Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount; and they are at the same time sufficient to dissipate almost all the difficulty with which the exposition of it is attended.

'The most careful investigation has led to the conviction that structural parallelism, which unquestionably obtains to a very great extent in the Scriptures generally, obtains also in the portion of them which is under treatment in the following pages; and it is hoped that the recognition of this fact will be found to have contributed not inconsiderably to the definite and satisfactory development of the connection.'

Mr. Kidd's book contains eleven discourses, and goes no farther than the ninth verse of the chapter which it professes to expound. It is earnest and pious, reminding the reader of those rich old divines for which England is celebrated. He treats the experience detailed in this celebrated chapter as that of the Apostle in his converted state, and as essentially that of every Christian man. He displays an intimate knowledge of the heart, its temptations and dangers; and his delineations of the experience of a good man when contending with *the law of sin* cannot be read without profit. This is a sound, good book.

The last on our list is the most original of the three, and has all those qualities we hope to find in the production of a professor of Theology. At the end of the volume there is 'A Running Exposition of the Book of Habakkuk,' which, without the outward show of learning, gives its results, and comes up to our idea of what an English comment should be. The sermons are lively compositions. The first is entitled 'The Peacemaker,' and may be read with great advantage in the present belligerent state of the public mind. We will give a portion of the exordium:—

'What a happy world this would be if peace universally prevailed among its inhabitants!—if no battle-field ever presented its ghastly spectacles of blood and death!—if no quarrels ever disturbed our streets!—if no jealousies and antipathies ever existed among neighbours!—if in no home, of all the millions of the homes of men, feuds or alienations were ever known!—if scenes of acrimonious dispute never occurred between husbands and wives!—if brothers and sisters were never at mutual variance!—if the hearts of the fathers were never turned from their children, nor the hearts of children from their fathers!—if no hand were ever raised to smite!—if the scowl of hate were never witnessed upon a human countenance, the language of angry passion never heard from a human tongue, the thought of malignity or revenge never harboured in a human breast! Shall such a state of things ever be realized? and, if so, by what means? To the former

inquiry we answer—yes; to the latter—by the diffusion of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. Those who have no faith in the word of God count this an Utopian dream. Their philosophy recognises no cause adequate to the production of so mighty an effect. They can understand how the advance of civilization and the increase of knowledge among all classes of persons may improve human character, so as utterly to abolish such enormities as formal wars between nations, and also greatly to lessen the contention that prevails in private life. But beyond this they are unable to go. A time when all forms and degrees of discord shall be unknown cannot, in their estimation, be soberly expected. But the Christian feels warranted to judge differently.

The Acts of the Apostles; or, The History of the Apostolic Age.

By M. BAUMGARTEN, D.D., Ph. D., and Professor in the University of Rostock. Translated from the German by the Rev. A. J. W. MORRISON, Curate of Little Wittenham, Berks; Translator of Ritter's 'History of Philosophy,' Guericke's 'Manual of Ecclesiastical History,' &c. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1854. 3 vols. 8vo. Pp. 1300. The last translated by the Rev. Theod. Meyer, Hebrew Tutor in the New College, Edinburgh.

THESE volumes form the second, third, and fourth of the new series of Clark's Foreign Theological Library, to which they are a very valuable addition. In the absence of any introductory matter, we may state that Dr. Baumgarten is a living author, a pupil of Hengstenberg, and one of the expelled pastors of Holstein. He has begun a commentary on the Old Testament, but his literary fame at present rests on the work before us. We have lately noticed the valuable production of Schaff on the Apostolic Age, which, in many respects, is similar in design to this; and we consider it a proof of a living religious spirit in Germany that so important a part of the New Testament should in so short a time receive such a skilful and reverential treatment. While Schaff considers the Acts of the Apostles in association with the Epistles, Baumgarten confines his view more to the book itself, and subjects it to a consecutive and uninterrupted exegesis. His object is so lucidly stated in some prefatory observations, that we cannot do better than present them to our readers.

'The complaint which was made of old by S. Chrysostom of the neglect of the "Acts of the Apostles" has not only held good down to our own days, but there never was perhaps so much ground for it as at present. At no time, it is true, has either interest or attention been wanting for certain details of this book; and in this respect our own age has done its part, especially as regards the investigation of its chronology. . . . But the most obvious testimony to this neglect is the confession which the theological science of our own times has made with respect to the Acts of the Apostles, of which it avows its inability to point out the plan and the object. . . . This admission, which in very recent times, has been made in so many different quarters, may serve as a proof that a perception of the internal unity of this history has never yet been vouchsafed to theological science, and that it has been reserved to modern times to become sensible of this need. True it is that this confession is not accompanied with a distinct consciousness of a want; Schleiermacher even holds it to be perfectly consistent in an historical book to be devoid of an object. As soon, however, as it is once admitted that the only purpose that we can rationally demand or look for in the Acts of the Apostles can be no other than the oneness of that spiritual impulse which at first moved its author to write, and, while writing, accompanied him throughout his task, we

shall be forced to admit that it is beneath the dignity of a canonical book to be without a purpose. This we must admit, unless we are willing to grant that that Holy Spirit, to whose operation, however, we must ascribe the canonical books, is in no case a spirit, but something else. In this confession, therefore, we have every reason to see a sign that the old fault of neglecting these its sacred *origines* is at last acknowledged, and is in the way to be ultimately repaired by the Church. . . .

'The needs of the Church, therefore, no less than the canonical character of the Acts of the Apostles, demand that this book of sacred history should be rescued from the fragmentary handling which it has hitherto been exposed to. To prepare the way for the accomplishment of this task which has been laid upon Theology, and which it cannot decline, will be the attempt of the present work. It will keep in view the chief points of this problem; for, assuming the strict historical character of the narratives from the beginning to the end of the Acts of the Apostles, it undertakes to point out a unity of connection between all its parts. And these are the results of our labours. The Acts of the Apostles embrace that portion of the history of the Church which contains the canonical beginnings whose ecclesiastical continuations and developments are proceeding even in our own days. And the history brings these canonical principles in so authentic a manner before us, that not only may their inward course be distinctly traced, but also their normal value for all relations and conditions of the Church which are comprised within that period may with certainty be inferred.'

This intention is as philosophic as it is Christian, and, as far as we are able to judge, it is carried out in a masterly manner.

Elements of Divine Truth: a Series of Lectures on Christian Theology to Sabbath-school Teachers. By the late ANDREW SYMINGTON, D.D., Professor of Theology to the Reformed Presbyterian Church. Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter, 1854. Small 8vo. Pp. 540.

A MOST important subject, or rather series of subjects, is here treated in a manner to recommend it to a very interesting class of the religious community. The work is elementary, and yet gives the student a proper idea of the extent and fertility of the field to be explored, should his position in life allow of its further investigation. We cannot but deeply feel the immense advantages possessed by young persons of the present day over those given to their fathers, in the multiplication of books so well adapted to refine the intellect while they watch over the heart. May this increased advantage be felt to confer a responsibility which shall lead to its beneficial use!

The Monumental History of Egypt, as recorded in her Temples, Palaces, and Tombs. By WILLIAM OSBURN, R.S.L., Author of 'The Antiquities of Egypt,' 'Ancient Egypt, her Testimony to the Truth,' &c. Vol. I. From the first Colonization of the Valley to the Visit of the Patriarch Abraham. Vol. II. From the Visit of Abraham to the Exodus. London: Trübner and Co., 1854. 8vo. Pp. 1124.

THE advertisement which preceded the publication of this work stated that 'the number of hieroglyphics and other illustrations amounts to

upwards of 1200, not one of which has been copied from any existing English work, many being taken from sketches by the author's own hand; whilst assistance has also been sought from very elaborate and costly works issued by the governments of France, Italy, and Germany, and which are almost unknown in England. The engravers employed have been engaged in the highest walks of art, and are the same as were occupied in the illustration of "Layard's Nineveh," "The Abbotsford Edition of the Waverley Novels," and "Murray's Illuminated Book of Common Prayer." Great expense has been incurred in producing this admirable work in a style worthy of the contents. It is printed with all the care which the nature of the book requires, and with every attention to artistic elegance and typographical beauty. The promise thus given has been fully kept in the execution of these truly beautiful volumes. In every way they do credit to all the parties concerned in their production, and for external attractions will be *the books* of the season. They are printed at Bath, by Messrs. Binns and Godwin, and well sustain the character for typographical elegance which they have already acquired.

If we come to the contents of the volumes, we may safely affirm that they are worthy the casket in which they are enshrined. There are some recondite questions agitated between the learned in Egyptian lore, which may be open to discussion and cavil, and in some literary organs Mr. Osburn has already been criticized somewhat severely. But into these matters we shall not now enter, feeling it to be ungracious to forget confessed excellences to fasten upon those defects from which nothing human is entirely free. We have read the volumes with deep and sustained interest, and have been edified by the information they contain, and charmed by the vivid descriptions of the author. He is enthusiastically attached to his subject, and, having neglected no existing means of understanding it, he is well prepared to present the results to his readers. Let the following extract bear us out as to our view of Mr. Osburn's power to interest by life-like description:—

'The phenomenon of the GREEN NILE is said to be occasioned by the vast lakes of stagnant water left by the annual overflow on the broad sand-flats of Darfoor to the south of Nubia, over which the Nile meanders a most devious course immediately on entering the Sahara. These, after having stagnated in a tropical sun for more than six months, are carried forward by the new inundation, and once more thrown into the bed of the river. Happily the continuance of this state of the water seldom exceeds three or four days. The sufferings of those who are compelled to drink it in this state, from vesicary disease, even in this short interval, are very severe. The inhabitants of the cities generally provide against it by Nile-water stored in reservoirs and tanks.

'The increase of the volume of the river now advances rapidly, and its waters gradually become more turbid. Ten or twelve days, however, elapse before the development of the last and most extraordinary of all the appearances of the Nile. We will endeavour to give our own first impressions of it. It was at the end of, to my own sensations, a long and very sultry night, that I raised myself from the sofa upon which I had in vain been endeavouring to sleep, on the deck of a Nile boat that lay becalmed off Benisoueff, a town of middle Egypt. The sun was just showing the upper limb of his disc over the eastern mountains. I was surprised to see that when his rays fell upon the water a deep ruddy reflection was given back. The depth of the tint increased continually as a larger portion of his light fell

upon the water, and before he had entirely cleared the top of the hill it presented the perfect appearance of a river of blood. Suspecting some delusion, I rose up hastily, and, looking over the side of the boat, saw there the confirmation of my first impression. The entire body of water was opaque, and of a deep red colour, bearing a closer resemblance to blood than to any other natural production to which it could be compared. I now perceived that during the night the river had visibly risen several inches. While I was gazing at this great sight, the Arabs came round me to explain that it was the *Red Nile*. The redness and opacity of the water, in this extraordinary condition of the river, are subject to constant variations. On some days, when the rise of the river has not exceeded an inch or two, its waters return to a state of semi-transparency, though during the entire period of the high Nile they never lose the deep red tinge which cannot be separated from them. It is not, however, like the green admixture, at all deleterious; the Nile water is never more wholesome, or more deliciously refreshing, than during the overflow. There are other days when the rise of the river is much more rapid, and then the quantity of mud that is suspended in the water exceeds, in upper Egypt, that which I have seen in any other river. On more than one occasion I could perceive that it visibly interfered with the flow of the stream. A glassful of it in this state was allowed to remain still for a short time. The upper portion of it was perfectly opaque, and the colour of blood. A sediment of black mud occupied about one quarter of the glass. A considerable portion of this is deposited before the river reaches Middle and Lower Egypt. I never observed the Nile water in this condition there.

'Perhaps there is not in nature a more exhilarating sight, or one more strongly exciting to confidence in God, than the rise of the Nile. Day by day and night by night its turbid tide sweeps onward majestically over the parched sands of the waste howling wilderness. Almost hourly, as we slowly ascended it before the Etesian wind, we heard the thundering fall of some mud-bank, and saw, by the rush of all animated nature to the spot, that the Nile had overleaped another obstruction, and that its bounding waters were diffusing life and joy through another desert. There are few impressions I ever received upon the remembrance of which I dwell with more pleasure than that of seeing the first burst of the Nile into one of the great channels of its annual overflow. All nature shouts for joy. The men, the children, the buffaloes gambol in its refreshing waters, the broad waves sparkle with shoals of fish, and fowl of every wing flutter over them in clouds. Nor is this jubilee of nature confined to the higher orders of creation. The moment the sand becomes moistened by the approach of the fertilizing waters it is literally alive with insects innumerable. It is impossible to stand by the side of one of these noble streams, to see it every moment sweeping away some obstruction to its majestic course, and widening as it flows, without feeling the heart expand with love, and joy, and confidence in the Author of this annual miracle of mercy.'—Vol. i. pp. 10-13.

The latest information respecting the ancient language of Egypt, found in hieroglyphics in her monuments, is here fully given. Mr. Osburn differs from Champollion and other students of this department of learning in reference to the origin of this curious method of writing. The latter suppose the process to have been pictorial, symbolical, and phonetic; while Mr. Osburn reverses the order, assigning the first place to the phonetic. Into this we cannot now enter. According to his professed object, the author endeavours to make his researches illustrate the early portions of Holy Writ, and his statements are worthy of the diligent consideration of all Biblical students.

1. *Θεολογούμενα Πατροδπα, sive, de Naturâ, Ortu, Progressu, et studio, Vrae Theologiae*, Libri sex; Auctore JOHANNE OWENO. E Recensione GULIELMI H. GOOLD, D.D. Edinburgi: typis et impensis Johnstone et Hunter, 1854. 8vo. Pp. 600.
2. *An Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews. With Preliminary Exercitations*. By JOHN OWEN, D.D. Edited by W. H. GOOLD, D.D. Vol. I. Edinburgh: the same. Pp. 560.

THE two volumes are intended to be a continuation of the fine edition of the works of Dr. Owen recently issued in the Standard Library of British Divines by Messrs. Johnstone and Hunter. It may be safely affirmed that the two works they bring before us are the most elaborate and learned of their gifted author, and on this account we presume they will have a large circulation. The Latin treatise will present difficulties to the present generation, for the time has gone by when the Roman tongue was almost vernacular to students and ministers. But we may hope this volume may induce some to revive their knowledge of what was once the universal language of learned men. Owen's style is good, and may be easily read. We can promise those who apply themselves to the task of mastering the *Theologoumena* that their time will be profitably employed. The work on the Hebrews is too well known to need any commendation from us.

The National Restoration and Conversion of the Twelve Tribes of Israel; or, Notes on some Prophecies believed to relate to those two great events; and intended to show that the Conversion will take place after the Restoration; and that the occasion of it has been uniformly predicted. Collated with the Hebrew, and the works of most eminent Commentators; and containing some remarks upon the theory of Professor LEE. By WALTER CHAMBERLAIN, M.A., Perpetual Curate of the New Parish of St. John, Little Bolton, Lancashire. London: Wertheim and Macintosh, 1854. 8vo. Pp. 598.

FOR ourselves, we confess that we expect the conversion of the Jews, but not their restoration to their own land, as it is called. We believe all the passages of Holy Scripture which are thought to refer to the latter event have either been fulfilled at the return from the Babylonian captivity, or are to be understood figuratively, as pointing to Gospel privileges and blessings. Besides, the true Israel of God are no longer the Jews, but all believing Christians; for in Christ Jesus there is neither circumcision nor uncircumcision. That by some political event the Jews, or part of them, may one day take possession of the Holy Land, is not impossible; but we do not see how such an event is predicted, nor how it could in any way promote the ends of the spiritual dispensation under which we live.

With these views, carefully formed and long entertained, such a work as that before us seems to stray wide of the mark; but it does not, on that account, possess no value in our esteem. We may be wrong in our opinion, and such a volume may, after all, be an utterance on behalf of a neglected truth. At all events, Mr. Chamberlain

has done good service by closely investigating many important passages of the Old Testament, and has discharged a very laborious and difficult task with great learning and much candour. We value the volume for the incidental information and discussion it contains.

Discoveries in Chinese; or, the Symbolism of the Primitive Character of the Chinese System of Writing, as a Contribution to Philology and Ethnology, and a Practical Aid in the Acquisition of the Chinese Language. By STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS. New York: Norton. 1854. 12mo. Pp. 138.

THIS work has excited much attention in America, and is spoken highly of in some of the journals of that country. We can only direct the attention of our readers to it, not having at command at present any competent touchstone by which to estimate its true value.

Jubilee Commemoration, at Bombay, of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 21st December, 1853: including a Historical Review of the Translation and Circulation of the Scriptures by the Bombay Auxiliary Society. Bombay. 1854. 8vo.

THIS is a highly interesting account of a day which seems to have been one of an exciting character in the far-off East. India has owed much to the Bible, and to the varied learning and accomplishments of its Oriental translators; and in this case all classes seem to have combined to give honour where it is due. The Bishop and other dignified clergymen of Bombay, with ministers of all denominations, and laymen of high degree, are here exhibited as uttering one voice of gratitude, and offering up the same tribute of thankfulness for past blessings derived from the Bible. One part of the Bishop's speech is worthy of being recorded in our pages:—

‘Another difficulty, however, arose. It was an ecclesiastical one. If an undertaking so gigantic was to be enterprised, then it would be necessary that all who loved the Bible should join in it. The wealth of all would be demanded, and the labour of all, and the scholarship of all. But how was this co-operation to be secured? for there were points upon which men who prized and revered the same inspired volume yet had their differences. They belonged to various communions, and were trained, in some respects, under opposing systems; and how was it possible then that they all should meet, and meet for a sacred design? Let us praise God, Christian friends, that this misgiving too has been dispelled. It has been seen that all believers in the Bible can meet. A common ground has been ascertained upon which they all can take their stand without collision and without compromise. That common ground has been this principle of adopting, whenever it can be done, the authorized version, without note or comment, and of bringing every translation into the nearest possible proximity to that standard. By this simple agreement the member of every communion has felt that he has had no occasion to broach his own Church views, or to canvass those of others; but while each has held his own, they could all continue to give their common treasure to their fellow-men. Nay, may we not venture to say that not only has the difficulty which was at first apprehended disappeared, but that out of this very association of men of different communions a positive gain has been acquired; for had the work of translation been left to men of one school, and of one complexion

only, how too likely might they have been to be biased in certain places to make choice of words which, however unintentionally on their part, would have savoured of their own predilections, and leaned to their own interpretations. But now all such partiality has been excluded: it has been rendered impossible. Minds that have been moulded to different, not to say sometimes opposite, habitudes of thought, by uniting together have checked each other. No one has given his own colouring to the hallowed page, and the very evil of division has so far been overruled for good.

The Ark in the House; or, A Series of Family Prayers for a Month; with Prayers for Special Occasions. By the Rev. BARTON BOUCHIER, A.M., Author of 'Manna in the House; or, Daily Expositions of the Gospels.' London: Shaw. 1854. 18mo. Pp. 300.

NEXT to the Holy Scriptures, few books are more useful in families than judiciously composed prayers; both because they induce an attention to family religion, and turn the thoughts of the worshippers into the right channel. There are many works of this kind, of various degrees of value; but we know of no volume so admirably adapted to the purpose as this. It is small, simple, and evangelical, and provides variety enough, without being unnecessarily diffuse. Of these qualities we will give our readers an opportunity of judging for themselves.

'Monday Morning.—Almighty God! Father of all mercies, who makest the outgoings of the morning and of the evening to praise Thee, we are met together once more to bless and thank Thee for Thy preservation of us and ours during the past night. It is of Thy mercy alone that we are not consumed, that our beds have not been beds of death, and that no chamber detains its inmate in sickness or in suffering. We would thank Thee, gracious Father, that every (so many) member(s) of this family is (are) permitted of Thee to meet and unite once more in undiminished health and strength, in the returning privilege of family devotion. Oh grant that we may never arise from our beds without giving Thee the first thoughts and thanksgivings of our hearts, and the first words of our lips to Thee, and the acknowledgment of Thy goodness. Praise, Lord, is comely at all seasons from a redeemed heart—and it becometh well a redeemed sinner to be thankful; but especially in the morning watches would we bless Thy holy name for those many mercies which Thy night and morning have alike poured in upon us in such abundant measure—for the unbroken slumber, the refreshed body, the restored spirit, the undiminished health, and the reason still spared to us. We are about to go forth once more, O Lord, to the various cares and engagements of the day, (some to order and some to obey, some to direct and some to labour, some to teach and some to learn,) but all alike, the highest and the lowest, engaged to duty and devotedness to Thee. Thou, Lord, knowest our inability—the inability of each one here in him or herself, for the work assigned without Thy blessing and Thy strength. Oh grant, then, that we may go forth to the duties of this day in a fitting spirit, that they may be begun, continued, and ended in a prayerful spirit of dependence on Thee and Thy aid, that when we again assemble before Thee at night our consciences may be found void of wilful offence both towards Thee and towards all men. Teach us alike that every duty, though outwardly done unto men, is in spirit and in truth to be done as unto Thee. It is Thou, Lord, that assignest unto each and every one his station; and as we ask of Thee grace faithfully to fulfil the duties of the same, so would we acknowledge that all is Thine—success is Thine, disappointment is Thine, and alike Thy will concerning us. Grant, then, Lord, that there may be no repinings on our lips, no misgivings in our hearts at our respective conditions. Preserve us all from a discontented and a murmuring spirit before Thee, and from an over-reaching and a slighting disposition as regards others. Bless especially the young ones of this family, that, as they are Thy gift, so they may be trained for Thee, taught to know Thee, and

ready, with the young prophet of Thy church of old, to begin to serve Thee even from their childish years.

'And as we ask for a blessing on ourselves and our own work, so would we not forget those who are near and dear to us. As Thy mercy, Lord, is over all Thy works, and Thy faithfulness and truth reacheth unto the clouds, so can Thy love extend to the far distant ones of our respective families from whom Thy providence has for a season separated us. Bless them, O Lord, in their bodies and in their souls; and may our prayers on their behalf, and theirs for us, be heard and answered for the sake of Him who loved all and died for all, even Jesus Christ.'

A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Llandaff at his Second Visitation, August 1854, by ALFRED OLLIVANT, D.D., Bishop of Llandaff. Published at the request of the Clergy. London: Parker. 1854. 8vo. Pp. 65.

WE introduce this 'Charge' to the notice of our readers, for the purpose of quoting the following valuable observations:—

'And first, let me say a few words on the advantage and necessity of studious habits with a view to our personal improvement, in order that we may not expose our ministry to contempt. If we cast our eye upon the kingdom at large, we must perceive that everything is in a state of progress and activity. We are not living in days of sloth or apathy, but of energy and agitation. It is obvious that, under such circumstances, it will not do for the Church or its ministers to lag behind. Unless they catch in some degree the spirit of the age, and qualify themselves to control and direct its movements, it is quite certain that they will lose their influence, and the Church, which they are supposed to represent, be deemed an antiquated and useless incumbrance, instead of being considered, as it ought to be, the centre of the spiritual life and intelligence of the nation.

'To this general statement our own diocese forms no exception. So far from it, the development of its mineral wealth has given an impulse to its mental and social energies, as powerful as in any other portion of Great Britain. Our population has more than trebled itself in half a century. The application of science to mining operations has introduced amongst us a number of persons of considerable mental cultivation; and the diffusion of education among the operative classes, under the auspices of our national and other schools, has greatly tended to elevate and improve their positions. A social condition of this kind must obviously make increasing demands upon the ministers of religion. Should the shrewd and keen-sighted mechanic find his clergyman deficient in ordinary information, less intelligent and instructed than other members of society, it is very unlikely that he will listen to his instructions with deference and respect. Difficult, indeed, will it be for such a teacher to persuade him that religion is the one thing needful, and that it is his most important duty to labour for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life. It is my heart's desire and prayer that our clergy may be a class of well-educated and intelligent men, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom—distinguished by professional ability and knowledge—not merely of a decent mediocrity of attainment, but calculated by their manifest superiority to gain a firm hold upon the public mind, and to mould and fashion it in agreement with the will of God. A movement is evidently going on in the intellectual condition of Wales which shows that an ill-informed ministry will not answer. The dissenting publications of the day are pointing out the necessity for the better education of their ministers: they see that, in the present circumstances of the country, an ignorant teacher can only be despised. It is impossible to read the monthly reports of the National Society without being surprised at the amount of knowledge which even our parochial schoolmasters are expected to acquire. The truth is not to be dissembled, that in point of general, and with the solitary exception of classical learning, their attainments are often as great as, or even more diversified than, those of our clergy. But is this a normal condition of things? Ought the clergyman and schoolmaster to

stand in this relative position? If it be permitted to continue, what must be the result? It is quite unnecessary for me to reply to the question. The practical point then is, that our clergy must make proportionate advances in order to retain the respect of the people. Supported as it is by parliamentary funds, the system of national education is certain to progress. It is therefore only by corresponding progress that the clergyman can retain the ascendancy over the school-master of his village.

'The power of conferring a degree in divinity, which Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to bestow upon St. David's College, has supplied a fresh motive to the members of that excellent institution to continue their studious habits after the termination of their college course. Upon that college we are now mainly dependent for the supply of clergy for our Welsh cures. Let every one of its members consider himself responsible in a measure for its reputation, and exert himself to prove that it was not unworthy of this mark of royal favour. And whatever the place of their education, let all our younger clergy regard their present attainments, not as the superstructure, but rather as the basis for further acquisitions. Ignorance is the mother of party spirit, prejudice, and uncharitableness. The more we grow in sound knowledge, supposing it always to be connected with sound piety, the less danger will there be of our being split into contending parties, the more probability will there be of our presenting a compact and united body in opposition to the enemies of the Church.

'Should the sphere of your labour be remote from the busy world, a well-cultivated mind will not only supply you with numberless sources of innocent enjoyment, but, next to personal piety, will prove your best preservative from those low habits, unclerical amusements, and unworthy associations into which persons who live in retirement are too apt to fall if they have no internal resources at command. And if it please God to place you in a more prominent position, it will enable you to adorn your profession, and to exert the influence which a high tone of moral and intellectual attainment invariably secures to its possessor.

'You will not, I am sure, mistake me, as if I placed an undue value on learning, or put it in competition for a single moment with the far more important qualifications of vital godliness and personal religion. Even professional knowledge would be a poor substitute for a sanctified heart and a devout spirit. "The man," says Bishop Jeremy Taylor, "that can with eloquence and subtlety discourse of the instrumental efficacy of baptismal waters, talks ignorantly in respect of him who has the answer of a good conscience within, and is cleansed by the purification of the Spirit." Though learning, however, can only be regarded as secondary, still, under the economy of God's providence, it is a necessary qualification for the minister of Christ. It is true, under the new, no less than under the old dispensation, that the priest's lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth; for he is the messenger of the Lord of Hosts.'—Pp. 16-19.

1. *Memoir and Correspondence of Mrs. Coutts, Widow of the late Rev. Robert Coutts, Brechin.* By the Rev. W. M. HETHERINGTON, LL.D. Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter. 1854. 12mo. Pp. 438.
2. *Edward Irving: an Ecclesiastical and Literary Biography.* By WASHINGTON WILKS. London: William Freeman. 1854. 12mo. Pp. 288.

THE first of these works is a deeply interesting contribution to what may be called pure religious biography. The events of the life of its subject were only ordinary ones, except so far as her trials were heavy and acute: but the detailed account of her religious experience is by no means a common one. She submitted to the discipline of the furnace, and came forth as gold. Exciting narratives have now so strong a hold on the public mind, a charge from which Christian professors are not

exempt, that we fear this record of the life of a sincere believer will be thought heavy and dull. If so, we can only say that those who are thus affected have need to suspect that all is not right in their own religious affections.

The other piece of biography brings before us a great man in his generation, but whose greatness and usefulness were marred by eccentricities which no ecclesiastical status could be made to harmonize with. But Mr. Wilks has turned into causes of eulogy what we consider the weak and blameworthy points of Edward Irving's character. If the waywardness of that popular preacher is to be defended, and the community to which he belonged fiercely attacked because it visited him with its discipline, we would ask how, on such principles, any Christian Church could have an existence? As a brief exhibition of Irving's life and opinions, this volume is interesting, but its principles must be read with caution.

The Library of Biblical Literature: being a Repository of information on Geographical, Historical, Biographical, Scientific, Archaeological, and Literary subjects in relation to the Sacred Scriptures. Volume the First. London: William Freeman. 1854. 12mo. Pp. 256.

As this title scarcely conveys a correct idea of this work, we must introduce it somewhat more definitely. The volume contains eight numbers, published monthly, each devoted to the consideration of a single subject or topic relating to the Bible. The subjects here discussed are: The story of ancient Nineveh—Israel and the Pyramids; or, Glimpses of Hebrew life in Egypt—The Dead Sea and its explorers—The Plagues of Egypt; embracing the Egyptian life of Moses—The Captivity and its mementoes—The Deluge; its extent and its memorials—The Exode; or the Departure of Israel from Egypt—Masada, and its tragedy. It will be seen that no order is followed, but that the publications are separate tracts, each complete in itself. The whole series is intended to be strictly popular, to interest young persons, and especially to be introduced into Sunday schools.

We are happy to give our unqualified approval both of the design and its execution, the indefiniteness and somewhat too aspiring character of the title excepted. We have had evidence that the papers have proved eminently attractive, even to those 'children of a larger growth,' men and women of some intellectual attainments, and both the numbers and the collected volumes are deserving of extensive patronage.

The Catechiser's Manual; or, the Church Catechism illustrated and explained. For the use of Clergymen, Schoolmasters, and Teachers. By the Rev. ARTHUR RAMSAY, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge: Macmillans. 1854. 32mo. Pp. 212.

THIS very compact little volume contains a far larger amount of information than its size would lead us to expect; and to the class of

persons for whose use it is intended it will prove invaluable. It by no means confines itself to doctrinal subjects, but enters into a great variety of interesting explanations, especially those relating to etymology and antiquities. We know how much young minds depend for their impression on distinctness of the instruction they receive, and that our danger lies more in being too general than too special in our communications with them. In the following short extract a plan is pursued which will prevent the thing taught from being easily forgotten.

'Q. What is the meaning of the word Apostle?—A. A person sent from.

'Q. Which part of the word means *sent*, and which *from*?—A. *Stle* means sent, and *apo* from.

'Q. Do you find this syllable *stle*, meaning sent, in any other words?—A. Yes, in the word *epistle*.

'Q. What does *epistle* mean?—A. A letter sent, *epi*, i.e. to a person.'—p. 9.

In a note to the part of the Catechism relating to *names*, the following learned and interesting matter is given. The text gives two meanings to the word *surname*, as derivable either from *sire*, father, or the French *sur*, upon. The note is:—

'Both these derivations are really correct, but we must bear in mind that the surname and the sire-name are two distinct things. The sire-name appears to be the older of the two, and abounds most in the earlier stages of a nation's history. It is, however, common at all times and among all nations. Such names as Bar-jesus and Bar-jona are examples in Hebrew. In Greek, such patronymics or sire-names as Atrides, Pelides, &c., are very common. In Latin, the large class of names ending in 'ius,' as Marcius, Lucius, &c., are sire-names; and of Welsh names, such as Pritchard (i.e. Ap-Richard, Richard's son), Bevan (i.e. Ap-Evan), Pugh (i.e. Ap-Hugh), Parry (i.e. Ap-Harry), Jones (i.e. John's son), Williams, Davis (i.e. David's son), Harris, &c. In English we have Johnson, Perkin (i.e. Peterkin, i.e. Peter's child), Dawkin (i.e. David's son), Brownig, Pollock (i.e. Paul's son), Hancock (i.e. John's son). In Scotch and Irish we have the large class of names beginning with Mac and O. The Polish sire-names end with the termination 'sky,' as Petrowsky (Peter's son). The Russians employ the termination 'vitch,' a corruption of the Latin 'filius,' in their sire-names, as Paulo-vitch (i.e. the son of Paul); another form of which same word is found in our sire-names, Fitz-William, Fitz-Roy, &c.; and in the Scotch Vich Jan-vohr (i.e. son of John the Great), a name in which, like that of Rob-roy Macgregor, we find both the sire-name and the surname. The surname was properly the supra-nomen, and in old deeds it is written (sur or supra) above the Christian name. It generally arose either from (1) some physical peculiarity, as 'White,' 'Black,' 'Red,' 'Long,' &c.; or from (2) some trade or occupation, as Smith, Wat Tyler (i.e. Wat the Tiler), Jack Cade (i.e. John the Cask-maker), Brewster (i.e. the Brewer), Webster (i.e. the Weaver), Baxter (i.e. the Baker), Steward, Forster (i.e. the Forrester), Grosvenor (i.e. the Great Hunter), Spenser (i.e. the Dispenser or Steward); or, (3) from some place of abode, as Hill, Dale, Mountain, Low-ton, Upper-ton, Nash (i.e. at the Ash), Nye (i.e. at the ey or island), Noke (i.e. at the Oak, &c.). Thus we see that, though every sire-name is a surname, every surname is not necessarily a sire-name.'

- SERMONS ON THE WAR.—1. *The Hand of God in War.* By the Rev. W. K. TWEEDIE, D.D., Free Tolbooth Church, Edinburgh. London: Nelsons. 1854. 48mo. Pp. 84.
2. *England's Hope; or, Hezekiah's deliverance from Assyrian domination.* By the Rev. B. L. WILTS, M.A., Incumbent of Hersham, Surrey. Liverpool: Newling. London: Wertheim and Macintosh. 1854. 18mo. Pp. 32.
3. *Security in the midst of Danger: the Ninety-first Psalm applied, in a Sermon and Charge, delivered before the Free Presbytery of Edinburgh, met to ordain the Rev. Robert Boag Watson as Chaplain to the Forces.* By ROBERT S. CANDLISH, D.D. Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter. 8vo. Pp. 36.
4. *The Widow and the Fatherless; an Appeal on behalf of the Patriotic Fund: being a Discourse delivered in the Free Church of Forfar.* By the Rev. W. CLUGSTON, M.A. Forfar: William Shepherd. 1854. Pp. 34.
5. *The Pageant is over: Two Sermons, by the late Rev. RICHARD CECIL, M.A., on the Death of Nelson.* Reprinted. London: Seeleys. Pp. 24.

It cannot be expected that we should enter into any detail respecting these Discourses; but we feel it our duty to express our thankfulness that in all of them War is contemplated from the Christian stand-point, as an evil to be deplored and avoided. We fear there are even now instances of Christ's ministers inflaming the war-spirit among their congregations; but the writers before us are not guilty of this folly, but rather endeavour to direct attention to those topics by which it will be calmed and mitigated. We should be glad to receive an Essay on *War and Christianity*, written temperately, not to further a party-object, but by a true inductive process to show the true relative positions of these two opposite things.

'*The Coming Man; or, The True Deliverer.* By the Rev. G. H. DAVIS, author of 'Rome, its Temper, and its Teachings.' London: The Religious Tract Society. 1854. 18mo. Pp. 128.

THIS is a valuable addition to the Tract Society's Catalogue. It is not merely a religious book, but it is original in its treatment, and touches upon some higher views of Christianity. It is partly apologetic, partly devotional and practical. The contents are: Jesus a real historical Person—Jesus the Deliverer; the Christ: proved by His Miracles—The Argument from Prophecy—Christ's performance of the Office of Messiah; His teaching concerning God—Christ's teaching as to Man, and the mode of Reconciliation—How Jesus discharges the Office of Christ; the Future.

1. *Millie Howard; or, Trust in God.* By Mrs. HENRY LYNCH, author of 'Conversations on the Parables,' 'The Cotton Tree,' &c. Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter. 1854. 18mo. Pp. 518.
2. *The Manse of Sunnyside; or, Trials of a Minister's Family.* Edinburgh: Shepherd. 1854. 32mo. Pp. 110.

THE first of these works of fiction is a very pleasing tale, by an authoress who has gained a deserved reputation; her pretty tale of 'The Cotton Tree,' having passed through three editions. Her talents are devoted to the furtherance of evangelical religion; and this volume maintains a strict accordance with Scriptural principles. Indeed, if we found a fault, it would be that the Bible is *too* often referred to; but this is an error on the right side.

The 'Manse of Sunnyside' is of American growth, and professes to describe the sore trials to which a worthy minister and his family were exposed from the niggardliness of his congregation. While his faith, and hope, and charity are set forth as eminent, and attended with prosperous results, they are graces purchased at the expense of a people who almost allowed him and his family to starve.

CORRESPONDENCE.

. The Editor begs the reader will bear in mind that he does not hold himself responsible for the opinions of his Correspondents.

THE GENESIS OF THE EARTH AND OF MAN.

DEAR SIR,—I have lately received a copy of a pamphlet, printed for private distribution, bearing the title, ‘The Genesis of the Earth and of Man,’* of which I send you a short notice, judging that its contents may not prove uninteresting to your readers. I will not trespass upon your time by preliminary observations, but rather endeavour to state the main arguments contained in the pamphlet as briefly as may be, adding some evidence which has occurred to me as bearing upon those arguments.

The subjects treated of in the pamphlet are two,—the creation of the world, and the unity of the human species. The former of these is first discussed; and what is said respecting it strikes me as so remarkable, that I quote it verbatim. The author begins :—

‘The narrative with which the Bible commences, ending with the third verse of the second chapter, is distinguished from that which immediately follows it, as the latter narrative also is from the third, not merely by the name given therein to the Deity, but in several other respects. Its most remarkable characteristic is this: that it altogether consists of a description of events which could not have been witnessed by any human being. Every one, therefore, who admits the truth of the Bible, whatever be his opinion of some other portions of it, must hold this narrative to be a *revelation*.

‘Now we find that revelations of this kind, of which the subjects are *events*, were generally conveyed in *representations to the sight*: and hence, by the safest and the most legitimate mode of judging, by comparing Scripture with Scripture, we are led to the conclusion that the narrative under our consideration is *most probably the relation of a revelation by means of a vision, or a series of visions*. If we understand it as a description of a series of visions, we may naturally regard the words “and it was evening,” “and it was morning,” “day first,” “day second,” and so on (not well rendered in our Authorised Version), as denoting the limits of time between which the first vision, and the second, etc., occurred.

‘Christian philosophers have been compelled to acknowledge that this account of creation is only reconcileable with demonstrated phy-

* The full title is, ‘The Genesis of the Earth and of Man: a Critical Examination of Passages in the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures; chiefly with a view to the solution of the question, Whether the varieties of the human species be referrible to different origins.’

sical facts by its being regarded as a record of *appearances* : and if so, to vindicate the truth of God, we must consider it as the relation of a revelation to the sight, which was sufficient for all its purposes, rather than as one in words ; though the words are perfectly true as describing the revelation itself ; and the revelation is equally true, as showing man the principal phenomena which he would have seen had it been possible for him to be a witness of the events.

‘ Farther, if we view the narrative as the description of a series of visions, while we find it to be perfectly reconcileable with the statement in other parts of Scripture, that “in six days the Lord made heaven and earth,” we remove, with other difficulties, the only strong objection to the opinion of those who regard the “six days” as periods of undefinable duration (since we are told that “one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day”), and who may even believe that we are now in “the seventh day,” the day of rest, or of cessation from the work of creation. Certainly, “the day of God,” and “the day of the Lord,” and the “thousand two hundred and threescore days” of the Revelation of St. John, and the “seventy weeks” in the prophecy of Daniel, are not to be understood in their primary and natural senses. It is therefore unnecessary to discuss the question, whether the 11th verse of the 20th chapter of Exodus be a gloss, or comment, as some suppose it to be (on the ground that another passage is substituted for it in the repetition of the Decalogue, in Deut. v.), and whether the latter portion of the 17th verse of the 31st chapter of Exodus be also a gloss, and both be, in consequence, of doubtful authority.’

Then follows this corollary :—

‘ If the probable correctness of this view of the general character of the narrative which we have been considering be admitted, we are not of necessity to infer that this record does not leave some important facts to be supplied by other portions of Scripture ; and with this observation we may proceed to the second part of our inquiry.’

I cannot but regard this explanation as settling for ever the greatest difficulty which scientific men have found in God’s Word. Other explanations have been offered from time to time, but they have either wrested the text, or interpreted it symbolically, on the one hand, and wrested science, or refused to accept its legitimate deductions, on the other. This explanation admits the most literal interpretation of the Biblical narrative, and the fullest acceptance of the truths of science. It adds weight to a conviction which I have long felt, that the most literal interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures is always the safest, and almost always the true one, and that our difficulties arise rather from imperfect criticism than from obscurity in the original.

The second part of the pamphlet relates to the question as to whether the human species be referrible to different origins. I shall endeavour to give an outline of the arguments here brought forward on both sides of the question, though want of space will prevent my doing so as fully as I would.

The writer commences with this just observation : ‘ When a passage,

or a collection of passages, in Holy Scripture, is known to be susceptible of two different interpretations, without any forced construction, it is our right and duty to refrain from forming an opinion in favour of one of those interpretations, and against the other, until we have carefully weighed all the circumstances of the case, not suffering the evidence on either side to be swayed by any educational bias, or by any tradition that might be brought to bear upon it, and have found a decided preponderance of probability in one scale of the balance. It is one of our most precious privileges, as Protestant Christians, to hold this axiom; and astronomy and geology have sufficiently rebuked us for neglecting it.'

The inquiry begins with an examination of the passages in the Bible which are held to indicate the origination of all mankind from a single pair, and those which seem to indicate the existence of human beings not descended from Adam. Of the former the following are noticed as the most weighty.

1. The creation of Eve as a help meet for Adam, which, the writer remarks, may be explained if Adam be regarded 'as the first individual of a new variety of a species which had universally fallen, but not become extinct.' We can then understand why a wife was created for Adam, and none for his sons. 'The sinless Adam needed a sinless wife: but in the case of Cain and Seth, the same necessity did not obtain.'

2. Adam's calling his wife's name Eve, 'because she was the mother of all living' (Gen. iii. 20). This has an obvious reference to the declaration to Eve 'that she should "bring forth children;"' so that the verb here rendered 'was' must be one of the numerous instances in which the preterite in Hebrew is used as an emphatic future. Besides, '*all*,' when the noun to which it is prefixed is without the article, as it is in this instance, often signifies 'many,' or 'a variety,' or 'all kinds,' or 'sorts.' If the meaning be 'all living,' we have no right to infer from it more than that Adam was as yet in ignorance of the existence of any human beings besides himself and his wife; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that he may have been originally placed apart in the garden of Eden, because that ignorance was necessary to the preservation of his innocence. Before his fall he had known good only, not evil.

3. 'He who made [them] at the beginning, made them a male and a female' [not male and female]. (Matt. xix. 4.) This is said "in limitation of the divine law of marriage; and may reasonably be understood to mean, that He made but one female for one male."

4. 'And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth' (Acts xvii. 26). If this meant that all mankind sprang from a single pair, 'then the statement of the inspired Apostle Paul, that "there is one flesh of men [not 'one *kind* of flesh,' as in our authorized version . . .], another flesh of beasts," &c. . . . (1 Cor. xv. 39), would necessarily mean that all beasts, collectively, whatever be their genera and species, originated from a single pair, and so all fishes, and all birds.'

5. "As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive" (1 Cor. xv. 22). Compare Rom. v. 12-19. If there existed a fallen race of men before Adam, these being already spiritually dead, or under sentence of death, then, when Adam so died, *all* might be said to have died; they and he, and in him all his posterity also; and thus all equally to have become in a state requiring their being made alive in Christ.' Dr. Pye Smith, although he strongly inclined to the popular belief as to the origination of all mankind from a single pair, has recorded his conviction that it cannot be proved from Scripture, and the writer quotes his very judicious remarks on the religious bearings of the question ('The Relation between the Holy Scriptures and some parts of Geological Science,' ed. of 1852, Supplementary Note E), and refers to the tenth chapter of the Acts, and the third chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians.

The writer then proceeds to the consideration of 'some passages which appear to indicate the existence of human beings not descended from Adam.'

1. 'Cain's saying, "I shall be a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth; and it shall come to pass [that] every one that findeth me shall slay me." And the consequence of that saying: "And the Lord said unto him, Therefore whosoever slayeth Cain, vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold. And the Lord set a mark upon Cain, lest any finding him should kill him." And the subsequent events related of him: "And Cain went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the land of Nod, on the east of Eden. And Cain knew his wife; and she conceived, and bare Enoch: and he builded a city, and called the name of the city after the name of his son, Enoch" (Gen. iv. 14-17).' Cain may have expected the increase of Adam's posterity, and feared the vengeance of a kinsman. 'His wife may have been his sister, or at least one of Adam's sons must have married his sister, if no other human race but that of Adam existed: but this is contrary to an express law of God (Lev. xviii. 9).'

2. "And it came to pass, when the Adamites [lit. 'the *ādām*,' or 'Adam,' which, whenever it occurs after the death of the man to whom the name of 'Adam' is first applied, properly signifies 'the Adamites,' just as 'Israel,' in the like case, properly signifies 'Israelites'] began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, that the sons [or 'servants,' as in Deut. xiv. 1; and Ps. lxxiii. 15; and Prov. xiv. 26, &c.] of the gods [as in Exod. xxxii. 1 and 23; and Deut. iv. 28; and Judges x. 14, and xvii. 5; and 1 Kings xix. 2, and xx. 10; and Jer. xi. 12, &c.] saw the daughters of the Adamites that they [were] goodly; and they took them wives of all which they chose? . . . 'The giants [or, rather (though the Hebrew word, which is 'Nephilim,' seems to be a Gentile appellation), 'fallen ones,' or 'apostates'] were in the earth in those days; and also, after that, when the sons [or 'servants'] of the gods came in unto the daughters of the Adamites, and they bare [children] to them; these [were] the mighty ones which of old [were] men of renown. . . . And the Lord said, I will destroy the Adamites whom I have created," &c. (Gen. vi. 1-7).

The two phrases rendered above "the sons [or 'servants'] of the gods" and "the daughters of the Adamites," being rendered in the authorized version "the sons of God" and "the daughters of men," have been supposed to mean "good men" and "wicked women;" some have even imagined them to mean "angels" and "women." The former rendering of one of these phrases has already been explained. In vindication of the former rendering of the other, the following, also deviating from the authorized version, may be adduced, as less liable to cavil, inasmuch as it presents a plain and consistent statement in the place of one which staggers the reader by its incongruity:—"The sons [or 'servants'] of the gods came to oppose themselves [so in 1 Sam. xvii. 16; and Job xxxiii. 5; and Ps. ii. 2] to the Lord, and Satan came also among them (Job i. 6, and ii. 1) to oppose himself to the Lord." (ii. 1.) The above are the only instances in which the phrase here rendered "the sons [or 'servants'] of the gods" occurs. An instance nearly the same, only the article being omitted before the word rendered "gods," occurs in Job xxxviii. 7; rendered in the authorized version, "when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy:" in which spirits seem to be intended; but a comparison with Isaiah xiv. 12 ('How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer [or 'O day-star'], son of the morning!'), and the fact that the two verbs in this passage of Job sometimes signify "crying for aid" and "shouting for battle," show that the meaning is at least doubtful. It is an awful thing to apply to false gods, in a particular instance, a name possibly there meant to denote the true God; but it is equally awful to do the reverse. A literal translation is surely the best in such a case; and a preference of one interpretation may be allowed, without an absolute denial of the other. To the above passage in the book of Job there is a very remarkable parallel: "I saw the Lord sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven standing by him [or 'against him,' i. e. 'opposing him,' or 'confronting him'] on his right hand and on his left" (1 Kings xxii. 19; repeated in 2 Chron. xviii. 18). "The host of heaven," generally, if not in every case, means *objects of idolatrous worship*; and particularly, *as such, the stars*; and it is therefore a very proper appellation for *evil spirits*; whom it may perhaps denote even in Neh. ix. 6, where it is said, "The host of heaven worshippeth thee;" for the verb rendered "worshippeth" more properly signifies "acknowledgeth thy superiority or authority." (See Ps. xcvi. 7: 'worship him, all [ye] gods.') Moreover, it seems evident that from "the host of heaven," spoken of by Micaiah, not from among God's holy angels, came forth the "*lying spirit*" that was to persuade Ahab: and, thus understood, Micaiah's vision, otherwise incongruous (like the parallel passage in Job as rendered in the authorized version), is perfectly consistent. The word rendered "gods" in the passages of Gen. and Job cited in this paragraph, is "elōhim." "Elim" is also thought to signify the same, and is applied to false gods; as in Ex. xv. 11, "Who among gods [is] like thee, O Lord?" which compare with Ex. xviii. 11, "Now I know that the Lord [is] greater than all the gods," where the word "elōhim" is used: and if

so, we have the phrase "sons of gods" also in Ps. xxix. 1, "Give unto the Lord, O ye sons of gods, give unto the Lord glory and strength;" which compare with Ps. xcvi. 7, before cited ('worship him, all [ye] gods'); and again in Ps. lxxxix. 7, "For who in the heaven can be compared unto the Lord? [Who] among the sons of gods can be likened unto the Lord?" As a contrast to this phrase we find (in Hosea i. 10) "the sons of the living God." The substitution of "fallen ones," or "apostates," for the "giants" of the authorized English version and of other versions, in Gen. vi. 4, is justified by many critics, and is more agreeable with the Hebrew etymology; although we have reason to believe that the people to whom the appellation thus rendered is applied were generally of extraordinary stature. In favour of rendering it "giants," it has been urged that "niphla" is applied in Chaldee to "the giant in the sky," that is, the constellation "Orion:" but Orion is distinguished by the Arabs for its obliquity; (see, for instance, Freytag's 'Hamasse Carmina,' p. 561) particularly, it seems, in respect of the three bright stars of the belt, which form a line oblique to that of its course, as though *falling*. But supposing the word to signify "giants," it is said in the Hebrew, and in the Septuagint also, not that "there were giants in the earth in those days," but, "the giants were in the earth in those days:" and the most obvious and probable inference from these words, unswayed by a foregone conclusion, seems to be, that the epithet thus rendered is a Gentile appellation, like several other epithets which are untranslated in the various versions of the Bible, such as the "'Anākīm" (or 'long-necked' people), the "Amorites"; (supposed to signify 'mountaineers'), the "Perizzites" (which signifies 'villagers'), the "Hivites" (which is thought to have the same signification as 'Perizzites'), &c. It occurs only in the passage to which these observations refer, and in one other instance, Num. xiii. 33, "There we saw the Nephilim, the sons of 'Anāk of the Nephilīm;" which, compared with another passage, shows, if the latter be authentic, that the people thus called were either wholly or in part the same who were called the "Rephaīm;" for among the latter also were reckoned the "'Anākīm," as well as those whom the Moabites called "Ēmim," and those whom the Ammonites called "Zamzummīm;" who are all described as having been of gigantic stature, and *whose pedigrees are not recorded in the Bible*. (See Deut. ii. 10 and 11, and 20 in the Hebrew; held by some to be interpolations, but, if so, doubtless of very ancient origin.) Thus we find the Nephilim mentioned as existing before the flood, and also in the days of Moses; and we must not hastily infer from this that they were not a race distinct from the descendants of Adam; for an examination of passages in the Bible, hereafter to be cited, will show strong reason for believing that people not descended from Adam, if such existed before the flood, were not among those whom it destroyed.

3. "By these the isles of the nations became divided in their lands ([every] man according to his tongue), according to their families, in their nations" (Gen. x. 5). And again, "By these the nations became divided in the earth after the flood" (last verse of the same chapter.)

The writer refers for comparison to verses 20 and 31 of the same chapter, and to a very remarkable passage in Deuteronomy, which he translates literally:—"On the Most-High's giving nations for a possession, on his separating the sons of Adam, He set the bounds of peoples according to [or, perhaps, prospectively, 'even to'] the number of the children of Israel" (Deut. xxxii. 8).' The writer remarks that these passages, though reconcileable with the general opinion as to the unity of the human race, seem to indicate the existence of non-Adamic people, spared by the flood, and whose lands were divided to Adam's descendants. The word rendered the nations ('hag-göyīm'), he observes, generally, if not always, signifies the 'gentiles' or 'heathen,' exclusive of the people of God or of Israel.

4. "'Hear ye this, all peoples [or 'tribes,' in the Hebrew 'amīm,' often specially applied to the tribes of Israel, as in Deut. xxxiii. 3, and 19, &c.], give ye ear, all inhabitants of the world: both sons of Adam [corresponding to the 'peoples' or 'tribes' above mentioned] and sons of man [in a general sense, in the Hebrew 'ish,' corresponding to the 'inhabitants of the world'] together; rich and poor" (Ps. xlix. 1 and 2). The words here rendered "sons of Adam and sons of man" are converted in the authorised version into "low and high;" and the like is done in that version in five other passages.' The writer then cites those passages (Ps. lxii. 9; Is. ii. 8 and 9; and v. 15; and xxxi. 8); and Ez. xxiii. 42) one of which I quote as translated by him:—"They worship the work of their own hands, that which their own fingers have made: and Adamite boweth down, like as [so in Job v. 7; and xii. 11; and xiv. 19; and xxxiv. 3; &c.] man [in a general sense] humbleth himself: therefore forgive them not" (Is. ii. 8 and 9).' 'Among more than seventy instances in which "ish," or its plural, or a variation thereof, and "ādām" occur in the same sentence, the cases above mentioned are the only ones in which we find them rendered in the authorized version by "high" and "low," or the like; while each of these words in other instances, almost countless, in which one of them occurs without the other in the same sentence, is regarded by the authors of that version as signifying simply "man" or "men," in a general sense, excepting in a few cases, in which "ish" is opposed to a woman, or, by extension, to a female, because this word has its proper feminine form (namely "ishshah"), which "ādām" has not.' The writer then remarks that it is very difficult to find any reason for the distinction of high and low, though it is easy to find reasons for a contrary distinction. Adam was made in the image of God; this was the proper name of the first man, also a name given by God to that man and his wife together, and the Saviour is called 'the last Adam' (1 Cor. xv. 45). 'But independently of any consideration of superiority implied by either, it is plain that the rules of literal translation require us to regard "ish" as a general appellation, including "ādām;" and "ādām" as denoting the first man so called, and any, and all, of his descendants.'

The passages in Scripture cited under the last two heads (3 and 4) relating to times after the flood, it becomes necessary to make some

observations on that event. After noticing that the study of natural sciences raises objections (especially in accounting for the difference of races) to a universal deluge, and that many very learned and scientific and pious authors had come to the conclusion that it was not universal, the writer proceeds to the examination of the account of the flood in the book of Genesis.

‘Throughout the Scripture narrative relating to the deluge, what is rendered “man” in our authorized version is invariably “*ādām*,” or “the *ādām*,” and of the two words there rendered “earth,” one very frequently signifies “land,” or “country,” or “region;” and the other “ground,” by which it is rendered in that version in Gen. vi. 23. The denunciation may therefore be strictly rendered thus:—“I will destroy the Adamites whom I have created from the face of the land; from Adamite to beast, to creeping things, and to the fowls of the heaven:” and all that follows it here and in other parts of Scripture is perfectly consistent with this rendering, if we understand what are called the “universal terms” in these cases as universal only with respect to the objects previously named in the denunciation; in doing which we shall even give them a larger range than they can be allowed to have in some other passages in the Bible; as, for instance, in Exod. ix. 6, compared with 19–21 of the same chapter; and verse 25 of the same chapter compared with 5 and 15 of the next chapter; not to name other cases, in which it is sufficiently obvious that such terms are not, strictly speaking, universal. It must also be particularly observed, that the expression sometimes rendered in the authorized version “the whole earth,” or “all the earth,” is rendered in other instances in the same version “the whole land,” or “all the land,” or “every land,” and is often applied to a few countries collectively, and even to one country: see Josh. xi. 23; 1 Kings x. 24; Is. vii. 24; x. 14; Jer. i. 18; iv. 20; viii. 16; li. 7, 25, and 49; Dan. ii. 39; Zeph. i. 18; iii. 8 and 19; and in several of these instances (as in 1 Kings x. 24; Jer. li. 7, and 25, and 49; and Dan. ii. 39), where it is rendered “all the earth,” and in two other instances (Gen. xli. 57), where it is rendered “all countries,” and “all lands,” its application only to *portions* of the earth is undeniable. These instances, therefore (beside the fact that the account of the deluge *literally* relates to the *Adamites*), we may adduce in favour of our limiting the meaning of certain passages in which we find the same expression so that they shall not apply to the whole world of unbelievers.’ The writer notices the application of this method of criticism to the Biblical account of the Dispersion. I will not quote this part of his paper, as it does not bear upon the main question. I must not, however, omit noticing an objection which has been made to me against a partial deluge—the general opinion that the ark rested on the modern Mount Ararat, the Aghzi Tagh of the natives, the great elevation of which would show that the waters of the flood had covered a vast extent, if not the whole, of the earth’s surface. But it should be remembered that the Bible narrative states that the ark rested on the *mountains* of Ararat, that is, in the mountainous portion of the country so called, which was a tract north of Mesopotamia and

Assyria, and east of Asia Minor, probably nearly the same as the ancient Armenian kingdom. Nothing is therefore said as to a Mount Ararat. Further, ancient tradition is against that mountain, and chiefly in favour of the Gordyæan chain, or Kurdish mountains, a range of little elevation north of Assyria, and visible from the mounds of Nineveh. There it was that, according to Berosus, remains of the great ark of Xisuthrus, as the Chaldæans called Noah, were to be seen in his time, that is, in the third century before the Christian era. There the pious emperor Heraclius visited those remains in his war with Chosroës. Another curious ancient tradition, while it is against Mount Ararat, favours a position farther west as that of the resting-place of the ark. It is that which we find in the name of an ancient city, the Phrygian Apamea, which is called Apamea *Κιβωτός*, or Apamea of the Ark, and from certain of its coins, if they be genuine, which bear the representation of an ark and the name of ΝΩΕ or ΝΩ. The coins, which I have not seen, are in the Bibliothèque Impériale at Paris. They may be false, or, if true, the name of Noah may be tooled, and thus added to enhance the value of the coins; or, if true, they may have been struck by Christians, as some have suggested. But whether any of these explanations be admitted to invalidate or destroy the evidence of the coins, that of the name of the city remains, and it should be remembered that it stands near a low range of mountains, which may be regarded as the continuation of the Gordyæan chain. There is more reason, therefore, for concluding that the ark rested upon a mountain of low elevation, than upon the lofty Mount Ararat.

With respect to the traditions as to the destruction of all mankind by a flood, which we find to have been preserved by various nations, the writer observes of the descendants of Noah, that, 'in their gradual spreading over the globe, they doubtless carried with them the history of their ancestors, originating those traditions respecting a deluge, more or less agreeing with the Scripture narrative, which have been found to obtain in every quarter of the earth, and which afford an argument, but only *primâ facie*, in favour of the opinion that the event in question was universal with respect to all mankind except Noah and his family. The only persons who witnessed the deluge probably believed it to have spared themselves alone, of all their species (like as Lot's daughters apparently believed, for so we may infer from the enormity of their offence, that there was "not a man in the earth" beside their father after the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah); and the traditions handed down by the family of Noah to their descendants the Jews would be fully sufficient to account for the manner in which the latter, and the Christians after them, have understood the Scriptural relation which we have been considering. It has been plausibly inferred that the Jews are more likely than ourselves, when we differ from them, to understand aright their own Scriptures; but if we should admit it to be so, consistency would require us to take for our guides the Talmud and the Targums, and to adopt the Jewish interpretations of the prophecies respecting the Messiah. It has also been urged that the belief

of the universal Church in past ages should silence him who proposes a new interpretation of any passage of Scripture opposed to her belief; but to this we have only to reply, that the universal Church, until modern times, believed it to be plainly declared in Scripture that the sun revolves round the earth.' The paper concludes with some general remarks on the subject, in which the observation occurs that Adam is called a red man, not white, because 'white' is used to signify 'leprous.'

The writer appears to have confined himself to the evidence to be adduced from the Bible on both sides of the question, and has only *alluded* to the evidence of science, and that to be derived from the traditions of various peoples. On the last subject I will add a few remarks on the more important points of traditional evidence which have occurred to me in considering the pamphlet. On the monuments of the ancient Egyptians a curious representation occurs, which shows us how that people classed the races of mankind. Several of the royal tombs in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes (dating from about 1300 B.C. to about 1100) have depicted on their walls a procession of four races, each represented by four persons, and led by the god Horus. Each race bears a different name, and is painted of a different colour. The Egyptian race is called 'The seed of man,' and painted *red*. (Adam, the red man, it should be remembered, is, according to the Bible, through Noah, the progenitor of the people of ancient Egypt.) They are represented, as usual, with short plaited beards and black hair. The negro race is called *Nahsi*, and painted black; their name is usually followed, wherever it occurs, by an epithet which is translated 'perverse' (resembling the Biblical *Nephilim*, if meaning 'apostates'), and, at all events, signifies 'evil' in some sense. One of the two other races is painted white or pink, and the other pink or yellow, and both have full beards. They bear names which are probably merely gentile appellations, and are sometimes varied. From this very curious representation we might argue on the one hand the unity of the human race, since but one race is called that of man, while the other three appear to bear gentile appellations. But, on the other, it should be remembered that the Egyptian race would be called mankind, as the most perfect of human races; and the distinction of four races of four different colours would seem to indicate a belief that they sprang from distinct origins, especially as one of them appears to correspond to the Adamites, and another to the *Nephilim*.

I can but merely glance at the evidence which is furnished by the traditions, mythology, or romances of other nations. Among the Greeks every one knows the story of the Arcadians, who were older than the moon, indicating a very ancient primeval race: the Autochthons, whom the Noachian Ionians (descended from Javan) found when they colonized the country. The Arabs have their account of the pre-adamite Jinn, or genii, who inhabited the earth before the creation of Adam; and it must not be forgotten that they are a people whose *traditions* are of the remotest times. Almost all heathen nations have an idea of a time when gods and giants dwelt on earth before the human race; and some, like the Mexicans, relate that this earth has passed

through a series of changes, each with its peculiar human inhabitants. Somewhat similar is the Egyptian myth of the reigns of the gods, demigods, heroes, and Manes, the last of whom would seem surely to have been an extinct human race. On the whole, therefore, since the Bible does not appear distinctly to state the unity of origin of the human race, and seems to contain evidence of people distinct from the descendants of Adam; since natural history has induced many to hold that mankind are of more origins than one, though of but one species; since traditions of such a diversity of races have been found throughout the world, in both hemispheres, and even, I believe, in Australia, alike among the most civilised and the most barbarous of men; we must be careful that we do not hastily reject an opinion that it may be as impious to deny as it has been in the judgment of some to accept. The difficulty as to those races who had peopled Palestine before Abraham's time, and whom Noachian races expelled, during a space, short even if we accept the longest chronology, limiting its commencement to the dispersion or the deluge; the greater difficulty as to the increase of Noah's descendants in the still shorter interval that had elapsed between the deluge and the time at which Egypt, under the builder of the Great Pyramid, was mighty and prosperous,—these difficulties, and many others which, though not insuperable, yet perplex the student of primæval history, are dissipated if we suppose mankind to have sprung from more than one origin. The difficulties of a negro race, in nowise differing from that which now inhabits central Africa, existing before the days of Abraham, as Egyptian sculptures show, and of our finding each great climate with its peculiar men, as well as other animal and vegetable productions, all which may indeed be explained by our supposing that the Divine Creator suited each race, on or after the Dispersion, to the tract it was to inhabit,—these difficulties find a far readier explanation in the belief of a plurality of origins. It may be an erroneous belief, yet it deserves a careful and candid examination; and I, for one, do not think that such an inquiry, when conducted with all humility, can displease that gracious Being who has told us to search his Scriptures, and has not forbidden us to recognise Him in the heavens which declare his glory and the firmament which sheweth his handiwork.

R. S. P.

British Museum, Sept. 4, 1854.

P.S. Since writing this, I have received a copy of a pamphlet on 'the Deluge,' suggested by that noticed above, and likewise printed for private distribution. The author holds the opinion that the Adamites were a distinct race, and not the progenitors of the whole human species, and points out a curious analogy between the Deluge and a very destructive overflow of the Nile, both as to the time of the year at which the Deluge happened, supposing that the year commenced about the vernal equinox, and also as to the manner in which the waters rose, and the height to which they attained. These views are supported with much learning and ingenuity, and deserve a careful examination. Great difficulties seem to me, however, to stand in their way. The bases of

the argument are affected by the impossibility of determining what year was in use in those times, and by the consideration that regular or accidental floods of other rivers might fulfil nearly the same conditions as those of the Nile, while the result is opposed to the fact that the ark rested on the mountains of Ararat, and to the silence of the Egyptian records with respect to the Noachian flood.

SIR,—The true acceptance of certain passages in the Book of Genesis has been of late much agitated; and though the question is not one of primary importance in a religious point of view, it is one of great interest, and in the present inquiring age well worthy of attention. Nor need it be apprehended that inquiries of this kind should unsettle men's minds: their effect is rather to re-assure than to disturb them, and to prevent the bad consequences of sceptical doubts by a fair and candid investigation. In prosecuting them every one of sincerity and conscientious feelings will endeavour to examine the evidence that bears upon them without bias, and with reference to nothing but the truth; and as truth can never be adverse to truth, the result can only have a beneficial tendency, and be of service to religion.

Some have unfortunately been too often disposed to consider it almost impious to adopt any other opinions than those already laid down by custom respecting the interpretation of certain passages of Scripture, and have thought that to give a sanction to any inquiry is tantamount to an encouragement of infidelity and doubt. What, for instance, could be a stronger argument in favour of the account in Genesis being from Divine authority, than the mention of 'light' on the first day, and the creation of the sun on the fourth? for no man would of himself have ventured on a statement so opposed to the general belief of the sun being the source of light. Modern science, however, has taught us how light does exist independently of the sun; and this is a strong argument to prove how fearless investigation may aid the cause of religion by confirming the truth of the Bible. The notion of such inquiries savouring of irreligious doubt is directly at variance with our duty to 'search the Scriptures,' in order to understand as far as in our power what we believe (lest what we call our belief become a mere blind *assent*, instead of a real *belief*); and the fear of investigation implies little confidence in what we consider to be the truth, since no one is afraid of discredit being thrown on what he believes to be true. Besides, it is this very stoppage of inquiry which leads to what is termed 'infidelity;' and the same is directly opposed to the great privilege claimed by us, of examining the Scriptures, and of exercising the right of private judgment. The more men think and express their thoughts, the more sincerity will be encouraged, truth advanced, and error checked; while to stifle inquiry is to generate hidden doubts, to raise a spirit of blind opposition, and to sanction ignorance.

It is of greater importance than many imagine, that the stumbling-blocks which scoffers are disposed to present to us should be removed, not only for our own satisfaction, but for the purpose of counteracting those doubts they delight to raise, and which, once raised, are too apt to be laid hold of by the young and inexperienced. For these doubts frequently extend from facts little affecting religion itself, to other more important points of belief. Many well-meaning persons openly profess that they avoid inquiry, either because it may appear to savour of doubt, or because it is dangerous; without perceiving how often this avowal of a fear of discussion leads those who are disposed to doubt into direct disbelief. Others maintain that no inquiry is to be permitted, and that he who refuses to accept every word literally is guilty of the same offence as if he disbelieved the whole. Hence many who might by proper management be convinced of the truth, reject the whole because not allowed to use their reason in a few particulars; and the uncharitable cry of 'infidel' raised against another by persons professing to be good Christians, because he differs in a few unessential points, has driven many into disbelief.

Indeed, in arguing on Scriptural subjects with professed unbelievers, it will be found that the most effectual way of receiving and silencing their objections is to admit (by way of argument), that if such and such statements appear to be at variance with fact, or cannot be actually proved, still they have no effect on the religion, or the doctrines it teaches; and if expunged from the Bible, would not affect its tendency. And few will maintain the necessity for a literal acceptance of Joshua's commanding the sun and moon to stand still, or wish to repeat the punishment of Galileo for the doubt. The necessity too of making allowance for certain expressions, or descriptions of events, that accorded with the ideas of the time when they were written, will be obvious; and many ordinances suited to that age, as well as many popular beliefs, would never have been introduced into any book given to man for his religious instruction at the present day. Things 'said by them of old times' required correction at a later period, and in a different state of society; and many naturally fell into disuse without at all affecting the good purpose for which of old they had been introduced. Nor could it be otherwise; for the results of later experience, if introduced by anticipation into any inspired book, would have puzzled, instead of instructed mankind; and it is always necessary to adapt expressions and ideas to the condition of society and the state of man's comprehension at the time they are set before him. We may also be permitted to use the reason we have been endowed with, when we examine facts, the descriptions of which were made to suit the comprehension and the ideas of man, or tended to strike his attention, at that period. It is also right to bear in mind that the Bible is not intended to teach us those things which we can find out of ourselves, nor is its object to instruct us in such as are irrelevant, and unconnected with religion; and there can be no greater error than to expect (as some appear to do) that it should give us the secrets of astronomy, geology, and other branches of science; or, when not given by it, to

put down as impious every attempt to supply from our reason what it has failed (and what it was not its object) to impart.*

This last has been the stigma sometimes attached to men who have endeavoured to supply what the Book of Genesis has not thought it necessary to tell us respecting the creation of the world; though nothing can be more preposterous than to suppose that to give an indefinite time to the expression 'In the beginning' in any way impugns the authenticity of the Bible.

Let us first inquire what the Bible itself says; and we shall see that, like the expressions, 'the *apple* of Eve,' 'the *whale* of Jonah,' and others, the received notion is, after all, at variance with the text; for a literal translation of the first verses will show that the very Hebrew itself sanctions and requires that conclusion; and two distinct periods are pointed out in the two first and the subsequent verses.

They are literally:—1. 'In the beginning (Elohim) He-the-Gods^b—created (*bara Elohim*, or "*dii creavit*") the heavens and the earth.' 2. 'And the earth was without form and void (*tohóo oo bohóo*); and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God (Elohim) moved upon ("*hovered*," or "*was spread over*") the face of the waters.' 3. 'And (Elohim says, ~~to~~, iamer) God says, Let there be light.' . . . From which it will be seen, that in the first two verses the verbs are in the past tense, and in the third and following verses always in the present, showing a complete distinction of time between them, and proving clearly enough that the action described in the two first belongs to a period long antecedent to that in the rest of the chapter.

The next point to which I would invite attention is the expression in verse 2, '*tohóo oo bohóo*,' which we translate, 'without form and void.' It has been supposed that the world was created out of nothing; but the occurrence of the same expression in Jeremiah (iv. 23) shows that the creative power acted on pre-existing matter, the prophet saying that he 'beheld the earth *tohóo oo bohóo*,' though of course existing as matter, which the prophet (verse 27, 'The Lord said, The land shall be desolate, yet will I not make a full end') proves was not destroyed, but merely depopulated as a 'wilderness,' and devoid of 'light.'

Nor is the idea of the first verses of Genesis signifying 'an indefinite period between the creation and the first ordering of all things,' of recent date; it was long ago noticed by St. Gregory Nazianzen and others, as Dr. Buckland and Cardinal Wiseman have observed.^c

Though (as already stated) it is not the object of the Bible to instruct man respecting the operations of the Deity at the creation, or to describe the exact condition of the earth, and the various

* Some things seem omitted in the Bible which we must necessarily supply, as the fact of timber-trees being among those created, though (in Gen. i. 11) fruit-trees are alone mentioned in the Bible of which the fruit is said, in verse 29, to be given 'for meat.'

^b Elohim, or 'God,' being always a plural word with a verb in the singular.

^c Wiseman's Lectures, vol. i. p. 288.

changes it underwent before it was fit for the habitation of man, which have become known to us through the evidences of geology, still there is sufficient general agreement in the Genesis account with those various stages of its condition, when the sea at one time and the earth at others had particular inhabitants now no longer living there. And though the Scriptural allusion to those different bygone creations is not, and was not required to be, an exact description of them, still the general view it gives agrees with the result of geological inquiries; and we may find in the several days a comprehensive view of the creations of successive periods, of the early state of the earth's surface, and of its primitive occupants. Thus Genesis gives:—

[See the Table on the next page.]

It is a curious fact, that the expression in verse 21 of chap. i., 'and God creates great whales,' will apply with much greater truth to the Saurian monsters that inhabited the earth before the age of man; for the word *taninim*, תנינים, 'whales' (as in Job vii. 12, *tanin*, 'whale'), is in other places translated 'serpents' (as in Exodus vii. 12, before Pharaoh, where it is put instead of *nahashim*), and in others 'dragons' (as in Deut. xxxii. 33; Job xxx. 29; Ps. xlv. 19), which shows that they were supposed to be inhabitants both of the water and of the land; and there is no more authority for applying the name to *serpents* than to *crocodiles*, in Exodus vii. The name of 'whale' was often given to large water animals, and Homer even uses the word κητώεσσα (from κητος, 'a whale') for 'great,' applying it to Lacedæmon (Il. B. Cat. Ships, 88), and a popular notion has converted the 'great fish' (*dag*) of Jonah into a whale. This name *tan* (*than*), or *tanin*, forms the termination of the name leviathan (Psa. lxxiv. 14, and Job xli. 1), called by Isaiah (xxvii. 1) the 'crooked serpent,' and 'the dragon' (*tanin*) that is in the sea; and we may trace it in the serpent Python, which appears to be an Egyptian word with the article prefixed, *Pi-than*, probably meaning 'the dragon.'

Let us also examine the much vexed question of all mankind having sprung from a single pair. One of the arguments adduced in favour of this is the evidence of a relationship between the different languages throughout the world; from which it is argued that they proceed from one common origin. But when it shall be proved that *all* are actually ramifications of one universal primeval tongue, no other conclusion will have been arrived at than that all mankind had at first the same one language; but no proof will have been established of an origin from one pair, nor even of man having been originally confined to one part of the globe. For if men were created and placed in different parts of it, the same language would naturally be given to all throughout the world; as the same cry, or mode of expressing themselves, is given to all animals of the same kind, wherever they may be, without the necessity of their having proceeded from a single pair. Again, the fact that all men (of whatever race they may be) can propagate with those of any part of the world, holds good equally in the case of animals of the same species; and the man of Asia may procreate with those of Africa and Europe, as the wolf of Asia with the wolf of those continents, without either of them proving an origin from one pair.

| Ch. i. ver. 2. Chaos. Water | Matter. | |
|---|--|--|
| Ch. i. ver. 3-5. Light; day and night | { Light which exists independently of the Sun, as in fire, electric light (e.g. northern lights, &c.) } | <i>Igneous rocks.</i> |
| Ch. i. ver. 6-8. Heaven, שמים, Firmament, רקיע, "to alternate, מברק, between the waters and (to) the waters," בין שמים למים | Metamorphic rocks, forming from sediment in water | <i>Aqueous period.</i> |
| Ch. i. ver. 9-13. Waters and earth divided; grass, herbs, trees bearing seed | { Marine productions, mollusca, and fish, and plants belonging to the <i>Silurian</i> and to the <i>Carboniferous</i> periods. In this "day" the animals of the first Fossiliferous period were created } | Early <i>Protosæic</i> period. |
| Ch. i. ver. 14-19. Sun and Moon as lights to light the Earth. "The stars also," (not to give the earth light, and not as relating to the earth) | { This is remarkable, as the existence of light without the Sun could not have been known in ancient times in the same manner as it now is. The Earth now received the light of the Sun necessary for the being and wants of the animals created in this period, which includes the 2 days—the animals and the sun being mentioned as two great creations, under a separate head, or in 2 days } | Sunlight given for this period. |
| Ch. i. ver. 20-23. Waters produced creatures, "whales" or "dragons," and winged fowl on earth | { "Great whales," <i>Teninis</i> , or rather "great Saurian reptiles," birds, &c., of the <i>Cretaceous</i> and <i>Cretaceous</i> periods } | <i>Triassic</i> , and <i>Tertiary</i> , and <i>Pentassic</i> . |
| Ch. i. ver. 24-31. Earth produced cattle, and creeping things, beasts, and fowls of the air; and man | Formation of the species of existing animals and man | Human period. |
| Ch. ii. ver. 2. "God ended his work which he had made" | Cessation from creation. | |

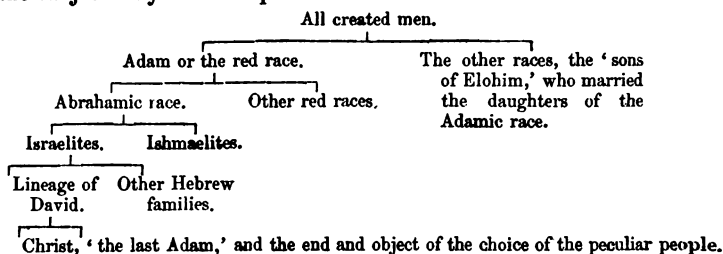
We find in Gen. i. 27, 'God created man' 'male and female;' not two single beings, but the race under the collective name 'Adam,' equivalent to our word 'man.' For though the word 'Adam' is sometimes used like our own 'man,' for one individual, it is really a collective word, and has no plural, '*Adamim*;' in which respect it is much more exclusively a collective term than our 'man.' It is like our word 'sheep,' which has not the plural 'sheeps.' A man is singly, in Hebrew, *aish*, 'being' (whence *aisha*, 'she-being,' i. e. 'woman'), or *anasi*, plural *anasim*; and whenever 'man' is meant collectively, the word *Adam* is adopted. Indeed, the use of *Adam* for man singly (as in Levit. i. 2, 'If any man (*Adam*) of you'), and collectively in other instances, would argue against its being the *proper name* of one individual called 'Adam.' Again, in Gen. v. 1, 2, God is said to have created 'man (*adam*) male and female,' 'and called *their* name *Adam*;' and if the name *Adam* is to be considered of distinctive application, it seems far more reasonable to suppose it applies to a race of man, than to one person.

There is indeed much that favours this idea, from the allusion (in Gen. iv. 14, 15) to other people on the earth, when Cain, having killed his brother, expresses his fear 'that every one that findeth him shall slay him,' and when the Deity 'set a mark upon him' to prevent this. For such a fear could not have entered into the head of any man unless he knew of other beings on earth. Cain, too, is mentioned as having a 'wife' (Gen. iv. 17) before *Adam* is said to have had any daughter, and when only two children (sons) were born to him; and if this wife were the daughter of *Adam*, Cain must have married his own sister. Lamech, too, took unto himself 'two wives' (iv. 19), who do not appear to be descended from *Adam*. The existence of other races already existing distinct from the *Adamic* race, seems also to be pointed out by the daughters of the latter being taken in marriage by the former; for (ch. vi. 1, 2) 'it came to pass when men (*האדם*) began to multiply on the face of the earth (*על פני האדמה*), and daughters were born unto them, that the sons of God (*בני האלהים*) saw the daughters of men (*בנות האדם*) and they took them wives of all which they chose.'

There is certainly great difficulty in supposing 'Adam' to signify one individual; and the most consistent view of the question seems to be that which requires it to be a name applied to a race of men. We know it was the custom in old times for many people to give themselves the name of 'the red men.' This was the colour *par excellence* which it was an honour to assume; and we find, till a comparatively late period, that the Egyptians, Assyrians, Etruscans, Romans, and others, always considered it as the conventional mark of the superior race. The names of peoples, too, in the countries about Syria, actually signified 'red;' as the Phœnician, Edomite (comp. Gen. xxv. 30), and Hemyarite. *Adam*, in like manner, was the 'red' man; and the same was applied to the earth (or *ádamek*^d). And this custom of applying it as an honorary distinction would readily explain its adoption by the

^d Comp. homo, humanus, and humi. Hemyarite is from humr, 'red.'

Israelites to mark the peculiar race from which they sprang. The *Adamic* man, then, was the parent stock of that portion of the world to which the Israelites belonged; or, as we should say, of the Semitic race; and as the object of the Bible is evidently to treat of those matters relating to them, and to the people with whom they came in contact, we can readily account for the omission of all notice of those who were unconnected with them. The account of the family of Adam, as afterwards of Noah, his descendant, was therefore (as might be expected) limited to the populations that inhabited Western Asia, Eastern Africa, and part of Europe; and no notice is taken of the people of Eastern Asia, of the blacks of Central Africa, and others, still less of America; which, however, could not have been omitted in a general account of the *whole* creation. The general arrangement of the subject may be thus specified:—



By supposing Adam to be the parent race of the parts of the world to which the Israelites belonged, a great difficulty is removed, together with that of the deluge having been universal at the same period. For independently of the question of bringing all the different races of man from the one family of Noah (which was the same as in the case of Adam), there is that of supposing all the animals from one end of the globe to the other to have been taken into the ark. Nor will those expressions, 'whole earth,' and the like, offer the difficulties that may at first sight appear; for they are common forms of speech, both in the Bible and elsewhere, which are not required to be taken in the fullest acceptation. Thus, 'all people' (or, 'all the earth') 'came to hear the wisdom of Solomon' (1 Kings iv. 34; x. 44), and (1 Sam. xvii. 46) 'that all the earth may know that there is a God in Israel,' are equivalent to *πασα η οικουμενη*, 'the whole inhabited earth,' and other similar expressions, which could only apply in reality to that portion of the world considered by the particular people so using them as all-important in relation to themselves. This limited application of the term Adam would be only in accordance with the general tenor of the Bible account, which is to notice those matters directly connected with that peculiar people who alone of all nations were suited to receive the important doctrine of the Unity of the Deity,* among whom, 'in the

* Comp. Acts xv. 14, 'How God at first did visit the Gentiles, to take out of them a people for his name,' at a time when, as Ezekiel (ch. xx.) says, 'they worshipped idols in Egypt,' to show that they alone, among all people, were fit to receive the doctrine of the Unity of the Deity.

fulness of time,' the last Adam (or the last of the exclusive race) was to rise, to impart to mankind the great and final revelation of the Saviour, the ultimate object for which the Israelites had been set apart as a chosen people among the nations.

The temptation, too, of Adam and Eve, instead of being confined to two individuals, has much rather the character of an allegorical description of the temptation of *all* men, which always *was*, and *is* still going on, and would apply equally to every one at the present day. And if the many persons who have a dislike to the suggestion of an allegory would recollect that St. Paul applies the same term to the story of Hagar, who 'is Mount Sinai,' and that our Saviour's instructions are so frequently conveyed to his disciples in parables, they might feel less alarm at the notion of the Bible representing facts under a similar guise. It would certainly be more consistent with reason, and give less room for sceptical doubts, to admit this, than to take literally some of these descriptions, which, containing, as they do, great and important truths, lose much of their instructive value by a literal acceptance of the words.

The supposition that Adam represents a race of men, rather than one individual, applies equally to the account of Noah and his descendants, who as clearly point to the Israelites and to the people connected with them, while the rest of the inhabited globe is unnoticed; and by admitting this, we are enabled to reconcile the partial description of the creation with the peopling of the whole world. It is also consistent with the custom of all men of early times, that facts should be enveloped in allegory; and this was constantly adopted as the mode of conveying impressions among the very people whom the Bible was first intended to instruct.

J. W.

THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER ON 'THE TIMES OF DANIEL.'

DEAR SIR,—Whilst expressing the gratification which I experience in finding that the 'Times of Daniel' is thought worthy of notice in your valuable Journal, may I be permitted to mention that the reviewer has not stated my view quite correctly. He says, 'We may set forth the sum of the argument which we have to contend against in a single sentence—that Cyrus the Great was no other than the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar, and that Cyrus the Deliverer was a satrap prince of a later period, deputed by Artaxerxes to rule over Babylon and Persia' (*J. S. L.*, July, 1854, p. 435).

By mentioning but one individual of the name of Nebuchadnezzar, the reviewer gives his readers to understand that I identify the son of Nabopolassar with Cyrus the Great—but this is incorrect.

If I were called upon to set forth the sum of my argument in a single sentence, I should say that there occur in Scripture the names of five Persian monarchs corresponding with five known kings in received Persian history. And these names occurring in the two histories in the

same order give us five points of correspondence, whereas the received mode of adapting Scripture to profane history goes upon the one assumption that the Coresch of Scripture is the Cyrus of Herodotus, all the other attempted identifications being more or less forcibly made to bend to that one supposed point of correspondence.

It is true that, by bringing the point of contact between sacred and profane history about a century later in the history of the world, I am forced to attempt what Heeren has pronounced to be one of the most difficult questions which history presents, namely, who the Chaldæans really were. And here again I must remark that the reviewer does not appear to notice the importance which I attach to preserving the distinction between the Chaldæans and the Babylonians, for he calls Nebuchadnezzar a Babylonian king; but a Babylonian king, according to my view, is not the same as a king of Babylon.

Towards the solution of this difficult question—with whom in profane history do the Chaldæans correspond?—I have shown that Scripture assigns to Nebuchadnezzar acts which Herodotus attributes to Cambyses, and that the progress of Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar, and the founder of the Chaldæan dynasty, and who, according to Berossus, took Babylon by diverting the river, corresponds with the career of that Cyrus who, according to Herodotus, descended from the Euxine, and in like manner took Babylon by diverting the river.

We may infer from these facts, either that Cyrus the Great was the same individual as Nabopolassar, and Cambyses identical with Nebuchadnezzar, or we may be led to conclude that Herodotus has transferred, either in one or in each instance, actions to one hero which were really performed by another. This latter supposition, at least with regard to Cambyses, is that to which I at present incline.

Such, concisely, is my hypothesis: when I put it forth I little knew that it would be subjected to an ordeal more severe than that of modern opinion—the contemporary records of the very conquerors themselves. But I cannot complain, on the contrary I must rejoice, at my theory being tested by the truth, which, in the main, the discoveries from the cuneiform inscriptions must prove. But in some instances the trial may be more severe than just, for of course, wherever there is doubt in the interpretation, the decipherer will naturally be more or less biased by the generally received views of history.

Nevertheless, though in many instances the details which I have put forward conjecturally may prove incorrect, I yet believe that the main outline of my hypothesis will be established. But having hitherto purposely avoided any regular inquiry into the historical results of the cuneiform discoveries, until they shall have been established with greater certainty, I can only give, in support of this impression, one or two instances which have casually come under my notice.

1. I had attempted to show that there is a discrepancy between the Greek and Asiatic chronologies of Herodotus, and that, according to the showing of Herodotus himself, Darius Hystaspes commenced to reign nine years before the Cyrus who overthrew Cræsus came to the throne ('Times of Daniel,' p. 178). And by a wholly different process

I had shown that this was within a couple of years of the relation which I supposed there was between the reign of Darius Hystaspes and Nebuchadnezzar (ib. p. 261).

Now we find by the inscription at Behistun, deciphered and translated by Colonel Rawlinson, that Herodotus has inserted three generations in the pedigree of Darius, in order, as one would suppose, to make it appear that Darius was the third in succession from the Cyrus who overthrew Croesus, instead of being his contemporary, *e. g.* :—

| Herodotus, vii. 11. | Behistun Inscription. |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| Achæmenes | Achæmenes. |
| Teispeus | Teispeus. |
| Cambyses | |
| Cyrus } | Wanting. |
| Teispeus } | |
| Ariamnes | Ariamnes. |
| Arsames | Arsames. |
| Hystaspes | Hystaspes. |
| Darius | Darius. |

From the comparison of these two pedigrees, it follows that, if the pedigree of Cyrus, as given by Herodotus, is correct, that monarch was of the same generation as Darius Hystaspes, *e. g.* :—

| Pedigree of Cyrus, according to Herodotus. | Pedigree of Darius, according to inscription. |
|--|---|
| Archæmenes | Archæmenes. |
| Teispeus | Teispeus. |
| Cambyses, vii. 11 | Ariamnes. |
| Cyrus, i. 111 | Arsames. |
| Cambyses, i. 111 | Hystaspes. |
| Cyrus the Great | Darius. |

I therefore was substantially correct in my conjecture when I pointed out the discrepancy which existed 'between the Grecian and Asiatic chronology of Herodotus: the texture of the Grecian history showing that Darius and Astyages were contemporary (or nearly so), whilst the Asiatic history of the same author makes three generations to intervene between them' ('Times of Daniel,' pp. 254, 255).

I was also correct in deciding in favour of the Grecian system of Herodotus in preference to his Asiatic.

But if this conjecture, that the first year of the Cyrus who overthrew Croesus corresponded with the tenth year of Darius Hystaspes, prove correct, it must not be considered merely as establishing an isolated fact, but as bringing the whole Asiatic history of Herodotus considerably above half a century nearer to the Christian era.

Thus, for example, Alexander Polyhistor and Abydenus say (Cory, pp. 59 and 64) that Saracus was the last king of Nineveh, and overthrown by Nabopolassar, father of Nebuchadnezzar, but according to the Behistun inscription Darius Hystaspes overthrew Saracus; it was in fact by the combined forces of the Medes and Chaldeans. Saracus, we learn from the same inscription, was a Scythian; he must have been the last of the Scythians who, according to Herodotus (i. 104), overran Asia for twenty-eight years. Jerome does say that this occurred in the reign of Darius king of the Medes.

Again Herodotus tells us (i. 102) that Phraortes perished with the greater part of his army before Nineveh; *as far as the chronology is concerned* he even might be the Frawartish (Phrabrtēs) who, according to the same inscription, was overthrown by Darius Hystaspes.

When Colonel Rawlinson first brought this inscription into notice (*Journal of the Geographical Society*, vol. ix. pp. 113, 114) he also mentioned a Greek inscription on the same rock which mentions Gudarz, a name well known in Persian history. He ruled in Mazanderan (Mirkhond, p. 143). He was the father of Reham or Bakht-Nassar, who was appointed to the command of Irak-Ajem by Lohorasp or Darius Hystaspes. The Greek and cuneiform inscriptions therefore refer to the same time, yet I do not learn that any use has been made of the Greek inscription. This, I think, is in consequence of the native Persian historians (which alone would throw light upon this inscription) being unduly depreciated. But upon this very subject—the pedigree of Darius—they seem to be more correct than Herodotus. Khasrau, who is identified with Cyrus, having been grandson to Ka'os, and Lohorasp was grandson to a brother of Ka'os; therefore Khasrau and Lohorasp, that is Cyrus and Darius, were of the same generation.

2. Colonel Rawlinson has shown that Esarhaddon and Sardanapalus are virtually the same name, and he has cautiously, if not reluctantly, admitted their identity with the Esarhaddon of Scripture, thus converting what was only a well-founded conjecture ('Times of Daniel,' p. 215) into an established historical fact. But as a chronological discovery this was useless as long as the value of the astronomical canon was appreciated more highly than is its due. The distance between the Assaradinus of the canon and the first year of Nebuchadnezzar is very different from that which is given both by the Egyptian dynasties and the sacred records. The result is that either the one or the others must give way.

I therefore found it necessary to show that the astronomical canon was not a Chaldæan record; that the erratic year used in the canon was Egyptian and not Chaldæan, it being lunar (ib. p. 220); that the eclipses which Ptolemy records he reduces to the era of Nabonassar, and does not find them in connection with that era (ib. p. 221); and that consequently 'the canon was a composition or compilation, not a record of contemporary events' (ib. p. 205). Moreover I pointed out that it was Jemsheed who divided the year into twelve months of thirty days each, to the last of which they subsequently added five supplementary days (ib. pp. 113, 114); and Jemsheed I identified with Nebuchadnezzar (ib. p. 115): still that as late as after the death of Alexander the Chaldæan astronomers employed a period composed of lunar months and years (ib. p. 223). I farther went on to show that the era of Nabonassar was adopted after the era of the death of Alexander had been in use (ib. p. 222), and that, though Ptolemy himself was probably the author of the second part of the canon, from the death of Alexander to the death of Antoninus (ib. p. 225), yet that the earlier part of the canon was subsequently constructed by some Christian philosopher, such as Ammonius of Alexandria (ib. p. 226).

Now in your last Journal (October, 1854, p. 232) we are informed that Dr. Hincks, having examined several tablets in the British Museum with cuneiform inscriptions, reports as follows:—‘Several tablets relate to the calendar, and from these I have ascertained what has surprised me not a little. Notwithstanding the reference made by Ptolemy of the eclipses observed at Babylon to the months of a wandering year resembling that of the Egyptians (the correctness of which reference I had supposed to be established by my observing that in more than one instance there were thirty days assigned to consecutive Assyrian months), I have now obtained positive proof that the Assyrians used a lunar year, consisting of twelve or thirteen months, each of which contained nominally thirty days. . . . I found that the thirteenth month, which I had supposed to consist of the five *epagomenæ*, had as many days as that which preceded it.’

So far then the cuneiform discoveries confirm what I had stated with regard to the canon of Ptolemy, and I hope that henceforth no one will resort to a conjectural curtailment of Jewish kings’ reigns, in order to conform the Scriptural chronology to the canon.

3. These two instances seem to involve large results. If I do not occupy too much of your space, from one other example, derived from your Journal of April, 1854 (pp. 252, 253), I will draw illustrations of the other points which I mentioned at the commencement, viz. the evidence which the cuneiform discoveries will give of errors of detail into which I have fallen when attempting conjecturally to fill up my proposed historical outline; but on the other hand the evidence of undue bias to the current views of history which decipherers of cuneiform inscriptions display in cases of doubt and difficulty.

I had argued (‘Times of Daniel,’ pp. 269, 270) that ‘the story of Zopyrus as related by Herodotus is devoid of all probability. Is it likely,’ I said, ‘that a Persian unconnected with the Babylonians would be able by any pretence to get the command of the gates?’ What Herodotus relates of Zopyrus, Ctesias gives to Megabyzus; but Diodorus (in the fragments published by Cardinal Mai) says that they were the same individual. Megabyzus is in fact, as Bloomfield has stated (Thucydides, vol. i. p. 194), ‘a name of office and dignity given to the prefects of the Magi, but comprehending military rank.’ In this I think I had argued soundly, though I am free to admit that my conjecture as to the identity of Megabyzus was eminently unsuccessful. I believe that Colonel Rawlinson has from the inscriptions given us the correct clue to his identification. ‘Many bricks,’ says he, ‘have been lately found at Babylon by the French commission bearing the name and titles of Neriglissar, or Nergalsharezar, who succeeded his brother-in-law, Evil-Merodach. His genealogy is not given, but he bears the same title of Rabmag (not, however, certainly with the signification of “Chief of the Magi”), as in Jeremiah xxxix. 3, 13.’

Here I doubt not we have the true identification: Nergal-Sharezar was one of Nebuchadnezzar’s princes, and was Rabmag, evidently holding a high military office. The same Nergal-Sharezar was son-in-law to Nebuchadnezzar, and he by a conspiracy overthrew Evil-Merodach and obtained possession of the kingdom (Berossus, in Cory, p. 41).

According to Herodotus, Zopyrus, having by treachery secured Babylon to Darius, was in return appointed independent ruler of Babylon for his life, with the enjoyment of all its revenues. But Ctesias, I think more correctly, states this of Megabyzus, that being the title given to the Prefects of the Magi, which conferred military rank, and very similar apparently in its signification to the title of Rabmag. Why Colonel Rawlinson says Nergal-Sharezar was not Chief of the Magi I do not know; perhaps he viewed it as purely a religious title, and as such not suitable to mark the dignity of the military hero.

The sister of Evil-Merodach, whom Nergal-Sharezar married, was daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, and, according to Alexander Polyhistor, granddaughter of Astyages, who, as I suppose, was not earlier than Darius Hystaspes. This relationship on the one side to Evil-Merodach, and on the other to the Persian monarch, gives an air of probability to the story of Herodotus. Evil-Merodach, under the circumstances, would not improbably intrust his ill-used brother-in-law with an important command, and he on the other hand might with equal probability betray Babylon to his grandfather, or, according to Ctesias, to his father-in-law, who would reward him for his treachery by making him (as Æschylus says of Megabazes) a king owning 'the sovereignty of the great king.'

4. In the same communication Colonel Rawlinson mentions two cylinders which 'contain a memorial of the works executed by Nabonidus (the last king of Babylon) in southern Chaldæa. They describe, among other things, the restoration of temples originally built by the Chaldæan monarchs at least one thousand years previously, and further notice the reopening of canals dug by Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar. The most important fact, however, which they disclose is, that the eldest son of Nabonidus was named Bel-Sharezar, and that he was admitted by his father to a share in the government. This name is undoubtedly the Belshazzar of Daniel, and thus furnishes us with a key to the explanation of that great historical problem which has hitherto defied solution. We can now understand how Belshazzar, as joint king with his father, may have been governor of Babylon when the city was attacked by the combined forces of the Medes and Persians, and may have perished in the assault which followed; while Nabonidus, leading a force to the relief of the place, was defeated, and obliged to take refuge in the neighbouring town of Borsippa (or Birs-i-Nimrud),' &c. Again he says the eldest son of Nabonidus 'was named Belsharezar (or Belshazzar); and that this prince or joint king was really slain at the taking of Babylon by Cyrus we may infer from finding in the inscription of Besitun that the impostor who caused the Babylonians to revolt against Darius Hystaspes, and who personated the heir to the throne, did not take the name of the eldest son of Nabonidus, Bel-shar-azar, but of the second [?] son, Nabukudurussur' (*J. S. L.*, April, 1854, p. 253).

With regard to the great historical problem which had hitherto defied solution, I had said, 'If I were permitted to offer a conjecture, it would be that Belshazzar never did reign but during his father's

lifetime' ('Times of Daniel,' pp. 258 and 269). In this conjecture I appear to have been more happy than in the last; but I must add that, if Colonel Rawlinson's discovery does explain that historical problem, it appears either to leave, or to create, some other difficulties which still remain unsolved.

If, for example, Belshazzar was son of Nabonidus, the emphatic statement of the queen (Dan. v. 11), and of Daniel, and of Belshazzar himself, that he was son of Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. v. 2, 13, 18), must be understood in a very loose sense, for Nabonidus was a man of Babylon, who by common consent was raised to the throne (Berossus, in Cory, p. 41), but who 'had no connection with the royal family' (Megasthenes, in Cory, p. 45) of Nebuchadnezzar. And this statement, be it observed, is in opposition to the case of Neriglissar, who was connected with the royal family; he, however, was not connected by descent, but only by marriage.

Again, if Belshazzar was joint king with Nabonidus, how are the first of Belshazzar (Dan. vii. 1) and the third of Belshazzar (Dan. viii. 1) to be accounted for? If 'Belshazzar the king' (Dan. v. 1, 6, 7) was not in some manner supreme and independent monarch of Babylon, there would not have been a fresh epoch for the years of his reign to run concurrently with the years of his father's reign. When Daniel says, 'God hath numbered thy kingdom,' he means, 'I apprehend, 'the years of thy kingdom,' that is, 'thy reign.' 'God hath numbered thy reign.' Is it not strange, if Nabonidus, the father of Belshazzar, was also reigning at that time, that not one word concerning the reign of Nabonidus should escape the lips of the seer?

Again, in the third year of Belshazzar Elam was a province of Babylon (Dan. viii. 2), and must have been so when Cyrus the Great was reigning in Persia. If Belshazzar reigned only three years, Elam must have been a province of Babylon for the first twenty years of the reign of Cyrus. But in this instance Colonel Rawlinson may have been influenced by the prevailing views of the history of this time, because he makes a statement for which, as far as I know, there is no ancient authority either sacred or profane. Where does he learn that Belshazzar was slain at the taking of Babylon by Cyrus? In addition to this it must be noted that the historical view of Colonel Rawlinson requires another Nebuchadnezzar not hitherto known in history.

Once more, 'the bricks of which the wall of Babylon on the river face is composed are found uniformly stamped with the name and titles of Nabonidus.' This discovery is a remarkable corroboration of the statement of Berossus that 'it was in his reign that the walls of the city of Babylon, which defend the banks of the river, were curiously built with burnt brick and bitumen' (Berossus, in Cory, p. 41). This was after Nebuchodonosor had so far completed Babylon that none who might besiege it afterwards should have it in their power to divert the river so as to facilitate an entrance into it (ib. p. 39). Nabonidus appears to have built with burnt brick and bitumen that which Nebuchodonosor had built with 'brick only.'

But if Nabonidus ascended the throne of Babylon some six or seven years after the death of Nebuchadnezzar, there seems some little difficulty in supposing that the canals, dug so short a time before by Nebuchadnezzar, should require reopening, that is, if they had been closed by gradual decay, and not either by the violent act of some conqueror or by the artifice of Nitocris.

It is doubtless unwise to speculate upon the difficulties which yet shroud the history of Belshazzar; but I would suggest that Herodotus mentions two kings of the name of Labynetus, the name which answers to Nabonidus in the inscriptions. I suppose that the elder of these corresponds with Nabonabab, the last of the Arabian kings of Chaldæa (Cory, p. 68).

According to the received view, the Nabonidus with whom the seventy years terminated was the last of the Chaldæan monarchs; he therefore could not have been the former of the two kings of that name mentioned by Herodotus; but if Nabonidus was descended from Nabonabab, we get a sufficient reason for his having been elected to the monarchy by the conspirators.

Again, from the fact that Elam was a province of Babylon in the third year of Belshazzar, the advocates of the received view must believe that the overthrow of Belshazzar was very early in the captivity. Surely they cannot suppose that Elam was a province of Babylon some years after Cyrus the Great was reigning in Persia.

It is curious that profane history should not help us with regard to Belshazzar; it appears to me as if the different accounts which we have had come from partisans of the different dynasties. Thus Herodotus derived his account of the two kings of the name of Labynetus from an adherent of the old Babylonian or Arabian dynasty, who gave him no information with regard to the Chaldæans, whom of course he viewed as usurpers.

Berossus the Chaldæan, on the other hand, is silent as to Nabonidus being of the old royal family; he simply denies that he was of the Chaldæan royal family. But why should he be silent with regard to Belshazzar, unless that prince acted in a manner discreditable to his ancestry? And perhaps the intensive emphatic manner in which the queen calls Nebuchadnezzar the father of Belshazzar (Dan. v. 11) may be intended to reproach him for his degeneracy.

There is also something a little remarkable in the account which Berossus gives of Nebuchadnezzar. He intimates that the throne was imperiled by the absence of the son upon the death of his father; yet, whilst he states that the Chaldæans were faithful, he abstains from giving the name of 'the principal person' who had preserved the kingdom for him (Cory, p. 39). Was this principal person his father-in-law and his lord paramount? In that case Chaldæan pride might suppress the fact that he was indebted to the Mede for his throne.

Perhaps, in conclusion, it may be acceptable to some of your readers if I state the principal chronological points of my system, and how they fall in with fixed and acknowledged dates.

In the first place, I desire not to be misunderstood with regard to the

value and importance of the astronomical canon; whilst I do deny its authority as a whole, I do not say that all in the canon is equally uncertain, but quite the contrary.

Confining myself to the times which we are discussing, I suppose that there is no doubt as to the 5th of Nabopolassar having been B.C. 621, the 7th of Cambyzes B.C. 523, and the 20th and 31st of Darius respectively B.C. 503 and 492.

There seems also an agreement between the ecclesiastical and the two copies of the astronomical canon, as to there having been 209 years from the first of Nabonasser to the last of Nabonidus, and 180 years from the first of his successor to the last of Artaxerxes Mnemon.

These last dates therefore I also view, if not as possessing the astronomical certainty of the others, yet as at least having the highest degree of historical probability. As therefore the last of Artaxerxes Mnemon was B.C. 360, the first year of the successor to Nabonidus was B.C. 540.

But though it is thus tolerably certain that the 5th of Nabopolassar was B.C. 621, and the last of Nabonidus B.C. 541, yet there may be, and I believe is, considerable uncertainty as to what monarchs are represented by these names. With regard to the first, I believe I have shown ('Times of Daniel,' chap. x.) that both the scriptural chronology and the Egyptian dynasties demonstrate that Syncellus is correct in saying that Nabopolassar was Sardanapalus—even that Sardanapalus whom Colonel Rawlinson has identified with Esarhaddon.*

Then with regard to that Nabonidus whose reign terminated B.C. 541, I consider him to be Nabonnabus, the last of the Arabian kings of Chaldæa (Cory, p. 68), and the chronological result in this instance is as striking as in the last.

With regard to the point of contact between sacred and profane chronology, my pivot date is the first year of Darius (the second of that name both in sacred and profane history), which was B.C. 424. This first year of Darius was also the last of the seventy years' desolations (Dan. ix. 1, 2; Zech. i. 12).

The commencement of the desolations therefore, in the 19th of Nebuchadnezzar, was B.C. 493, and therefore the first of Nebuchadnezzar was B.C. 511. Thus between the last of Nabonidus, B.C. 541, and the first of Nebuchadnezzar, there were 29 years. This fact, together with the identification of Nergal-Sharezzer, mentioned above, has convinced me that the father of Nebuchadnezzar, commonly called Nabopolassar, commenced to reign over Chaldæa B.C. 540, and reigned 29 years, as Berossus states (Cory, p. 38).

Professor Ebrard in his review of my work has greatly strengthened my position, by showing that the 20th of Artaxerxes, when Nehemiah built the walls of Jerusalem, synchronises with the first of Coresch, when the Jews returned from captivity. I should say that the exact

* The first of Nabopolassar was B.C. 625. The 14th of Hezekiah was according to me B.C. 628: which allows the six months for Merodach Baladin, and the three years (current) for Elibus, before Asordanius, or Esarhaddon.—*Alexander Polyhistor*, in *Cory*, p. 61.

synchronism is obtained by comparing Ezra iv. 12 with Neh. iv. 6, and again Ezra iii. 3-6 with Neh. iv. 2. The 1st of Coresch, therefore, which coincided with the 20th of Artaxerxes, was B.C. 446, two years earlier than I had supposed in the 'Times of Daniel' (Table, p. 289).

Dr. G. A. Klix, in his review of my work, appears to accord with Ebrard in this view; and though I for some time doubted it, in consequence of Eliashib the high priest, who was grandson of Joshua (Neh. xii. 10), being mentioned in Neh. iii. as engaged in building the wall, yet, though this still remains a difficulty in my mind, the evidence in favour of Ebrard's view preponderates sufficiently to satisfy me that he is correct. I would add that, after doubting for some time as to whether the Ahasuerus of Esther was Xerxes or Artaxerxes ('Times of Daniel,' p. 87), I have decided in favour of the latter, and that Esther was the queen sitting by the monarch (Neh. ii. 6) when Nehemiah obtained his petition.

And now I will conclude this somewhat lengthy epistle in the words with which I closed my book on Daniel:—'If even I have succeeded in establishing my principal points, I doubt not I have erred in detail. If any are inclined to think I have meddled with matters too high for me, I believe none are more aware of it than myself.'

Believe me, dear Sir, very faithfully yours,

Kimbolton, October, 1854.

MANCHESTER.

ON THE ROMISH CHURCH, AND THE PASSAGE OF THE RED SEA.

DEAR SIR,—Observing that you admit supplementary commentaries upon the subjects discussed in your Journal, I avail myself of that privilege to offer a few '*correctives*,' as I believe them to be, to certain opinions of the two articles of the last number of the 'Journal of Sacred Literature,' entitled 'Milman's History of Latin Christianity,' and 'The Historical Origin of the Passover.' 'A word spoken in due season, how good is it!' How much sophistication might be saved to the world, and to our world in particular, if the Government could apply your impartial rule to the Journalism of the daily press, and reserve one column to itself in every newspaper on behalf of the great cause of 'the Truth,' so as to permit an exposure in every succeeding number of what may appear to others the *fallacies* put forth in its predecessor. It is true an uncontrolled press may be preferable to an irresponsible censorship, but the 'true thing' would be to combine the two, and an open column to a legitimate 'Response' to false reasoning would go far to heal the mischief: *mais revenons à nos moutons*.

I do not purpose to discuss the merits of Dr. Milman's work as a literary work, for he is an eminent writer, though I think not in the same degree 'a divine;' but regarding the work to be a dangerous one, from its latitudinarian principles, I desire only to point out that the statements contained in it are not founded on facts, but

appear to be framed, on the contrary, in accordance with certain requisites, which are called for by the ultimate views of the work.

I shall confine myself to the extracts made in your Journal to show that this is so; for there, in his views relating to the conversion of the Teutonic races, he is shown to refer 'to a period when Christianity was in general content to await the settlement of the northern tribes, if not within the pale, at least upon the frontiers of the Empire: it had not yet been emboldened to seek them out in their own native forests and morasses.' Does Dr. Milman mean in this passage that the Christian dispensation waited for the settlement of the barbarous nations in Europe before it put forth its missionary powers? or that it owed its general propagation among the Teutonic nations to the energy of the Roman Church, either before or after this settlement? If that is his meaning, the statement is untrue. Let us see.

Down to the year A.D. 326 the Church was purely patriarchal, and in this state all the great Patriarchs presided, in a proper sense, oecumenically, that is to say, every separate church or household had the right of adopting the patronage or supremacy of whichever Patriarch it chose, as most suitable to its constituents, either on account of an original association, or for its doctrinal eminency, or even for its mere vicinity. The Church of Lyons and the British Church attached themselves wholly to the Asiatic Metropolitan of Ephesus. Before Constantine the Great—before the Bishop of Rome was known *as a power which had any precinctatory jurisdiction*—the Church of Christ was propagated throughout the whole Roman Empire, and beyond it, into the seats of many barbarous nations, and principally by missionaries from Asia, Syria, and Egypt; while Spain was closely connected with the African Church of that date. Many records are preserved of missions from these regions; few, indeed (if any that can be trusted as genuine), from Rome. The extensive spread of the Gospel in the first two centuries is the subject of admiration by the early writers, and the letters of Pliny to Trajan prove at least that 'Christianity had not waited in the populous countries of Asia to depopulate the temples of the heathen gods, and almost utterly destroy their sacrifices.'

The Goths, while yet inhabiting the forests of Mysia and Thrace, were also converted in the second century by Christian missionaries *from Asia*; the more distant churches of Gaul, and those of the Lower Rhenish and Belgian provinces, were all settled upon in the same century by Christian bishoprics; and though the source of their conversion is held doubtful, it is not doubtful that in those churches, generally the 'course' of the Asiatic churches was found to prevail in the time of Charlemagne, or that it was only by his absolute authority that they could be brought to adopt the Romish ritual. It is clear, therefore, that such churches could not have been founded by Roman missionaries.

Turning to the East, we read of Origen invited from Alexandria to the work of conversion among the Arabian nations; that Georgia was evangelised by a mission from Constantinople, and about the same time that Abyssinia received its first bishop also from the Egyptian Metro-

politan; while in the same centuries the churches of Persia were so numerous as to have become the objects of cruel persecution by the monarchs of that country, of which one period only extended over forty years, having continued from A.D. 330 to A.D. 370, and involved the death and ruin of vast multitudes of Christians.

I apprehend these facts, hastily recollected from volumes of the same kind, wholly contradict the general propositions of Dr. Milman, 'that Christianity was content to wait the settlement of the northern tribes,' &c. &c.; and all the inferences deduced from that proposition in favour of the Church of Rome's presumed utility, as a means of propagating the religion of Christ, will of course fall to the ground.

Again, Dr. Milman's eulogium proceeds: 'It was a surprising spectacle to behold the Teutonic nations melting gradually into the general mass of Christian worshippers. In every other respect they are still distinct races. The conquering Ostrogoth or Visigoth, the Vandal, the Burgundian, the Frank, stand apart from the subjugated Roman population, as an armed or territorial aristocracy; they maintain in great part their laws, their language, &c.; in religion alone they are blended into one society, constitute one church, worship at the same altar, and render allegiance to the same hierarch.'

Now, sir, *I protest that this statement is entirely fallacious*, and that this '*melting process*' had nothing whatever to do with the subsequent and violent '*casting of these nations*' and their churches into their '*Roman mould*.' They did not go into the furnace, as the earrings of the Israelites did, and come forth 'the idolatrous calf' we now find them. It was wholly from the work of a new fusion that the European churches were remodelled to their Roman character. The Teutonic churches (as Dr. Milman specifies them) were generally founded by missionaries, who were the great antagonists of the Imperial creed and its Roman Patriarch. The Burgundian, '*conquering Visigoth*,' and Vandal were all of the Arian creed, and if Rome, to her credit, maintained, till her idolatrous mania showed itself, a purer Christianity, it was impossible from that circumstance that she could have been the '*hierarch*' of all those dissident churches. But the testimony of history shows that she was not recognised in this character even by the Trinitarian church of Gaul. In the year A.D. 474 Sidonius relates the circumstances attending the progress of the '*conquering Visigoth*' in the South of France—when Auvergne, the great Catholic primacy of Gaul, was assailed by Euric; that author relates several conferences of the Catholic bishops of that country, to endeavour to turn away the storm of that Arian conquest, and to obtain terms for the Catholic churches. He enumerates many bishops in these conferences, and states also that the Roman Emperor sent his quæstor, Licinianus, as ambassador on the same errand, *but we read nothing of the Roman bishop*, not even an appeal in his name on behalf of his suffering suffragans. It is plain, therefore, the Gallic bishops, though Catholic, were not his suffragans. (Sid. Lib. 6, Ep. 6.) The whole of Western Gaul and Spain were at this time, as was the Ostrogothic king, all of the Arian church, while the old churches of Belgium and the Riparian territory were turned

into stables, and their bishops extruded by new hordes of the Alani and other barbarians at that same period; and it was only with the sudden light that broke in upon the Frank monarch at the battle of Tolbiacum—not certainly by the influence of the Roman bishop—that they were again restored, and the religion by which they had been raised brought back to their localities.

It is the fashion to account Remigius, who baptized Clovis, as a Roman bishop; but the whole evidence of authentic history goes to show that he was a Burgundian bishop of the first settlement of that people, and in that character no doubt had been patronised and established by the Burgundian wife of Clovis, in the vicinity of her new court. In no one circumstance of the life of that barbarous king does he appear associated with the Roman hierarchy, though he affected to be (S., *ib.*) with the Roman Emperor; while his attack upon the sacred territory of Arles, and the Italic patrimony in Gaul, shows that the Catholicity of a church constituted no bond of alliance in the eyes of that barbarian. Even so late as the seventh century, we find the workers of the Christian mission in the churches of Lower Germany proceeding principally from the British colleges. St. Columba, St. Gal, and St. Kilian it was who first penetrated through the idolatrous barrier of the Lower Rhenish and Cimric provinces, and opened the way into Germany. The Rhenish churches, even to the upper stream of that river, recorded their veneration for these insular apostles by privileges, commemorative of their mission, which were granted for many centuries in their monastic societies, towards all natives of Ireland and Scotland.

It was from this brotherhood that the Franco-Romish church took its first founders. Apostates from the simple faith of their British predecessors, Willebrord and Winfred, under the prevalence of the royal patronage of the Frank monarchs, accepted commissions from the Roman Patriarch (for such only he was at this time), and founded a new Imperial church in the West. Both these renegade missionaries had their first labours among the Frieslanders and low countries of the Rhenish æstuaries, in connection with the Scotch colleges; and Winfred, after being elevated by an entirely new title, as Archbishop of Mentz, in A.D. 746, to the Roman primacy of Germany and Belgium, returned to the people of his first labours in Friesland, and was put to death there, with fifty of his Roman followers: no doubt from indignation at his apostacy, and an attempt by him to introduce the new idolatries of Rome to his old churches.

'The surprising spectacle of the Teutonic nations melting into the general mass of Christian worshippers,' as a fruit of Latin Christianity, and as applied to the Roman pontifical Church, is therefore a prodigious malversation of the truth argumentatively, and a pure sophism in fact, if inductively taken; and as Dr. Milman builds his argument on the utility of that Church, and for that cause inculcates the philanthropic views he would encourage towards it, as a venerable nurse, something the worse for wear perhaps, but yet with a good deal of the '*alma mater*' about her, I would beg to caution your readers against being led away by such a latitudinarian generosity; because,

if the Roman Church is an idolatrous church, much as we may be disposed to cover her errors, and endure her manners, as a neighbour, it never can be maintained that her usurpations have not been an evil in the world, or that they are not such as the characteristics of the adulteress of Gospel prophecy were foreshown to be.

May I recapitulate briefly what was the true origin of the European supremacy of this Church?

In the early part of the eighth century arose the great question of image-worship. The Roman Emperor Leo had issued his famous edict for the removal of images out of the Roman churches, and Gregory II. was in the act of an open opposition to that decree. Troubles arose at the same period from the encroachments of the Lombards (ever the bitter enemies of Rome and its hierarchy), and in that concourse of difficulties Gregory made a first appeal to the Franks for assistance against his double foes. Charles Martel was then the Great Marshal of France, under the Clovian kings, and he, by a vigorous appeal to the Lombard king, restored the Roman bishop to tranquillity; but he stipulated for that service to be recognised as the future protector of that hierarchy. In A.D. 752 Astolphus, the Lombard king, seized on the Exarchate of Ravenna, and claimed lordship over Rome itself, as one of the dukedoms of that government, which it unquestionably had been. Stephen II. was then Bishop of Rome, and after in vain appealing to the forbearance of the Lombard king, and to the power of the Roman Emperor, he referred himself again to the Frankish power for support. At that precise time it happened that the work of treason and rebellion was rife in the Frank capital, as well as the Roman.

Pepin had just deposed his legitimate king, Childeric III., and in return for the new succour to be afforded to the Roman See, and the promised donative of the old Exarchate to its Bishop, Stephen promised on his part to do all he could to secure the new monarch in the possession of his usurped sovereignty. Sigon. iii. 126. As for the Roman Emperor, the true sovereign of Stephen, it was agreed by the high contracting parties that he had forfeited all right to his Italian provinces by his neglect to protect them and his persecution of the Church by his anti-idolatrous edicts.

Under this contract Pepin marched twice across the Alps, to give effect to his part of it; and on his second visit, he took the provinces of the Exarchate from the Lombard king, and gave them to his new high-priest; nor could all the remonstrances of the Emperor, *that the Roman bishop was his subject, and the territory his territory*, turn the valiant Frank from his purpose. It has been remarked, however, that a speedy judgment followed the perpetration of this transfer of the Imperial territory to the Roman See; and that, in the space of a very few months from the consummation of the treaty, Pepin, Astolphus, and Stephen were all cut off from the land of the living.

We cannot pursue these events at much length. The same *enteinte cordiale*, however, descended into the next generation, and Charlemagne, whose ambition was to compass an Imperial sceptre, made the Roman pontiff the instrument of that ambition; and having destroyed the kingdom of the Lombards, root and branch, and received the Im-

perial unction from the hands of the Roman Bishop, the new Emperor again largely endowed the Popedom, and gave its Bishop supremacy over all the churches of his empire. By that means the Roman Patriarch became the legitimate Primate of all those countries which constitute the territory of the new potentate.

This is the plain historical origin of the Roman Catholic power beyond its proper suburbicarian precincts in Italy, with which it was endowed, and to which it was limited, by the Emperor Constantine; and if it places Dr. Milman's high-drawn conceptions rather in the light of a poetical dream, it will be the true value at which they ought to be estimated.

After the death of Charlemagne and the breaking up of his empire, the Primacy of that extensive sovereignty became in danger of being curtailed. But, unwilling to lose its new power, the Roman hierarchy entered upon that system of invention by which it has since fastened its chains upon the Western world, and by which the times of the ninth and tenth centuries are particularly distinguished; and by forgeries of a pretended exercise of powers over foreign churches in the fourth and fifth centuries, and as the recognised possessor of the keys of the Church, doctrines which were then first propagated by the different orders of monks, who had renounced the episcopal supremacy for that of the patriarchal, and of which those in the West particularly attached themselves to the Roman Patriarch, the people were brought into a superstitious veneration for the Roman See, upon which its agents were enabled to establish a permanent and wide-spread supremacy.

'The wisest and most impartial of the Roman Catholic writers,' says Dr. Mosheim, 'acknowledge that, from the time of Lewis the Meek, the ancient rules of ecclesiastical government were gradually changed in Europe by the councils of the court of Rome, and new laws substituted in their place. The European princes suffered themselves to be divested of the supreme authority in religious matters, which they had derived from Charlemagne; the power of the bishops was greatly diminished; and the authority of Councils began to decline. The Roman Pontiffs, elated with their success, devoted themselves to the persuading of mankind that they were appointed by Christ as supreme judges of the Church universal, and that bishops and councils alike derived all their authority from them. In support of these pretensions there arose that host of forged documents, decretal epistles, acts of council, and what not, which distinguished that age, and to which men of the most eminent parts were not ashamed to lend their aid.'—Mosh., vol. ii. pt. 2, ch. 2.

I submit that this account of the origin of the Roman supremacy in Europe entirely negatives the doctrines of its utility, as an instrument of Providence for the early propagation of Christianity. It would be more to the purpose to admire the providence which has preserved the Church of Christ in Europe, in spite of this excrescence upon its fairest seats of empire; and with great deference, I think this is by far the safer, as well as the more philosophical way of regarding the matter. The safest touchstone of the truth, however, is always to be found in Holy Writ, and I will try the goodness of this new theory of the Dean

of St. Paul's by that test, and the words of his patron saint, for 'What fellowship,' says that eminent Apostle, 'has righteousness with unrighteousness; and what communion has light with darkness; and what concord hath Christ with Belial; and what agreement hath the temple of God with idols?'—2 Cor. vi. 15.

With respect to Miss F. Corboux's theory 'of the tidal flow of the Red Sea as a natural instrument of the Exodus;' the notice of her correspondent at Suez, 'that during strong north winds the tide at Suez begins ebbing sooner,' &c.; and her own solution of the case of the Exodus, 'by the prevalence of a *more* than commonly violent gale blowing from a northerly quarter, and of many hours' continuance; since Moses says that a strong wind blew all that night, by which the mean height both of high and low water of the evening tide must have been considerably less than usual,' &c., I only beg to point out, that 'the wind' spoken of by Moses is nowhere shown to have been a '*north wind*;' but, on the contrary, by the English translation it is stated to have been '*an east wind*,' and by the Septuagint '*a south wind*.' Moreover, it does not appear that Moses intended to indicate any agency by '*the wind*' at all; for though the English translation so renders it, the Septuagint speaks quite in a different manner; and that it was God who *instrumentally* subjected the waters, after the manner of a strong south wind, and divided them, as he promised Moses he would do, in answer to the sign He commanded him to make, by holding out his rod over the sea in the sight of the people; for the Greek words are 'και υπηγαγε Κυριος την θαλασσαν, εν ανεμω νοτω βιαιω, ολην την νυκτην, και εσχισθη το υδωρ.'—Sept. Ex. xiv. 21.

The word υπαγω is expressive of an instrumentality in its antecedent nominative; in no case can it be found in connection with a sequent agent: and reference to Scapula will show the nature of this peculiarity; and the English translation is wrong, if we may judge it by the Septuagint version. There the εν ανεμω βιαιω is plainly used adverbially 'after the manner of a violent wind,' and not instrumentally. Miss F. Corboux's conception 'that most people's idea about a wall is that of a perpendicular surface' seems, therefore, very much to the purpose as applicable to the case in point; for if the waters were divided, they would have had that appearance: and the very same prodigy happened at the River Jordan, where another historian relates that the waters also 'stood and rose up in a heap' towards the sources of the river.—Josh. iii. 16. The expression of Nabal's servants, that '*David's men had been as a wall to them*,' is not sufficient, I think, with great deference to Miss F. Corboux, to turn the historical account of the Exodus into a mere figurative description. The difference between the two accounts is sufficiently marked to show that distinction. Thus of the waters the expressions are 'και το υδωρ αυτης τειχος εκ δεξιων, και τειχος εκ ευωνομων,' 'the water of it (the sea) was a wall on the right hand and a wall on the left hand.' Whereas that of Samuel relating to David's followers is thus: 'και, εν τω ειναι ημας εν αγρω, ως τειχος ησαν περι ημας'—'When we were in the field, they were as a wall round about us.'—Sept.

There is no dealing with such a subject as a matter of taste and

opinion. Fabricius' friend in Gil Blas had the same conception about '*the wind*,' in the tragedy of Iphigenia—that it was the most interesting circumstance in that tragedy; and he had a right to his opinion, for it was one which could do no harm: but as a question which touches the religious belief of mankind, one cannot help regarding this favourite but somewhat obsolete theory, for invalidating the [miraculous agency of 'the outstretched arm of the Omnipotent' (of which the rod stretched forth as a sign by his prophet, was clearly indicative) on behalf of His Church, as a very useless and somewhat mischievous speculation.

Hitcham Rectory, 20th Oct. 1854.

H. M. G.

REPLY TO J. W. ON 'THE GOSPEL PREACHED BY CHRIST.'

SIR,—As the writer of the essay entitled 'The Gospel preached by Christ,' which has, I am grieved to see, moved the anger of J. W., will you permit me to say a very few words. As far as I am personally concerned, I should be content to leave the matter to speak for itself; but as many will read the letter of J. W. without taking the pains to inquire whether he is not under a mistake, I will just say that he has altogether misunderstood me.

If he will give himself the trouble to peruse my essay again, I am satisfied that he will himself confess that I have written nothing that can appear to limit the universality of the benefit contained in our Lord's sacrifice. I have said that 'the rejection of Jesus was required in order to produce the atonement,' but I have never said that the atonement was only for those who rejected him. Does J. W. mean to assert that the crucifixion could have taken place, if the Jews and Romans had received and acknowledged Christ? I have advanced nothing else than the assertion *that it could not*. All the rest is J. W.'s imagination.

As to the other objectionable averment of mine, that Christ spoke *reservedly* of his sufferings during the earlier part of his ministry, upon my word I did not think any one who had ever read the New Testament could have thought otherwise. An essay upon the Life of Christ, which should prove that Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount *intended* his hearers to go away with the impression that he was going to be crucified, would, I doubt not, be a monument of learned ingenuity, which it would give me much pleasure to study.

My hasty critic, J. W., could in all probability succeed much better in making his meaning plain to me, than I unfortunately have been able to do to him; but let me beg him to reconsider his decision, before he again delivers it, accompanied by such adjectives as '*pernicious*,' '*startling*,' '*objectionable*,' and a few others.

I am sure the idiosyncrasy of J. W. is very different from my own on many accounts, but certainly in the different expressions we should use in criticising a temperate essay.

W. H. J.

INTELLIGENCE.

BIBLICAL, LITERARY, AND EDUCATIONAL.

At the Syro-Egyptian Society, Nov. 14th, Mr. W. F. Ainsworth exhibited a sketch plan of the fortress called Akishah by the Turks, and Akaldzik by the Russians, situated on the frontiers of Georgia and Armenia. 2. Mr. Sharpe gave a description of four Egyptian slabs now in the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, which he judged from the style of workmanship ought to be placed in a row, so as to form one subject. On one is the head of Alexander the Great, with a Roman nose, and in every respect a European countenance. Before it are two ovals containing the name Alechant Amun, with the usual royal titles. On the second slab is the head of a worshipper presenting his offerings to the deified king. On the third is the ram's head belonging to the god Horef-ra, or Amun-ra-knef, the god of the oasis to which Alexander went on a pilgrimage. Between his horns is a large sun. This figure of a god should be placed behind the figure of Alexander. On the fourth slab is the head of a goddess of truth, known by her emblem of an ostrich-feather. She introduces mortals into the presence of the gods, and her figure should be placed behind that of the worshippers. After this group of four figures had been completed by the Egyptian artist, some Greek sculptor undertook to add an explanation of it, which is cut in rude letters, and in lines not straight, and with the omission of some of the vowels. Under the hieroglyphical name of Alexander the Great he has written 'Alexander the son of Amun.' Over the head of the worshipper he has written 'Alexander is able to appease Olympic Jove.' And in front of the worshipper he has written 'The divine Hephæstion.' That the worshipper should have been originally meant for Hephæstion, who had himself been made a god, seems improbable; but the Greek writing is most valuable as explaining the rank given to a deified king. Alexander was thought to be a mediator between the mortal in the act of prayer and the god Amun-ra-knef. Moreover, this is the only Egyptian monument which has been found bearing the name of Alexander the Great. 3. Dr. Lee read some remarks upon certain figures in glass, of various colours, presented to the Hartwell Museum by Mr. Coster of Alexandria. This paper was illustrated by drawings by Mr. Bonomi. No. 1 represented a mummy with a lion's or a cat's head, whilst the tail was that of a fish or of a serpent, coiled up in that particular mode which the ureus or sacred serpent takes in the inscriptions. The cat's head is peculiar to Lower Egypt, more particularly the region of Bubastis, where the cat-headed goddess Pasht was more particularly worshipped. No. 2 represented the figure of a cow reposing, and consisted of a mixture of blue and white glass. Between the horns were the feathers and solar disc. These were of a green glass, as were also the two fore feet. A layer of white glass was ingeniously placed at the hinder part of the figure, in order, probably, to give effect to the colour of the head. This may have been some votive offering to Isis or Athor—as both of these divinities seem to have been represented by a cow—bearing on its head the solar disc, and the feathers of Truth or Justice. No. 3. The figure of a bull with the feet tied, and prepared for sacrifice. This figure was in transparent blue glass. No. 4. The Agatho demon in blue glass, with some streaks of white across it. The figure represented the scarabæus or sacred beetle, with the head of the hawk, and a pair of expanded wings. This was, like No. 1, one of those curious combinations of the emblem and animal representations of the divinities of Egypt, which appear to have come into fashion in later times. In this case a combination of Horus, or perhaps of Haroerus (to whom the hawk was sacred), with Tore, to whom, according to Wilkinson, the scarabæus was sacred. No. 5. The figure of a dog couchant, on the top of a building, in blue glass, with some stripes of

white on the neck and feet. The figure of a dog or jackal is the emblem under which the Egyptian god Anubis was signified.—*Literary Gazette*, Nov. 23rd.

At the Royal Society of Literature, Nov. 22nd, Mr. Hogg read a very interesting paper 'On an Assyrian Mound in Bas-relief, near Damascus,' for details of which he was indebted to the Rev. J. L. Porter, M.A., who resides at Damascus. Mr. Porter states that he had lately made an excursion to Tel-es-Salahieh, with the object of securing the Assyrian bas-relief mentioned in one of his former letters, but had been unsuccessful in this object. He had, however, a good opportunity of carefully examining the mound itself, the construction of which is strictly analogous to that of the well-known remains at Nimroud and Kalah-Shergât. It is situated on the left bank of the river Barada, in the midst of an extensive and fertile plain. It appears that there was originally a platform of sun-dried bricks, from 800 to 900 yards in circumference, and about 20 feet high. One side of this is washed by the river, which has, in one place, carried away several yards of it, thus exposing to view the regular layers of brickwork. In the centre of the platform there has been some great structure, which could not have been less than 150 to 200 feet high. The ruins now form a pyramid, whose base covers the greatest part of the platform. A modern graveyard occupies part of the summit. A small village is situated on the western base of the mound, and the sculpture, when Mr. Porter first saw it, lay between the village and it. Mr. Porter describes the sculpture as strongly resembling that from the Nahr-el-Kelb, near Beirût, a cast from which has been presented to the British Museum by the Duke of Northumberland.—*Literary Gazette*, Dec. 2nd.

It will not be forgotten that the French Government, two or three years ago, sent three gentlemen to make scientific and artistic researches in Media, Mesopotamia, and Babylonia. One of them, M. Jules Oppert, has just returned to Paris, and it appears from his report that he and his colleagues thought it advisable to begin by confining themselves to the exploration of ancient Babylon. This task was one of immense difficulty, and it was enhanced by the excessive heat of the sun, by privations of all kinds, and by the incessant hostility of the Arabs. After a while M. Oppert's two colleagues fell ill, so that all the labours of the expedition devolved on him. He first of all made excavations of the ruins of the famous suspended gardens of Babylon, which are now known by the name of the Hall of Amran-ibn-Ali, and he obtained in them a number of curious architectural and other objects, which are destined to be placed in the Louvre at Paris, and which will be described hereafter. He next, in obedience to the special orders of his Government, took measures for ascertaining the precise extent of Babylon,—a matter which the reader is aware has always been open to controversy. He has succeeded in making a series of minute surveys, and in drawing up detailed plans of the immense city. His opinion is, that even the largest calculations as to its vast extent are not exaggerated; and he puts down that extent at the astounding figure of 500 square kilometres, French measure (the square kilometre is 1196 square yards). This is very nearly eighteen times the size of Paris. But of course he does not say that this enormous area was occupied, or anything like it; it comprised within the walls huge tracts of cultivated lands and gardens, for supplying the population with food in the event of a siege. M. Oppert has discovered the Babylonian and Assyrian measures, and by means of them has ascertained exactly what part of the city was inhabited, and what part was in fields and gardens. On the limits of the town, properly so called, stands at present the flourishing town of Hillah. This town, situated on the banks of the Euphrates, is built with bricks from the ruins, and many of the household utensils and personal ornaments of its inhabitants are taken from them also. Beyond this town is the vast fortress, strengthened by Nebuchadnezzar, and in the midst of it is the royal palace—itsself almost as large as a town. M. Oppert says that he was also able to distinguish the ruins of the famous Tower of Babel; they are most imposing, and stand on a site formerly called Borsippa, or the Tower of Languages. The royal town, situated on the two banks of the Euphrates, covers a space of nearly seven square kilometres, and contains most interesting ruins. Amongst them are those of the royal palace, the fortress, and

the suspended gardens. In the collection of curiosities which M. Oppert has brought away with him is a vase, which he declares to date from the time of one of the Chaldean sovereigns named Narambel, that is, somewhere about one thousand six hundred years before Jesus Christ; also a number of copies of cuneiform inscriptions, which he has every reason to believe that he will be able to decipher.—*Literary Gazette*, Dec. 2nd.

We have had occasion to notice at different times the explorations of the ruins of Memphis, made by M. Mariette, by direction of the French Government, during the last few years. M. Mariette has just returned to Paris after having completed his operations. The most important result of these is the recovery of the famous Serapeum, or temple of Serapis, which was supposed to have been entirely destroyed. The sand and rubbish have been completely cleared away from the remains of this great and most ancient monument. It contains numerous representations of Apis, and statues of Pindar, Homer, Lycurgus, Pythagoras, Plato, and Euripides; and it is preceded by a sort of alley or passage, on each side of which are Egyptian sphinxes, about six hundred in number, and which is terminated by a number of figures, representing in a strange way the Grecian gods united with symbolical animals. Thus, a striking proof of the junction of Egyptian and Grecian art has been obtained. M. Mariette has also discovered the tomb of Apis. It is cut out of the solid rock; and consists of a vast number of chambers and galleries. In fact, it may be compared to a subterranean town. In these rooms and galleries there were found a great number of monoliths, containing dates which will be of great chronological utility, and others bearing epitaphs on, or, if we may use the expression, biographical notices of, certain of the oxen which were severally worshipped as Apis. There have also been found statues as old as the Pyramids, and in an astonishing state of preservation; they are executed with great artistic skill, and are totally free from that inelegant stiffness of form which characterises early Egyptian sculpture. Some of these statues are in granite and are coloured, and the colours are quite fresh. A number of statues of animals, but not so well executed, one of these representing Apis, almost as large as life, and coloured, have likewise been discovered; as have also numerous bronzes, jewels, vases, and little images. All the statues and other movables have been conveyed to Paris, and are to be added to the Museum of the Louvre. The greatest credit is due to M. Mariette for his skill and industry in making his discoveries; they are only inferior in historical and archaeological importance to those of Mr. Layard at Nineveh. The precise site of Memphis was until quite recently a matter of great doubt, and when that was discovered it was not thought at all likely that any remains of the temple of Serapis could be brought to light.—*Literary Gazette*, Dec. 2, 1854.

At the Asiatic Society, Nov. 18th, Lieut. Hugh Williams, of the Royal Engineers, was elected a resident member. A short paper was read from Colonel Rawlinson, which was written for the purpose of remedying the confusion introduced into some later portions of Assyrian history by certain views advocated by the Rev. Dr. Hincks in No. 1944 and No. 1959 of the '*Literary Gazette*.' The Colonel begins by stating his general agreement with the Doctor as to the chronology of Sargon and Sennacherib, but observes that they both take their stand on Ptolemy's Canon, which may possibly require astronomical correction, and that he awaits the rectifications which Mr. Bosanquet is preparing, and has already applied to the eclipses of Thales and Hezekiah, before he can undertake to support or to modify his published views. In regard to the successors of Sennacherib, the Colonel is inclined to admit that he had two sons, of whom the second is the Esar Haddon of the Bible; and he enters into some discussion of the reasons which induce him to do so, but which could not be made apparent without the cuneiform character. With regard, however, to the three sons of Esar Haddon, whom Dr. Hincks advocates, he records his entire dissent. There is but one son named in the inscriptions—viz. Assur-bani-pal; and the names read as those of the brothers of Assur-bani-pal are, in fact, only readings of the same name. This question, like the other, cannot be understood without the cuneiform character; and for that purpose the paper will probably be printed in the Society's Journal.

In the mean time, it is sufficient to record the result of the Colonel's investigation, that there was but one son. Colonel Rawlinson further remarks on the name and attribution of Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar, being given by Dr. Hincks to certain characters which were read by himself three years ago, as Nabonidus—a reading which has since been confirmed by a hundred examples on bricks and cylinders. The Colonel concludes his paper by announcing that in the south-east palace of Nimrud many relics have been recently dug up, containing the name of the grandson of Esar Haddon, or son of Assur-bani-pal. He would provisionally read it Asshur-emit-ili. This king must have reigned from 645 to 625 B.C., therefore during the Scythian invasion, and at the epoch of the destruction of Nineveh by the Medes. A communication was also read from Professor Wilson, consisting of a correspondence between himself and Sir John Bowring, upon the subject of the Buddhist books known to have been carried from India, and translated into Chinese, in the first six or seven centuries of the Christian era. Sir John has taken up the inquiry with much zeal, and, with the assistance of Mr. Edkins, a gentleman who is devoting himself especially to this particular field of Chinese literature, has succeeded in obtaining copies of several of the works in question. These works have been sent to England, and, with them, some notices of their contents. They are of an interesting character, but are evidently not among the most ancient of the Buddhist authorities. One of them is said to be a Chinese version of the work translated by Burnouf from the Sanscrit, under the title of 'Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi.' Inquiries for other works of this kind are being actively prosecuted, and it is extremely desirable that no time should be lost, as the Tae-ping-wang people (the insurgents) everywhere destroy all libraries and books excepting their own, which are compositions of the most vulgar character.

Numismatic Society, Nov. 23rd.—Mr. Vaux read a paper, communicated by Colonel Leake, 'On the Origin of the Monetary Standards of Ancient Greece.' Colonel Leake remarked that the progress of arts and literature appears to have held a course quite independent of each other in European and Asiatic Greece; and hence, that we might naturally expect that the Greek people both in Asia and in Europe should have put forward a claim to the invention of symbolized monetary currency. Thus Herodotus, as an Asiatic Greek, gives the honour to Lydia, ignoring the claim of Ægina, during the reign of Pheidon of Argos, which was generally recognised in Europe. Colonel Leake himself considers that the words *obolus* and *drachma* are themselves strong arguments in favour of the ancient tradition that the monetary art in European Greece originated at Ægina in a drachma divided into six oboli; and that, prior to the reign of Pheidon, of whose dominions Ægina was a part, and the emporium of its foreign commerce, there had been a currency of *obelisci* (small pyramidal pieces of silver), six of which were considered to be a *drachma* or handful. On the other hand, there seems little doubt that Herodotus is so far correct in his view, that the coinage of Lydia was far more ancient than that of any other Asiatic state, while there is strong probability that the earliest of the presumed Lydian coins issued from the mint of Sardes. All such money must be deemed anterior to the capture of Sardes by Cyrus, B.C. 548. The resemblance in form, style, and weight to the coins of Lydia shows that Darius, the son of Hystaspes, took them as his pattern when he established a coinage in Persia, and struck the well-known coins which, after him, have been called *Darics*.—*Literary Gazette*, Dec. 2, 1854.

The French Academy has awarded the various annual prizes. The poetic prize, 1000 dollars, was awarded to Madame Louise Colet—a lady who has several times won it before; the subject had been given by the Academy—'The Acropolis of Athens.' The two prizes of 500 dollars each, for works in the interest of morals, were awarded to the Abbé Grathy, for his 'Knowledge of God,' and to M. Jules Simon for his 'Duty.' The prize of 200 dollars was given to M. de Beauchesne for his 'Life, Agony, and Death of Louis XVII.' The distribution of the Gobert awards, for works connected with the history of France, is, according to the testator's directions, made in the following way:—Each year's prize is given to the writer who won the last, unless a better history than his has been produced since.

But the last recipients maintain their pre-eminence—Augustin Thierry and Henri Martin. The Lambert prize, usually given to the widows of literary men, was this year awarded to Madame Emile Souvestre. The 200-dollar prize for courage was won by a cooper at Havre. The famous Montegon fund, for acts and lives of virtue and devotion, having produced this year 4300 dollars, was divided into two prizes of 300 dollars each, five of 200 dollars, and seventeen of 100 dollars. The first two were awarded to two old ladies of 72 and 61 years, whose lives have been spent in constant self-sacrifice. M. de Salvandy, the Director of the Academy, drew tears from the audience as he recounted the virtues of the two maiden laureates.

An attempt is making to establish a new Club for the purpose of printing and reprinting works which would not repay the expense of publication, under the title of the Philobiblon Society. One of the members (Mr. Beriah Botfield) has recently circulated among his private friends a small but important tract, in which he recommends, with the laudable earnestness of conviction, 'the editing and reprinting of the prefaces of the editors of the first editions of the Greek and Latin classical authors,' named in a list which he appends. This list is not a long one; and, if we mistake not, it might have been considerably increased (for instance, in the case of Pomponius Lætus, who superintended several works not enumerated), but it is sufficient to answer the purpose in view, and as we entirely agree with Mr. Botfield, we feel bound to say, that that purpose at least deserves consideration. If we understand him rightly, he has had these 'prefaces,' sometimes more properly termed dedications, transcribed, and he offers the transcripts to the Philobiblon Society. Thus the funds will be saved, and we may perhaps conclude that the obligation will be carried further, and that Mr. Botfield will himself edit these reprints, and carefully collate his copies with the originals: accuracy in an undertaking of the kind is of first-rate importance. In the course of his introduction to his list, he enters into various curious particulars respecting the *editiones principes* of classical writers in Greek and Latin, and lightly touches upon the interesting question, 'how far, and in what way, the early employment of the Art of Printing in this country contributed to the Reformation?'—*Athenæum*, Oct. 14.

Dr. Guest, the present Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, is a layman. He is a man of property, too, and his property lies in Oxfordshire. A curious point arose the other day, upon the occasion of the nomination of sheriffs. Dr. Guest was on the list for Oxfordshire; and the Lords of the Council were puzzled about what they should do, seeing that it could hardly be expected that Dr. Guest should be at once Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge and Sheriff of Oxfordshire. There was difference of opinion about his liability to serve the latter office, and the point does not appear to have been decided, which is a matter of no great consequence, seeing that a similar case is very unlikely to arise. In this particular instance, Dr. Guest was relieved from all apprehension of having a double duty imposed upon him. Whatever may be the duties of a sheriff, the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge has enough to do, one way or other, to fill up one man's time.

The number of matriculations this year exceeds that of last year by twenty-one—429 for 1854, and 408 for 1853. The number of resident members of the University, in college and in lodgings, this November, is just two more than it was at the corresponding period last year. There are now 1896 in Cambridge.

Just two hundred men passed the Voluntary Theological Examination this year. This is a wonderful increase upon the half-dozen who ventured upon the ordeal when the examination was first established; but it was voluntary then—it is compulsory now. As two hundred and twenty-five men gave notice of their intention to undergo the examination, we conclude that twenty-five unfortunates had been too negligent to read as they ought to have done.

The *Churchman's Magazine* for November (Harrison, Pall-Mall) has an article in which the American and English Prayer-books are compared. The writer sums up as follows:—

'The American Prayer-book affords a remarkable instance of the overruling and superintending providence of God. On the other hand it shows many marks

of party spirit and compromise, and furnishes a memorable example of the danger of hastily meddling with what has once been settled by competent authority. So well satisfied of this truth is the American Church at the present day, that it has actually bound itself by stringent regulations not to allow of alterations hereafter until the proposed changes have been discussed during three years at least, and have been duly considered by the several diocesan conventions. It is but fair to state that some of the existing arrangements of the American rubrics and rituals harmonise with the recommendations of the late committees of the Convocation of the province of Canterbury. Among these we may specify the admission of parents as sponsors; the permission of a third service, considerably abridged, though not actually printed in the Prayer-book; the adoption of an authorised collection of hymns; and the omission of certain strong expressions in the third exhortation following the prayer for the Church Militant. Of a like nature with these are the changes in the Burial Service, which omits any direct expression of the Christian character of the deceased. Instead of "to take unto himself the soul of our dear brother here departed," the American Church reads, "to take out of this world the soul of our deceased brother;" and instead of "sure and certain hope," &c., "looking for the general resurrection in the last day and the life of the world to come." It is probable that, by degrees, other alterations will be made; but we have reason to believe that hereafter there will be a gradual approximation either to the English standard or to a standard common to both Churches. As early as 1789 the House of Bishops made an attempt to restore the creed of St. Athanasius, but the Lower House at that time refused its assent. At present public sentiment within the Church is much more alive to the intrinsic value of that venerable confession of the true faith. In this connection we may state that, in practice, the sign of the cross is never omitted in baptism, and that the usual order of the Psalms is generally preferred to the "selections." Chanting daily service, and the observance of saints' days, are also making rapid progress, though it does not appear that the members of the Convention of 1785 entertained any distinct idea of elevating the practice of the Church in these respects above the ordinary standard of the age.

The Norrisian Professor gives notice that the subject for the Norrisian Prize Essay for the present year is, 'The providence of God has been signally manifested by the manner in which error and heresy have been made subservient to the vindication and confirmation of truth.' The essay is to be sent on or before the tenth day preceding the Sunday in Passion-week, 1855.

At Troyes there is an interesting discovery of ms. papers, being the archives of the Abbey of Villeneuve, better known as the Abbey de Nesle, going back to the ninth century, and numbering between 7000 and 8000 pieces.

It is proposed, under high auspices, to commemorate the worth of the late Chancellor Raikes by founding one or more scholarships at the Training College, Chester.

Extracts of a letter from the Rev. J. Rebmann to the Rev. H. Venn, dated Kisaludini (in Rabbai), April 13, 1854.—Of that preparatory work mentioned above, which I have been engaged in this half-year, I would first mention the gathering of a vocabulary of the Kiniassa language, which I have now carried to the letter M. I need scarcely say that it also belongs to the great South African family of languages. Sounds which we have not yet met with in other dialects are 'pf' and 'ps' or 'bs,' for the latter of which I have chosen the Greek ψ. My informant is a slave from Mombas, who came into our service before I knew anything about his origin, which I rather accidentally discovered when I heard him once speak to one of his fellow-servants in a strange dialect. On inquiry, I was told that he was a M'niassa, who, in consequence of international expeditions for slave-catching, was seized by a tribe called Wapogera, who sold him to the Wamarávi, and these to Suaheli slave-merchants, who had come from Uibu (a small island belonging to Mozambique, and on the maps called *Ibo*). At Uibu, which was reached after two months' travelling at a very slow rate (in effective march only half the time is wanted), he was at last bought by slave-merchants from

Mombas. This, he thinks, happened about ten years ago, while he is now a man of about thirty years of age. The remembrance of his country and language can therefore be well supposed to be very distinct. His native territory he calls Kumbande, two days west from the lake which, by the tribes who live on its banks, is called Niansha (or Nianja), of which the Suahelis evidently made Niassa. He states that he used to go very often to the lake, in search of *mia* (pl. of *mûa*), a species of palm, of the leaves of which the natives make mats, bags, &c., as also to buy cotton, which is grown near the lake, and of which they weave a coarse kind of cloth, while their better articles of clothing, as also their beads, brass wire, and especially their guns (called 'fuds' in their language), they buy from the Portuguese, who seem to have some settlements at no great distance from them, called 'Kubale' and 'Kumkôma.' The Portuguese are called by them 'Wakigunda,' while the name generally given by the East Africans to Europeans is 'Wasunga.' From that part of the lake's banks he used to come to from his home, the opposite side cannot be seen; but a boat starting at daybreak will reach it at sunset. Their boats are, however, not provided with rudders, wherefore they only use oars. Following the margin of the lake to the south, through the territory of Marávi, for a few days its breadth seems gradually to decrease, till, as my informant expressed himself, people on the one side are within call of people on the other side; but of its extent to the north he and his countrymen have no idea. They only know that it gets much broader there than it is with them; so much so, that they are deterred from fording it, because they lose sight of the banks, and therefore only go to neighbouring islands for fishing. During the cold and rainy season the lake is said to be extremely boisterous, but during the hot season quite calm. When my informant spoke of the cold in his country, he described the water as getting a hard crust during the night; which of course can be nothing else but ice, called 'Kungu' in their language. This, however, is only found in small collections of standing water, and never in the Lake Niassa. The Wakiáo (not Wahiau) are spread on the eastern banks of the lake; to the south and south-west are the Wamarávi; and north from these the Wakamtunda, of whom the Wakumpandi and Wapogéra are only subdivisions. The name Marávi, which in older maps is given as the name of the lake, I had never heard before from a native. Salimini, my informant, never applied it to the lake, but to a large territory bordering upon it, and in part forming its south-western banks. The occupants are called Wamarávi; and these, together with the Wakamtunda, and perhaps still the other tribes, are, by the Suahelis on the coast generally, comprised under the common name Waniássa. The Wakamanga, whom on the map of 1850 I have placed to the east of the lake, are, according to Salimini, to be placed even to the west of the Wakamtunda, to whom they stand in the same relation as the Wakamba to the Wanika. He also mentioned a large river to the south of his country, which he called Temba, and the people living on its banks Watemba. Temba may be identical with Tembo, about half a degree south of Ibo (Uibu)—(see W. Keble's map of Africa, published for the Christian Knowledge Society). In the vicinity of the Watemba are the Wanzunsi, who, from an abundance of iron in their country, seem to be the principal blacksmiths among all the tribes around. On being applied to for hoes by people who have come from a distance, with a cow or goat for their barter, they will work all the night at their fires.—*Athenæum*, Oct. 14.

Extracts of a letter from the Rev. Dr. Livingston to the Rev. Arthur Tidman, D.D., dated Town of Sekeletu, Linyanti, 24th September, 1853.—When the obstacles which caused our detention at Kuruman were removed, we passed quickly towards the country of Sebituane, until within one degree of latitude from this town. All the people were then suddenly laid prostrate by fever, except one lad and myself. This caused a further loss of time, but through the goodness of God all recovered. On reaching this, the southern capital of the Makololo, we were received with all the demonstrations of welcome which they are accustomed to bestow on their chiefs. We embarked on the river called everywhere Leeambye, at the village of Sekhosi; our fleet consisting of thirty-three canoes, and our company of about one hundred and sixty men. From the bend at Katima-molelo up to the commencement of the Barotse valley, the country is

covered by forest and tsetse. Many villages of Banyeti, a poor but industrious people, are situated on both of them. They are expert as hunters of hippopotami and other animals, and cultivate grain extensively. Passing beyond these parts, the high banks seem to leave the river, and stretch away to the N.N.E. and N.N.W., until between twenty and thirty miles apart: the intervening space, 100 miles in length, is the Barotse country, and this is annually inundated, as Lower Egypt is by the Nile. The valley is covered with coarse succulent grasses, which is the pasturage of large herds of cattle during a portion of the year. There are many villages of Makololo in the valley. I have not put down all that I visited, and many were seen in the distance. But there are no large towns. The reasons are, the mounds on which alone towns and villages are built are all small, and the people require to live separate, on account of being rich in cattle. Nariéle, the capital of the Barotse country, does not contain one thousand inhabitants. We went north till we came to the junction of Leeba or Londa with the main stream Leeambye, in $14^{\circ} 11'$ south lat., and found the country presenting the same characteristics as I have described. On returning towards Nariéle, I went to the eastern ridge, in order to examine that, and see the establishment of a merchant from the furthest inland station of the Portuguese, opposite Benguela. A stockade had been erected, and a flagstaff for the Portuguese banner planted. The houses of the merchant and some bastards were in the West African style. The owner, whom I had previously seen at Linyanti, was absent; but his servants did their utmost to show me kindness. When my boatmen prepared my bed outside, they insisted on my occupying their master's couch, and I never felt so grateful in my life for a warm shelter, for I was in the cold stage of one of the intermittents, which continued to plague me after the fever. I thought of going westward in company with this merchant; but the sight of gangs of poor wretches in chains at the stockade induced me to resolve to proceed alone. I have not, I am sorry to confess, discovered a healthy locality. The whole of the country of Sebituane is unhealthy. The current of the river is rapid as far as we went, and showed we must have been on an elevated table-land, yet the inundations cause the fever to prevail very extensively. I am at a loss what to do, but will not give up the case as hopeless. Shame upon us missionaries if we are to be outdone by slave-traders! I met Arabs from Zanguebar, subjects of the Imaum of Muscat, who had been quite across the continent. They wrote Arabic readily in my note-book, and boldly avowed that Mohammed was the greatest of all the prophets. But for the destruction of my celestial map by the Boers, I might have determined the longitude by occultations alone, they being much more to be depended on than the common method of lunar distances. If, then, I am right, we are nearer the west than the east coast. Nariéle is in 23° east, and the confluence of the Leeba or Londa not much more. I have not had time to work out the longitude of that point; but the river (Leeba) comes from the capital of a powerful state, whose chief is reported to be friendly to foreigners. If I am permitted to return by the chieftain, it will be water-carriage for perhaps two-thirds of the way. And should a mission be established there in time, it will be all the better. I intend to try for Loanda, because though further, many English live there. I go on horseback, wagon travelling being reported impossible, on account of forests and numerous rivers. The Portuguese are carried in hammocks hung on poles—two slaves carry a man—but it does not look well. The Portuguese maps are all constructed from native reports, so no dependence can be placed upon them. Many tribes inhabit the country, all more or less accustomed to the visits of strangers. The greatest difficulty, I apprehend, is that of making our objects understood. Their languages bear a close affinity to the Borotse dialect; but this I was compelled to give up reducing. The country in the direction of Mosicotunya has high mountains, and the Batska country is a high table-land, without trees except along the rivers. Healthy spots may be found in both of these; but in neither did I feel it my duty to travel, because the vicinity of Mosilikatse renders it impossible for Makololo or any other tribe to reside there. A change may yet be effected among the Matibele, which would change the present aspect of affairs.—*Athenæum*, Oct. 14.

Despatch from Acting-Consul Gabriel to Lord Clarendon, announcing the arrival of Dr. Livingston at Loanda, on the west coast of Africa:—

'My Lord,—I have much pleasure in acquainting your Lordship that the Rev. David Livingston, who set out from the Cape of Good Hope in May, 1852, for the purpose of exploring the interior of Southern Africa, arrived at this place on the 31st ult., after having, with the most inadequate resources, traversed the interior of this continent between the meridians of 23° and 26° of east longitude, as far as 9° of southern latitude. Mr. Livingston sojourned about eight months in the country of the Yambeze, lying in the centre of the continent, between the parallels of 14° and 18° of south lat., where he appears to have been received in the most amiable manner by Sekeletu, the paramount chief; and during that time he seems to have laboured diligently in propagating the Gospel, and attaining a knowledge of the country and its inhabitants. He started from the capital of Seketu, on the margins of the river Cholé, in lat. 18° 17' south, and long. 23° 49' east, in November, 1853, accompanied by seventy-seven of the natives, and a sufficient number of oxen for the journey, which he obtained from that chief. Ascending thence one of the branches of the river Yambeze, which flows through a portion of the Balonda country, he proceeded westward, and entered within the limits of this province at Cassangé, in lat. 9° 37' 30" south, and long. 17° 43' east, having experienced considerable obstructions from the native tribes with whom he came in contact as he approached the Portuguese territory. From Cassangé he followed a direct course to Loanda, and travelled through some of the most important Portuguese settlements in the interior of Angola, receiving every facility from the Portuguese authorities through whose jurisdiction he passed. The adventures and discoveries of this enterprising and energetic traveller will doubtless be laid before the public in due time; but I hasten to report to your Lordship the interesting fact of his arrival at this place, feeling assured that it will be gratifying to you to hear of the movements of a gentleman who, notwithstanding all the dangers and difficulties which surrounded him in travelling amongst a people who had never seen a European before, and treading on grounds the knowledge and true position of which had been hitherto wholly unknown, has, by his own personal exertions and dauntless courage, done so much to enlarge the bounds of geographical science. I have the honour to enclose herewith the official bulletin of this province, containing a short announcement of the arrival of Mr. Livingston, a translation of which I also beg to subjoin. Mr. Livingston's health has, I am extremely sorry to say, suffered severely since his arrival at this place; but he notwithstanding seems resolved to proceed on another tour of discovery as soon as the state of his health and other circumstances will permit. I have read this despatch to Mr. Livingston, whose illness will prevent him from preparing any report of his movements for transmission to England by the present opportunity. That gentleman requests me to add, for your Lordship's information, that it is with peculiar satisfaction he has learnt since his arrival here of the efforts now making by Commander Bedingfield, of her Majesty's steam-vessel *Plato*, to open up commercial intercourse with the chiefs of the Congo, because in the course of his travels he crossed the river Casai, flowing N.N.E. and N.E., and the Urango [*sic*] flowing due N., which are reported by the Portuguese traders in the interior, as well as by intelligent natives, after watering an immense extent of well-peopled country, to form, by their junction, the river Zairo or Congo. Mr. Livingston is of opinion that, if legitimate commerce were once established on the Congo, there is a high degree of probability that the slave-trade would be effectually checked throughout the whole extent of that country.—I have, &c.

'Loanda, June 22, 1854.'

'EDMUND GABRIEL.

In No. 18 of '*Judea Zeitung*,' an American Israelite, Leon Dyer, thus speaks of his visit to Jerusalem:—'Palestine, as it is now, is no more the former Palestine, no more the land in which milk and honey flows; neither are now found there. Beef, butter, fish, good water, &c., are articles of luxury unknown at Jerusalem. Indeed, it seems that the whole nature of the country is thoroughly changed; the brooks are dry, the ponds without water, the land everywhere barren and fruitless; desolation and ruin are reigning on all sides, and will no doubt continue till the curse which lies upon the country is removed by the coming of Messiah, which, as I hope, God will vouchsafe us in our days.'

The Bishop of Jerusalem is on the point of returning to Europe. The interests of the mission, and those also of his children, call him hither.

MISCELLANEOUS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Shortly, Oxford Essays, written by Members of the University of Oxford. One vol. 8vo.—Cambridge Essays, written by Members of the University of Cambridge. One vol. 8vo.—The former to appear at the commencement, and the latter in the spring, of 1855. These volumes, consisting of contributions from members of the respective Universities, will be devoted principally to the discussion of literary or scientific subjects. The absence of any attempt to criticise every important production of contemporary literature will distinguish them from the established Quarterly Reviews, while they will avoid interference with the special province of the different scientific journals, by the omission, as far as possible, of technicalities. They are not intended to represent or advocate the opinions of any particular party either within or without the Universities, but rather to serve as a vehicle by which those who are interested in special subjects, of whatever character, may contribute to a common publication. Many of those who have quitted their University for public or professional life will be glad to have an opportunity of uniting with those still occupied in University studies or duties, and there is a considerable number of members, both resident and non-resident, who wish to see such a publication undertaken, and who would themselves contribute to its pages. It is hoped that the success of these first volumes may be such as to justify the publication of two volumes, on a similar plan, another year; but those who wish that the undertaking may succeed are conscious how experimental it is, and how much its continuance must depend not only on its reception by the public, but on the amount of sympathy and encouragement afforded by members of the two Universities.

The Seatonian Prize for the best poem on a religious subject—subject for the present year, 'Ezekiel'—has been adjudged to E. H. Bickersteth, M.A., of Trinity.

The prize at Trinity College for the best essay on the character of William III. has been adjudged to Clement Tudway Swanston, B.A., who also gained the undergraduate prize last year.

On Nov. 9, Mr. Edgar Morton Acock, Bible-clerk of Magdalen, was elected to the vacant Hebrew scholarship founded by the late Dr. Ellerton.

Shortly, a New Edition of the Rev. T. H. Horne's Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, edited by the Rev. T. H. Horne (the Author), the Rev. Sam. Davidson, D.D., Author of 'A Treatise on Biblical Criticism,' and S. P. Tregelles, LL.D., Author of 'Heads of Hebrew Grammar.' (Longman.)

Preparing, an Analytical Concordance to the Holy Bible, with the Text in full, by the Rev. Professor Eadie, D.D.

In the Press, The Life and Travels of Herodotus, in the Fifth Century before Christ: an imaginary Biography founded on fact, and intended to illustrate the Manners, Religion, and Social Condition of the Greeks, Egyptians, Hebrews, Phœnicians, Babylonians, Persians, Scythians, and other Nations of the Ancient World, as they were in the days of Pericles and Nehemiah. By J. Talboys Wheeler. (Longman.)

Dr. Alliot's Congregational Lecture. Psychology, in its relation to Investigations respecting the Religious Life, Natural Theology, and Supernatural Communications from God. The object is, after showing that a relation really exists, to discuss, with the aid of Psychology, several important and controverted questions relative to each of the three topics referred to above. (Jackson and Walford.)

Preparing for publication, A General View of the History of the Canon of the New Testament during the first Four Centuries. By the Rev. B. F. Westcott. (Macmillan.)

Professor Zahn, who has passed not fewer than fifteen years in investigating the ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii, is preparing for publication, at Berlin, the

27th and last part of his great work on the monuments discovered in those towns. This work is one of the most expensive ever published in Germany, each copy costing 300 thalers (about 46*l.*). The illustrations are coloured by a process invented by M. Zahn himself.

Mr. Bernard Quaritch has for some time published a Monthly Catalogue of old books, rich in all the departments of philology and general literature. He now issues it under the title of 'The Museum,' and it is to be accompanied with literary notices. The first number contains about 1500 articles, including a very extensive collection of versions of the Scriptures in various languages.

The Chronological Institute of London, the Anglo-Biblical Institute, and the Palestine Archæological Association, have taken chambers at 22, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, where all communications are to be addressed.

Dr. Henri Brugsch has issued proposals for publishing a work, entitled 'Monumens de l'Egypte,' copied, explained, and reproduced during his travels in that country in 1853-4, by order of the King of Prussia. There will be 300 folio plates, drawn on stone, to appear in numbers every two months, each containing from 16 to 20 plates, with about 40 pages of text, at 1*l.* each number.

In the press, 'The Plurality of Worlds,' the Positive Arguments from Scripture, with Answers to some late objections from Analogy.' (Bagster.)

Preparing for publication, 'The Library of Christian Biography,' under the superintendence of the Rev. Robert Bickersteth, M.A., Canon of Salisbury; consisting principally of original Memoirs. One volume every two months.

In the press, A third volume of Mr. Henry Roger's Essays. Selected from the Edinburgh Review.

'The Unity of Worlds and the Philosophy of Creation,' By the Rev. Baden Powell, Savilean Professor, Oxford.

'Letters on the Philosophy of the Human Mind.' By Samuel Bailey. (Longman and Co.)

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- American Bible Union—Il Nuovo Testamento. Traduzione dal Greco per cura di G. Achilli. 8vo., cloth. pp. 344. 3s.
- Bible Union Reporter. Published by the American Bible Union. Edited by William H. Wyckhoff, Corresponding Secretary, and C. A. Buckbee, Assistant Treasurer. Published in Monthly Parts. Annual Subscription, 3s.
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OBITUARY.

Died, Dec. 23, the Rev. Martin Joseph Routh, D.D., *magnum et venerabile nomen*, the President of Magdalen College, Oxford. This accomplished scholar and divine had attained to the great age of ninety-nine years, having been born on the 15th of September, 1755. He was favoured by Divine Providence with the full possession of his intellectual faculties to the last, and was engaged in further learned labours when thus called to leave this world in a full old age. He connected the refined society of the last century with the present, and was the centre of a large and influential circle, whose reminiscences of him will always be of the most pleasing character. He was the author and editor of many learned works, but he is best known to the Christian world by that which bears the title, *Reliquiae Sacrae; sive auctorum jam perditorum secundi tertiiq. seculi post Christum natum quae supersunt*, in three volumes.

INDEX

TO THE

SEVENTH VOLUME, NEW SERIES,

OF

THE JOURNAL OF SACRED LITERATURE.

A

Africa, researches in, 225, 226, 473.
 Alford's Greek Testament, notice of, 177; his views of Inspiration defended, 179; captious remarks on, by London Quarterly Review, 180.
 American Bible Union, design and rules of, 277.
 Anglo-Biblical Institute, for improving the English Version of the Bible, 277.
 Apocalypse, on the date of, 403; opinion of Sir Isaac Newton, 404; probably referred to by St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. James, 408—411; early date inferred, 412.
 Apollo, Temple of, in the Troad, 224.
 Apology ascribed to Melito of Sardis, 300.
 Apostolic Age, history of, by Baumgarten, 420.
 Architecture of the Hindus, by Ram Raz, 197.
 Ark in the House, the, Family Prayers, by Bouchier, 426.
 Assyrian Antiquities, 218, 469, 470.
 Athanasius, the Festal Letters of, 255; loss of the original Greek of, 256; recovery of the Syriac Version of, 257; translation into English, by Dr. Burgess, 258; edited by Rev.

H. G. Williams; some account of, 259; specimen of, 261.
 Attestation by Miracles, the, 80.

B

Babylon, researches in, 469.
 Becket, character of, by Milman, 15.
 Bethsaida, site of, 164.
 Bible, Roman Catholic, in England, 23.
 Biblical Literature, Library of, 429.
 Book of Common Prayer, Romaic version of, 221.
 Burgess, Rev. Dr. H., his translation of the Festal Letters of Athanasius, 254.

C

Capernaum, site of, 166.
 Catechiser's Manual, by Ramsey, 429.
 Charge by the Bishop of Llandaff, 427.
 China, Insurrection in, 236.
 Chinese, discoveries in, 425.
 Christian Theology, first lines of, by Dr. Pye Smith, 181.
 Collects, on the, 213.
 Coming Man, the, by Davis, 431.

Corboux, Miss F., on the historical origin of the Passover, 25.
 Correspondence, 199, 433.
 Coutts, Mrs., memoir of, by Hetherington, 428.
 Cowper's Works, by Gilfillan, 196.
 Creation, the narrative of, a series of visions, 434.
 Crichton, D. M. Makgill, life of, 194.
 Cumming, Dr., his exegetical errors, 191; defence of the Baptist Magazine from his attacks, 191.
 Cuneiform Characters found in Chinese writings, 219; inscriptions, Dr. Hincks on, 231.
 Cyrus, on the identity of, 364.

D

Damascus, Assyrian mound at, 218, 469.
 Daniel, on the times of, 364.
 Date of the Nativity, 382.
 Date of the Apocalypse, thoughts on, 403.
 Dick Bequest, report on, 198.
 Disciples, the, 341; their mistaken notions of Christ, 345.
 Divine Revelation, its evidences, &c., by Dr. Dewar, 184.
 Divining Rod, explanation of, 242.

E

Egypt, Monumental history of, by Osburn, 421; Israel in, 398.
 Egyptian dates of the first Passover, 26.
 Egyptians, their knowledge of the Calendar, 295.
 Elements of divine truth, by Dr. Symington, 421.
 Elijah fed by ravens, explanation of, 171.
 Encyclopædia Britannica, the, 198.
 English Bible, proposed revisions of, 268; difficulties in the way of, from the question of text, 270; of interpretation, 271; admits of improvement, 279.
 Ephesians, Epistle to, Notes on, by Pridham, 190.
 Ἐπισκοπος, how rendered in the Peshito Syriac, 209.

F

Family Prayers, by Bouchier, 426.

Fig-tree, barren, erroneous exposition of, by Dr. Cumming, 191.
 First-born, position of, in the patriarchal Church, 288.

G

Genesis of the Earth and of Man, 433.
 Genesis xlviii. 19, remarks on, 199.
 German Theology, sceptical character of, 94.
 Gnosticism and Montanism, charged upon the writers of the New Testament, by Noack, 99.
 God, the necessary existence of, 332 review of Gillespie on, 334; adaptation of the work to repress infidelity, 333, 341.
 "Gospel preached by Christ," remarks on, 204; defended, 467.
 Great Adversary, the, discourses by Snape, 190.

H

Hebrews i. 7, remarks on, 175.
 Historical origin of the Passover, 25, 281.
 Holy City, treading under foot of the, 106.
 Holy Land, three months in, 310.
 Hore Sabbaticæ, by R. Ball, 188.
 Human Race, different origin of, 434, 447.

I

Inspiration and Infallibility, not necessarily inseparable, 141; inspiration of Holy Scriptures, by Lee, 415; careless mode of treating the, 417.
 Intelligence, 215, 468.
 Irving, Edward, biography of, by Wilkes, 428.
 Israel in Egypt, notice of, 398; objections to the argument of, 399.

J

Jay, Rev. W., final Discourses of, 195.
 Jerusalem, ancient remains at, 224; present population of, 225; letter from, 228.
 Jews, their pursuit of Agriculture, 235.

Journal of a Deputation to the East, 187.

Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, 197; catalogue of its Arabic and Persian MSS., 197.

Job xix. 25—27, difficulties in the way of a textual translation, 274; strong hold of the traditionary one, 275.

Jubilee Commemoration of the Bible Society, at Bombay, 425.

K

Kitto, Dr. John, death of, 249; some account of his life, 250; his relations to Literature, 253.

L

Last Supper, was it a Paschal Feast? 102.

Latin Christianity, nature of, by Milman, 1.

Lebanon, mount, travels in, 321.

Les Visions d'Isaïe, 186.

M

Maitland, Dr., on Romans xi. 25, &c., 199.

Manse of Sunnyside, 432.

Manchester, Duke of, on the Times of Daniel, 454.

Marvels of Science, by Fullom, 195.

Mc Cosh, Dr., his "Method of the Divine Government" reviewed, 349.

Melancthonis Loci Theologici, 185.

Melito of Sardis, supposed apology of, in a Syriac version, 298; translation of into English, 300.

Memphis, exploration of ruins of, 470.

Messiah, the, as predicted in the Pentateuch and Psalms, by Wolfe, 417.

Method of the Divine Government, the, 349; examination of Dr. Mc Cosh's work on, 349—364.

Milman's History of Latin Christianity, 1; his freedom from prejudices, 14; character of his style, 14; review of his work criticized, 460.

Millennarianism, study of Church History a remedy for, 21.

Millie Howard, by Mrs. Lynch, 432.

Miracles, the attestation by, 80.

Miracle of the five loaves and five thousand, site of, 162.

Mission of the Baptist's disciples to Christ, meaning of, 155.

Monetary standards of Ancient Greece, 471.

N

Nativity, on the date of, 382.

Necessary existence of God, the, 332.

New Publications, lists of; English, 244, 479; Foreign, 246, 481.

Newton, Sir Isaac, on the date of the Apocalypse, 403.

New Testament, on the printed text of, by Tregelles, 414.

Noack, Ludwig, his Biblical Theology, 94.

Notices of Books, 177, 414.

O

Obituary, Rev. H. J. Powell, 248; Dr. Routh, 482.

Origin of the Human Race, whether all men proceeded from Adam, considered, 433, 447.

P

Palestine, present fertility of, 225; Agriculture in, 234.

Palestine Archæological Association, address of, 219.

Papacy, the, progressive growth of, 4; its probable destiny, 18; historical circumstances favourable to, 4; value of its labours, 10; gradual changes in its spirit, 22; its utility denied, 460.

Passover, the historical origin of, 25, 281.

Passage of the Red Sea, remarks on, 32; partly owing to natural causes, 32; Miss Corboux's paper on, criticized, 466.

Pauline, no authority for the German use of term, as applied to Apostolic teaching, 98.

Philobiblion Society, proposed formation of, 472.

Pius VI., letter of, on Vernacular translations of the Bible, 24.

Pnyx, the, site of, 240.

Pompeii, excavations at, 227.

Preparation for Holy Orders, on, by Swainson, 193.

Pye Smith, Dr., his first Lines of Christian Theology, 181.

R

- Ravens, 1 Kings xvii. 4—6; probably Orebim, 171.
 Resurrection of Jesus, translation of Lübker's treatise on, 54.
 Romans xi. 15, proposed translation of, by Dr. Turnbull, examined, 271; difficulties in the way of, 272; chap. vii. expounded by Mr. Kidd, 418.
 Russia and its people, by Gurowski, 198.

S

- Sabbath Evening Readings, by Cumming, 190.
 Sadducees, Christ's argument with, 212.
 Scenes in the life of Peter, by West, 190.
 Scripture, miscellaneous discourses and expositions of, by Young, 418.
 Scriptures, various attempts at revision of, 215; inspiration of, by Lee, 415.
 Septuagint, edition of at Athens, objections to, 222; proposed edition of, by Rev. F. Field, 237.
 Sermon on the Mount, exposition of, by M'Intyre, 418.
 Sermons on the War, 431.
 Sherwood, Mrs., life of, 194.
 Songs of Degrees, origin and meaning of the term, 39.
 South Africa, discoveries in, 225, 226.

Spirit of the Bible, by Higginson, 192.
 Stonehenge and Gilgal, connexion of, 219.

Sunday at Home, the, 197.

Sun-dial of Ahaz, Mr. Bosanquet's paper on, 217.

T

- Teutonic Races, character of their Christianity, 11.
 Theologoumena, by Dr. Owen, 424.
 Thilo, Dr., library of, 227.
 Treading under foot the Holy City, 106.
 Tregelles on the printed text of the New Testament, 414.
 Turnbull, Dr., his translation of the Epistle to the Romans, 278.
 Twelve tribes, national restoration of, by Chamberlain, 424.
 Types of Mankind, by Dr. Morton, 227.

U

- Unfulfilled predictions, folly of unlicensed speculations in, 20.

V

- Vinet's history of French literature, 196.

OCT 21 1929

